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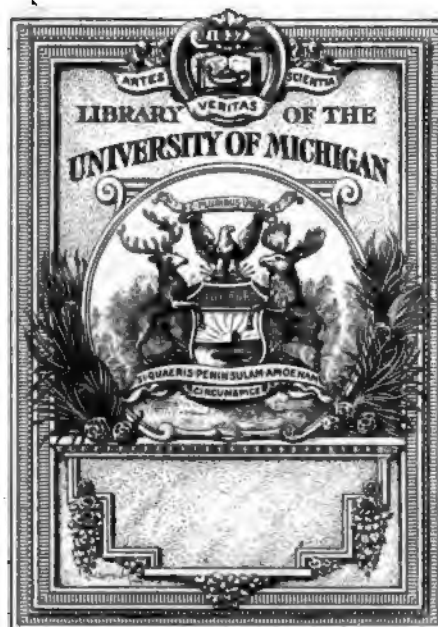
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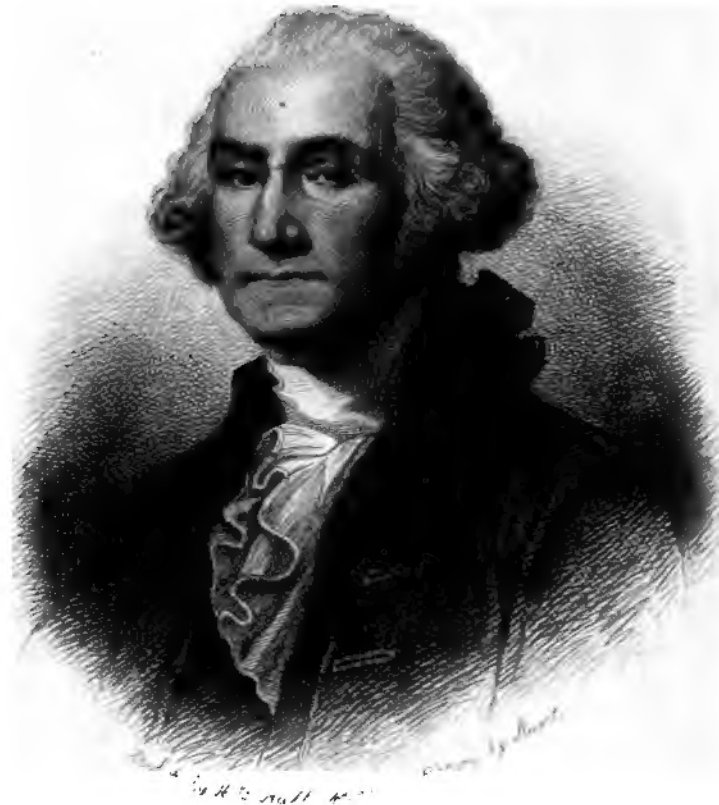
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George Washington

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NEW YORK AND CHICAGO

1880

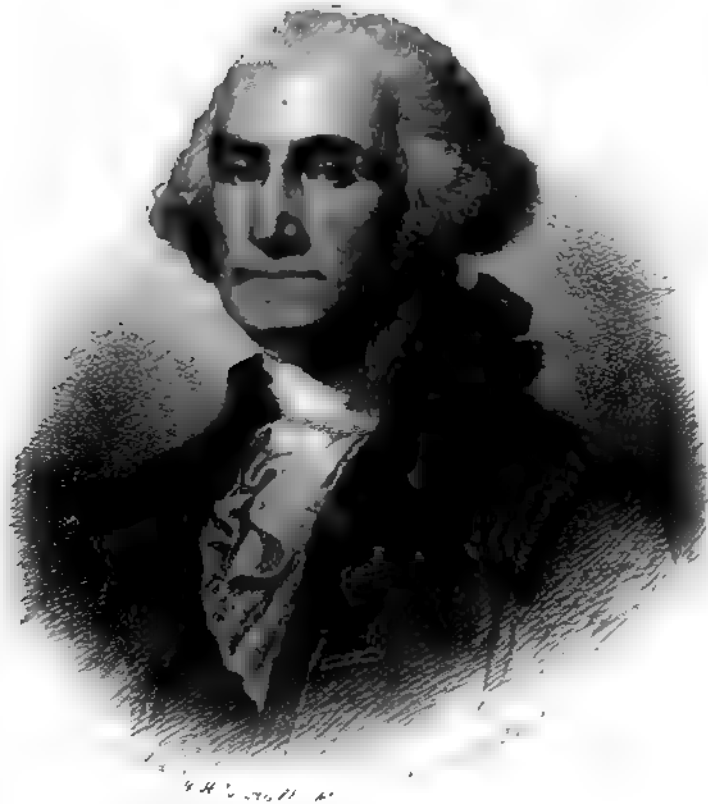


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THE
MAGAZINE
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

VOLUME IV

A. S. BARNES & COMPANY
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO
1880



George Washington

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

JANUARY 1880

No 1

THE OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES BEFORE NEW YORK, 1781

I.—THE ATTEMPT UPON THE BRITISH POSTS AT KINGSBRIDGE

THE frigate *Concorde* arrived at Boston on the 8th May, 1781 with dispatches from the French Ministry withdrawing the restrictions, which had before controlled the action of de Rochambeau and held the French contingent in complete quiet on Rhode Island. The brilliant officers of the small, but splendidly appointed force, chafing under the restraint, hailed with joy the prospect of an active campaign. The news of the sailing of the Count de Grasse from Brest with a strong squadron and reinforcements of troops assured a sufficient naval co-operation for any movement which the allied commanders should agree upon.

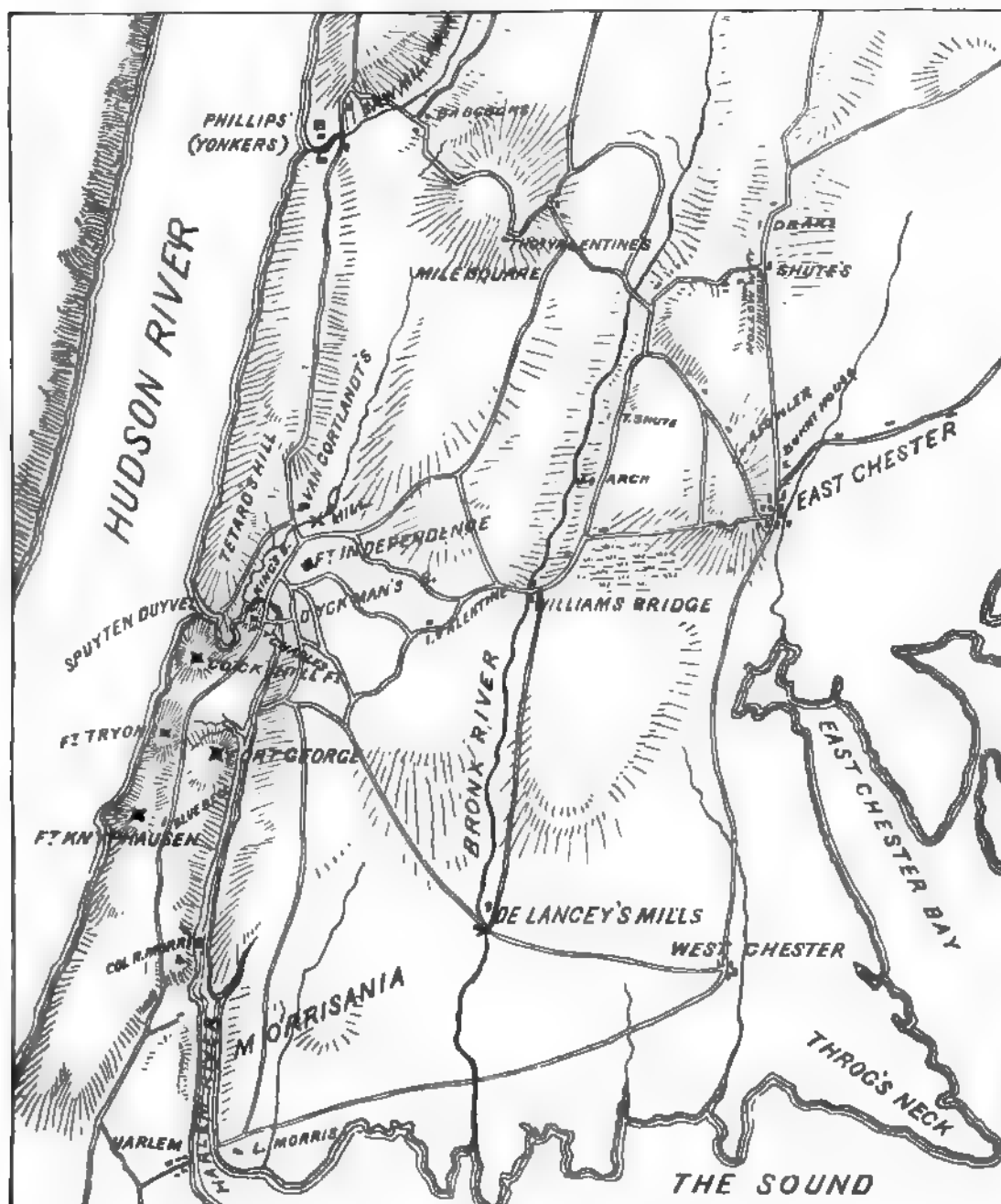
A conference between Washington and Rochambeau was held at Weathersfield, near Hartford, on the 22d May, 1781, to concert a plan of joint operation. At this interview Washington was attended by General Knox and Brigadier-General du Portail of the artillery, and Rochambeau, by the Chevalier de Chastellux. The Count de Barras, who had arrived by the *Concorde* to take the command of the fleet, vacant by the death of de Ternay, was detained at Newport by the English fleet, which still held its post of observation at Gardner's Bay. To the conference de Rochambeau brought word that de Grasse would dispatch from the latitude of the Azores a reinforcement of six hundred recruits for his army under convoy of the *Sagittaire*, and the remainder of the funds necessary for the payment of the army, a part of which had already arrived by the *Concorde*; and the French General further declared his readiness to move so soon as these were received.

At the same interview Washington produced dispatches of Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton of the 7th February and 7th

March, which had been intercepted by an American privateer. In these the English Minister gave directions to Sir Henry to turn his immediate attention to the conquest of the Southern States. Thus advised of the plans of the enemy, Washington was in favor of striking a decisive blow by a direct attack upon New York, where the British forces under Clinton had already been weakened by the several detachments made to the southward during the Spring. Rochambeau, on the contrary, hesitated to adopt a plan which involved the crossing of the Sandy Hook bar, the passage of which was pronounced by experienced pilots dangerous, if not impossible, for the heavy French ships of the line, and leaned towards a renewal of the operations in the Chesapeake, which had only failed because of the inferior force of the fleet under Destouches. A compromise plan was agreed upon, which excluded neither of the two opinions. The allied armies were to march from their respective encampments, and form a junction on the east bank of the Hudson, whence New York might be menaced, any further diversion of British troops to the southward arrested, and freedom given for a Southern campaign. The result of the conference was communicated by Washington to General Sullivan, then a member of Congress, sitting in Philadelphia, and by de Chastellux to the French Ministry. Both of these letters fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton; a fortunate circumstance, in which, to use the words of Dumas, who was an actor in the campaign, "chance served better than the ablest spies could have done." How completely Sir Henry Clinton was deceived concerning the purposes of the allied Generals, appears in his own manuscript notes on this period of the war, in which he writes that "there were a thousand circumstances to prove that New York was their object, till de Grasse's pilots refused to carry his long-legged ships over the bar of New York."

On his return to his camp at Newport, de Rochambeau immediately organized the movement of his troops. Marching orders were issued on the 9th June, and a first rendezvous had at Providence, where the army halted for eight days. On the 16th the Baron de Vioménil, second in command, held a general review at Providence.

On the 18th the line of march was again taken up; the regiment of Bourbonnais, under de Rochambeau and M. de Chastellux, leading the van; on the 19th, that of Royal Deux-Ponts, under the Baron de Vioménil; the 20th, that of Soissonnais, under the Count de Vioménil; the 21st, that of Saintonge, under M. de Custine. Keeping a distance from each other of a day's march, they encamped the first day at Wa-



SCENE OF ATTEMPT ON THE BRITISH POSTS, AT KINGSBRIDGE, JULY 3, 1781

terman's Tavern, the second at Plainfield, the third at Windham, the fourth at Bolton, and the fifth at Hartford. These places were distant from each other about fifteen miles. The roads were heavy for the artillery, and the baggage was left behind. Arrived the 22d June at Hartford, the regiment of Bourbonnais broke camp on the 25th; that of Deux-Ponts, the 26th; of Soissonnais, the 27th, and of Saintonge, the 28th. They encamped the first day at Farmington, twelve miles distant; the second day, at Baron's Tavern, thirteen miles; the third day, at Break-neck, thirteen miles, and the fourth, at Newtown, thirteen miles. Here the route was better. The artillery was far in the rear.

By the orders of M. de Béville, the Quartermaster-General, the Count de Dumas, of his staff, went in advance of the line to reconnoitre the country, prepare lodgings and select the camping grounds. For this he was particularly well qualified. He had already been over the route from Rhode Island in the winter of 1780, once on a mission from Rochambeau to West Point after Arnold's defection, and again making a careful reconnoissance of the country when sent into Connecticut to establish the headquarters of Lauzun.

To cover this movement of the infantry, the Duke de Lauzun left Lebanon, where his legion had winter quarters, and keeping the French army about fifteen miles to his right, moved between their line of march and the coast of Long Island Sound. Until the arrival at Newtown there was no necessity of any special precaution, but here in the midst of a tory population, and in close proximity to the enemy, more care was required. It was the original intention of de Rochambeau to mass his forces at Newtown and march towards the Hudson in closer column, but on the evening of the 30th a courier arrived from General Washington with a message, urging him not to halt at Newtown, as he proposed, but to double the march of his first half brigade and Lauzun's corps. Accordingly the first division, composed of the regiments of Bourbonnais and Deux-Ponts left Newtown at dawn on the 1st July for Ridgebury. It was formed in one brigade. The second brigade, formed of the regiments of Soissonnais and Saintonge, marched the next day for the same point. The road, fifteen miles long, they found hilly and bad.

On the morning of the 2d June the grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Bourbonnais left Ridgebury for Bedford, which they reached, after a hard march across a hilly country, a distance of fifteen miles. At Bedford this detachment made a junction with the legion of Lauzun, which had until this point marched on the left flank of the army,

but now took a strong position beyond Bedford. Beyond his lines there was also an advanced post, consisting of a body of one hundred and sixty horse of Sheldon's legion.

On the 15th June, Washington issued his General Orders from his headquarters at West Point, congratulating the army on the successes of the American arms under General Greene in South Carolina, reciting the forced evacuation of Camden by Lord Rawdon, the surrender of Orangeburgh to General Sumter, of Fort Mott to General Marion and Fort Granby to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, and the investment of the posts of Augusta and Ninety-six by General Pickering; and declaring these brilliant successes to be a presage, that, with proper exertions, the enemy would soon be expelled from every part of the Continent. On the 17th a detachment was drawn from the different brigades for the garrison of West Point, and on the 18th all the troops were brigaded for a movement to Peekskill. The annexed diagram is taken from a General Order book of the period :

The American army had lain at New Windsor during the winter and spring. On the 26th June Washington broke camp, and moved to Peekskill, where he invited Rochambeau to visit him in person. On the 27th he sent Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb, one of his aids-de-camp, to Hartford to attend the French General on his forward movement.

Intelligence reaching him as to the probable purposes of Sir Henry Clinton he resolved to make an offensive movement. Hearing, also, that Colonel Delancey was lying at Morrisania with a party of dragoons, and had burned some houses in the neighborhood of Bedford, he determined to cut him off. Without waiting for the arrival of de Rochambeau, he at once entered on the campaign, and on the 30th June, organized a plan to surprise the British posts on the north end of New York Island, and began to concentrate his forces.

Major-General James Clinton, in command at Albany, was ordered to send down the regular troops, and Governor George Clinton, then at Poughkeepsie, was notified to hold himself in readiness to march down with the militia towards Kingsbridge, upon signals given, by alarm guns and beacons, of the success of the *coup de main*.

At the same time he sent a courier to Lieutenant-Colonel Cobb with a despatch for the Count de Rochambeau informing him of the movement, urging him to push on his troops to cover and support the attack; advising him, also, that he had sent a courier to Lauzun to hasten his march with his hussars. On the arrival of the courier at Newtown

FIRST LINE

General WASHINGTON, Commander in Chief

LEFT WING

Major-General LORD STIRLING

SECOND BRIGADE, MASS		FIRST BRIGADE, MASS		SECOND BRIGADE, CONN		FIRST BRIGADE, CONN	
Brig.-Gen. PATERSON		Brig.-Gen. GLOVER		Colonel SWIFT		Brig.-Gen. HUNTINGTON	
15th Mass	8th Mass	2d Mass	4th Mass	7th Mass	1st Mass	Rhod I'd	4th Conn
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the Marquis de Chastellux was immediately sent for by de Rochambeau, a consultation had with the Chiefs of Staff upon the new route advised by Washington, and orders issued for the march of the First Brigade the next morning. The Legion of Lauzun, then at New Stratford, was directed to march at the same time.

On the 1st of July, Washington, from his headquarters at Peekskill, gave his instructions to Major-General Lincoln, to whom the command of the expedition was entrusted. The force consisted of two regiments, formed into four battalions, under the command of Colonel Scammel and Lieutenant-Colonel Sprout, of the corps of watermen, under the command of Major Darby; a detachment of artillery under Captain Burbeck; the water-guard under command of Captain Pray; the object of the expedition to attempt the seizure of the enemy's posts upon the north end of York Island. Fort George on Laurel Hill was designated as the primary object of attack, because success at that point would open a communication with the mainland, and afford a rallying point and secure place of retreat in case of disappointment. Should the prosecution of the plan prove unadvisable upon reconnoitering the enemy, the boats were to be secured, and if necessary destroyed. General Lincoln was directed to support an attempt to be made on the morning of the 3d, by the Duke de Lauzun, upon Delancey's corps, which were lying at Morrisania. This was to be effected by landing his men above Spuyten Devil Creek, and marching them to a cover in the high ground in front of Kingsbridge to wait the attack of Lauzun, and cut off the retreat of Delancey's party. To cooperate in this plan, Brigadier-General Waterbury was ordered to march with all the troops he could collect to a rendezvous at Clapp's Tavern, in King street [Rye], with Colonel Sheldon, where they were to be joined by the Duke de Lauzun, who was to take command of the expedition.

On the 2d he advised de Rochambeau to move to North Castle and concentrate his whole force. North Castle was selected as being in a direct route by which to receive provisions from Crompond, and also on the road for an advance to White Plains, if circumstances should warrant. By Colonel Hull, the messenger who carried the despatch, he also sent his instructions to the Duke de Lauzun. Washington recommended him as a confidential and competent officer, informed as to the intended movement and the scene of operations.

Three accounts have been given of this movement; the report of Washington to Congress, written from his Headquarters at Dobbs' Ferry on the 6th; the British account of the Skirmish at Kingsbridge,

which appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette on the 14th, and was copied in Almon's Remembrancer for the year 1781, and Lauzun's narrative printed in his posthumous memoirs.

The account of Washington relates the movement of Lincoln in detail. The army marched from camp near Peekskill on the morning of the 2d without tents or baggage, and reached Valentine's Hill, about four miles from Kingsbridge, a little after daybreak the morning following. General Lincoln, with a detachment of eight hundred men, fell down the North River in boats (they had embarked the night before, after dark, at or near Teller's Point), and took possession of the ground north of Harlem River near where Fort Independence stood. The Duke de Lauzun, notwithstanding the heat of the day of the 2d, marched from Ridgebury, in Connecticut, and reached East Chester very early next morning. Here he found that General Lincoln had been attacked and the alarm given. General Lincoln skirmished with the enemy in order to draw them into the country far enough to permit the Duke de Lauzun to turn their right and cut them off from the east side of Hudson River, and prevent their repassing the river in boats. General Parsons had possession of the heights immediately commanding Kingsbridge, and could have prevented their escape by that passage. Washington adds that on going down himself he found that all the main body of the enemy had withdrawn to New York Island, but that he had made a thorough reconnoissance of the works on the north end of the island with General du Portail. He gives Lincoln's loss at five or six killed and thirty wounded. He expresses to the President of Congress the warmest obligations to the Count de Rochambeau for the readiness with which he detached the Duke de Lauzun, and for the rapidity with which he pushed the march of his main body to bring it within supporting distance in case a favorable stroke upon the enemy had allowed the pursuing of any advantage which might have been gained.

The British account explains the failure of the attempt at surprise. In the evening of the 2d Colonel Emmerich went up from the British lines with a picked body of one hundred men to the Philipse's House at Yonkers, as an advance guard for a party which was to march the next morning as an escort for wagons sent to the same point for hay. Late in the evening word was brought into the British outposts that the American troops had been seen at Sing Sing in the afternoon. This was the army on the march. The wagon movement was abandoned, and Lieutenant-Colonel de Preuschenck went out before daybreak with

a body of two hundred Hessians and thirty Yager horse. Arrived at Kingsbridge about dawn on the morning of the 3d, the wary commander determined to reconnoitre the abandoned Fort Independence, on the heights beyond the river, before pushing further up into the mainland. Here his party fell upon the command of General Parsons, who were lying in a covert behind the dismantled parapets. A brisk skirmish ensued. The Hessians, pursued by a superior force, and driven by the bayonet, endeavored to fall back within the range of the guns of Fort Charles, but being hard pressed, and their cavalry aiding on the low ground, rallied, and the Americans in turn retreated, falling back, in the hope of drawing the enemy from their cover, until they reached the main body of the army, which was already arrived, after a forced march from Tarrytown, within two miles of Kingsbridge. Meanwhile Lieutenant-Colonel Von Wurmb reached the scene of action from Kingsbridge with the remainder of the Yager corps, and posted his force on the rising ground between the bridge and Fort Independence. Reconnoitering the American position before venturing further, he found them in force, their lines extending from the Mile-Square road over the height to Williams' bridge, their left covered by a body of French horse. An offensive movement was out of the question, but some action was necessary to relieve Colonel Emmerich from his precarious situation at Philipse's house, four miles in the rear. A reinforcement of two hundred men from the line arriving from the forts on the island, and Delancey's Refugee corps coming in from Williams' Bridge and Morrisania, the Yagers moved forward and took possession of Cortlandt's bridge, driving the advanced posts of the Americans, who fell back towards Williams' Bridge on their left. This opened the way for Colonel Emmerich to join his command. He had dropped down from Philipse's house, about four miles above, by the old Kingsbridge road (the Albany post-road), with the purpose of crossing the Spuyten Devil, but found himself cut off by the enemy, who held Cortlandt's house. Colonel Emmerich brought in some prisoners who had fallen into his hands at Philipse's house. He brought in word to General Von Losberg, who had gone out in person to take command, that the Americans were moving in two columns, one of which he had seen on Valentine's Hill, towards Cortlandt's bridge. The Hessians then fell back to their former position, leaving one hundred Yagers at Fort Independence to watch the movement of the Americans. They observed the reconnoitre of the Spuyten Devil by Washington in person in the afternoon at three o'clock, and at four withdrew within their lines and to their encampment.

The Duke de Lauzun describes his movement in a very general way. He marched with great rapidity, and reached the rendezvous at the hour appointed for the junction. From his narrative it would appear that General Washington gave him his orders in person, but at what point he does not mention, and confirmation of this is lacking, while it is not improbable that such was the case. He does not mention the purpose to surprise Delancey's corps, which fell through; that wary partisan having shifted his quarters from Morrisania. Of the attack of Lincoln he speaks almost with contempt, saying of him that he was beaten, and would have been cut off from the army but for his own prompt succor; but facts do not support this judgment. He exaggerates, also, the number of killed and wounded in Lincoln's command, which he states at two or three hundred. Other French accounts give a lesser figure. De Fersen and de Vauban, aids-de-camp of Rochambeau, reported that Lincoln had only four killed and fifteen wounded. They also reported that Delancey was found at Williams' bridge, and not at Morrisania, where it was supposed he would be surprised, and that he had notice of the attack. This is not improbable, as the neighborhood was infested with tory refugees.

In his diary, Washington sets down that he moved from Peekskill with the Continental army at three o'clock on the morning of the 2d, made a small halt at the New Bridge over Croton, about nine miles from Peekskill, another by the church at Tarrytown, nine miles more, and completed the remaining part of the march, arriving at Valentine's Hill (Mile Square) about sunrise. The baggage and tents were left standing in the camp at Peekskill. Disappointed in the object of the expedition, Washington withdrew his troops to Valentine's Hill on the afternoon of the 3d, where they lay on their arms; the Duke de Lauzun and General Waterbury, on the east side of the Bronx River, on the East Chester road. On his arrival at Valentine's Hill, Washington issued a General Order, thanking the "Duke de Lauzun, his officers and men for the very extraordinary zeal manifested by them in the rapid performance of their march to join the American army." In the evening he wrote from Valentine's Hill, inviting Rochambeau to join him at White Plains with his troops on the 5th.

On the 4th the American army again marched, and took position a little to the left of Dobbs' Ferry, and marked out a camp for the French army on their left. The Duke de Lauzun marched to White Plains and Gen. Waterbury to Horseneck. Apparently satisfied that Sir Henry Clinton had no intention of coming out from his defences, Wash-

ington wrote again to Rochambeau, apprising him that there was no further reason to fatigue his troops by long and rapid marches, and leaving the time of his arrival at North Castle entirely to his own discretion, only desiring notice of his approach, that he might have the happiness of meeting and conducting him to the camp laid out for him, which, he says, "will be about four miles on this (the west) side of the village of White Plains."

De Rochambeau, whose experience had taught him the value of promptness, had not lost a moment on the march. His entire army was already at North Castle, where the first division, under his personal command, went into camp on the morning of the 3d. They were joined in the afternoon by the second; this excellent brigade, which was composed of the regiments of Soissonnais and Saintonge, had made a forced march of twenty miles. Their fine discipline was here apparent, as the weather was intensely hot, and they had not had a day's rest since leaving Providence. Their commanders, the Count de Custine and the Vicomte de Noailles, set their troops the example of endurance, marching on foot at their head. On the evening of the 3d de Rochambeau reported his arrival to Washington, and expressed his readiness to execute his orders. The position of the camp was excellent, and the troops found grateful relief in the cool breezes of the summer nights.

On the 5th Washington visited the French camp at North Castle; de Rochambeau, notified of his approach, rode out to meet him. After visiting the camp, the party dined together, and he was again escorted several miles on his return by his polished hosts, who were charmed with his mein and breeding.

II.—THE CAMP OF THE ALLIES AT PHILLIPSBURG

On the 6th the French troops broke camp at North Castle, and marched to make a junction with the main body of the American army at Philipsburg. The roads were good and the distance not over seventeen miles, but the heat of the day was intense, and the French troops, who had never experienced the torrid heat of a July day in these latitudes, suffered terribly; more than four hundred men fell on the march. The junction was made in the evening on the grounds which had been marked out on the left of the American lines. The legion of Lauzun was already in position on Chatterton's Hill, in advance of the plains, on the west of the river Bronx. The same day the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the Minister of France, arrived in camp from Philadelphia. Washington issued a General Order, expressing his thanks to Count de

war of the revolution, was debateable ground ; hostile armies marched and countermarched over it, from its northernmost rock-bound limit to its southern extremity, where its hills descend in easy slope to the waters of the Harlem and the Sound.

The position now taken lay between the American and British lines, and the farms were deserted by their owners. In consequence "the roads and commons, as well as the fields and pastures, were covered with grass ; while the many deserted houses and ruined fences depicted the horrid devastation of war." So wrote Heath, whose simple, soldierly narrative rarely bends to sentiment or pathos. More glowing the enthusiastic description of Dr. Thacher, whose heart warmed with delight at leaving the winter cantonments at West Point, where the vegetation of a late spring was but just appearing. He marched with the troops through the Highlands, and found all nature in animation with color and fragrance and song. But it needs not to dwell on the scenic beauties of a country which Irving has hallowed and Drake has sung.

Washington describes the military position in a few words. "The American army was encamped in two lines, the right resting on Hudson's River. The French army was stationed on the hills at the left, in a single line, reaching to the Bronx River. There was a valley of considerable extent between the two armies." Gordon says that the French left extended towards the Sound. To this knowledge of the topographical situation of the respective camps, little addition was made by subsequent investigation, until the discovery in Paris, about a quarter of a century ago, of a chart entitled "*Position de l'Armée Américaine et Française à Phillipsbourg*," which is now reproduced by the kind permission of Mr. James F. Dwight of New York. It was found on a little bookstand on one of the Paris quays. The name of the officer who made the survey is not known, but he was evidently not only a thorough engineer, but an admirable draughtsman. The chart is a model of delicate drawing, and is besides beautifully colored, presenting almost a landscape effect. Its remarkable precision of detail is so great that it is even now a perfect guide to the ground ; each elevation and depression, every road, and even the smallest stream being plainly indicated.

The headquarters of the Commanders are both laid down. The house occupied by the Count de Rochambeau is still standing on the high ground a little to the west of Hart's Corners, on the Harlem railroad. It was then owned by Colonel John Odell, a noted guide of Washington. Rivington, however, in his *Royal Gazette* of July 21st,

Rochambeau for the unremitting zeal with which he had prosecuted his march, in order to form the long wished for junction between the French and American forces. He pays a special compliment to the regiment of Saintonge for the "spirit with which they continued and supported their march without one day's respite." This regiment brought up the rear.

The Abbé Robin, who crossed the Atlantic to follow the army in the campaign, and the next year published a narrative of his experience, bears testimony to the admirable conduct of the French troops, and the fatherly and prudent care of their officers. "In this march of two hundred and fifteen miles in extreme heat, and through a country almost without resources, upon which the soldiers often lacked for bread, and were forced to carry several days' provisions, there was less sickness than even in French garrisons. The care exercised by the superior officers, in not permitting the soldiers to drink the water without rum to counteract its unwholesome properties, no doubt greatly contributed to this result. The Count de Saint-Maime, Colonel commanding the Soissonnais, at each halt sent forward cider, which he caused to be distributed to the soldiers at a trifling price. This example was followed by the other corps with the most satisfactory results."

The position chosen for the camp was admirably suited for defence, and to restore the vigor of the troops after their severe march. Every inch of the ground was familiar to Washington, who had here first shown his great capacities as a commander, in the quiet, masterly withdrawal of his army from the toils in which Howe had attempted to entrap him in the fall of 1776. The country about Phillipsburg is everywhere hilly, but yet nowhere mountainous. It may be described as rolling land on an elevated plateau. Below lay the famous White Plains, on which an army might deploy in perfect symmetry; to the north the rocky hills of North Castle, and behind, still rising to greater height, the impregnable fastnesses of the Highlands; the secure gate through which the British forces had looked often wistfully, but ever in vain. Through the mountain vallies ran abundant streams of clear, pure water. An old settlement, a part of an hereditary manor, which, from the earliest colonial days, had been the favorite residence of one of the wealthiest and most powerful families of the New York province, the land about Phillipsburg was in admirable cultivation; forest and field covering its entire extent; but when the allied forces here pitched their tents this beautiful landscape presented a strange mixture of luxuriance and ruin. The county of Westchester, during the entire

The first line of the American army was commanded by General Washington in person. Its right was held by the First and Second Connecticut Brigades; the First Brigade on the extreme right was commanded by Brigadier-General Huntington, and consisted of the First Connecticut under Colonel Durkee, the Fifth Connecticut under Lieutenant-Colonel Shearman, and the Third Connecticut under Colonel Webb; on their left lay the Second Connecticut Brigade, Colonel Swift commanding, composed of the Second Connecticut, Col. Swift, the Fourth Connecticut, Colonel Butler, and the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Olney. On the right of the left wing was the the First Massachusetts Brigade under Brigadier-General Glover, composed of the First Massachusetts, Colonel Vose, the Seventh Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, the Fourth Massachusetts, Colonel Shepard; the extreme left was held by the Second Massachusetts Brigade, composed of the Second Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Sprout, Eighth Massachusetts, Colonel Michael Jackson, Fifth Massachusetts, Colonel Putnam.

The second line of the Americans was commanded by Major-General Howe. The right wing, under command of Major-General Parsons, the New Hampshire Brigade, was composed of the First New Hampshire, Colonel Scammel, the Second New Hampshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Read, the Tenth Massachusetts, Colonel Tupper. The left wing the Third Massachusetts Brigade (the commander not named), composed of the Eighth Massachusetts, Colonel Greateon, Ninth Massachusetts, Colonel Henry Jackson, Sixth Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. In the centre, on the right, was the park of artillery under Brigadier-General Knox; on the left the engineers' corps, the sappers and miners, under Brigadier-General Duportail.

Beyond and in front of the first line lay Colonel Sheldon with his legion on the extreme right, covering the river road, the King's Highway, and the Pine's bridge road to Kingsbridge, while General Waterbury, with the light infantry, was posted in a similar position on the left flank, reaching to the Sound. To protect the river approaches a strong redoubt was thrown up by the engineers under du Portail, and completed with a celerity and thoroughness that astonished the French officers. Of the two batteries one carried eight guns and the other as many mortars. The fire of these crossing with that of one of two guns on the west bank of the river, was intended to control its passage. The French diary, from which this careful description of the American lines is taken, contains no similar detail of the French position, but the plan of position fortunately supplies the deficiency.

The French infantry lay to the south and west of the American camp, towards the East Chester road, in one line. In their rear their artillery, chiefly of light pieces, the heavy siege guns having been left behind at Newport in the care of M. de Choisy. A short distance to the northward, about half-way between the White Plains and the Pine's Bridge road, the hospital was posted. M. Blanchard, the French Commissary, describes the rural beauties of the farm on which this building was located with unusual warmth, and remarks with the delight of a botanist on the splendid tulip and catalpa trees which were standing in the neighboring fields.

The French army was a picked body, composed of the most ancient and celebrated regiments of the kingdom, and commanded by officers illustrious in name and experience; men for whom destiny had in store a varied brilliant future, and for most, alas, a tragic end; and the commissioned officers, from the colonel commanding to the youngest second-lieutenant, were almost without exception of high birth. Their General, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, was of a distinguished family. Born in 1725, at the period of the American campaign he had just entered on his fifty-sixth year. From his youth he had been in military service. Entering the cavalry regiment of Saint Simon at the age of sixteen he made his first campaign in Bohemia and Bavaria under the Maréchal de Broglie; commanded a company in the war of Alsace; distinguishing himself at Weisemburg and Fribourg; was present at the battle of Raucoux and served as aid-de-camp to the Duke d'Orleans at the siege of Namur. At twenty-two he was Colonel of the Regiment de la Marche and distinguished himself at Laufelt, where he was twice wounded under the eyes of the King. In 1748 he invested Maestricht on the Rhine with fourteen companies of grenadiers, for which he was made Brigadier of Infantry and Chevalier of St. Louis; in 1756 he assisted at the siege of Mahon by the Maréchal de Richelieu, and led his troops into the English trenches under fire. As Major-General of the army of the Rhine he was at the battles of Crevelt, Minden, Cerbach and Kloster-camp, where he was brilliantly distinguished, and, after the death of the Chevalier d'Assas by his efforts decided the fortunes of the day. He now held the rank of Maréchal de Camp with the title of Inspector-General of Infantry. By nature and experience he was eminently suited to a distinct and independent command. His reputation for courage and dash required of him no unusual exposure, and placed his motives for inaction beyond the range of suspicion. The gravity of his character and his remarkable reticence impressed respect on his officers and held

his troops in perfect control; yet while as a disciplinarian he was rigid and severe, he endeared himself to his troops by his fatherly and watchful care for their personal comfort.

The brothers Vioménil held the highest rank in the army after Rochambeau, both being major-generals; the Chevalier de Chastellux also performed this duty. Of these the Baron de Vioménil was the oldest in rank, having been in service since 1740, and Maréchal de Camp since 1770. Next in age the Chevalier de Chastellux, in service since 1747, and a Brigadier-General since 1769; he was one of the famous French Academy of Forty. He rendered great service to Rochambeau in his interviews with Washington at which he was on nearly all occasions present. The Count de Vioménil had served since 1761, and held the post of Brigadier since 1770. Each of the General officers was attended by a large and brilliant staff.

The regiment of Bourbonnais was the seventh in date of creation of the French infantry. It was formed in 1595 of the ancient bands of Montferrat. It bore successively the names of Nerestan, Silly, Sainte-Mesme, Castelnau et Refages, and did not take the name of the province of Bourbonnais until 1672. Its last important service had been in the German campaign of 1760-62. It was now under the command of the Marquis de Laval as Colonel, assisted by the Vicomte de Rochambeau, son of the General Commanding, as Second Colonel (Colonel en Second), a rank peculiar to the French organization, Monsieur Gilbert de Bressolles as Lieutenant-Colonel, and M. de Gambis, as Major.

Next in age of creation, No. 41 in the military organization of the 25th March, 1776, was the regiment of Soissonnais, ordered to be raised by Louis XIV, in 1684, and called after the province of the name. Under the names of Segur and Brigueville this regiment had also made the German campaign. Its Colonel was the Comte de Saint-Maime, appointed to the command in 1775, assisted by the Vicomte de Noailles as Second Colonel, M. d'Anselme as Lieutenant-Colonel, and M. Despeyron as Major.

The regiment of Saintonge (85 in the order of 1776) was commanded by the Comte de Custine-Sarreck, who was appointed Colonel on the 8th March, 1780, at the time of the formation of the expeditionary corps for the American campaign. His Second Colonel was the Comte de Charlus, son-in-law of the Maréchal de Castries, the Minister of War; the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Chevalier de la Valette, and Major, M. Teissedre de Fleury, the hero of Stoney Point, who had served in the American army as a volunteer with great distinction, and enjoyed a

reputation for dashing gallantry, not surpassed by any officer in the service. On the determination of the French Government to take an active part in the military operations, he sought and obtained his appointment in the King's service.

The regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts was of Franco-German origin, raised and recruited in Alsace. Its officers were of the same province. It was commanded by Christian Comte de Forbach, Marquis des Deux-Ponts, who was made its Colonel in 1775, and his brother William, Comte de Forbach des Deux-Ponts, was its Second Colonel. Under them the Baron d'Esbeck commanded as Lieutenant-Colonel, and M. Desprez as Major. In this regiment also the Comte de Fersen held the titular rank of Mestre de Camp, an office which has no precise parallel in the English or American service.

These four regiments were all of the regular establishment. The Legion of Lauzun was a corps of a different character. Its commander, Armand Louis de Gontaut, under his consecutive titles of Duc de Lauzun and Duc de Biron, was a conspicuous figure in the revolutionary drama of Europe as well as of America. He was in his thirty-fifth year when he received the command of the exceptional corps which bore his name. Of illustrious descent, and distinguished for the elegance of his person and the fascinating charm of his manners; favored by fortune, and courted by the highest aristocracy, he was yet no carpet knight. The Capuan delights of the gayest city in Europe never held him supine when either fame or duty called. He first attracted the attention of the Ministry of France by a memoir on the "State of the Defenses of England and all its Possessions in the four quarters of the Globe," and begun his military career as the leader of an expedition which seized the English possessions in Gambia in 1779. On his return he was promised the proprietary command of an independent legion of twenty-four hundred men, to be composed of troops of all arms, but the Ministry were unable to carry out the engagement. Eager to engage in the expedition forming for America, he was obliged to content himself with the command of eight hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry, which were formed into a command, entitled de Lauzun's Foreign Volunteers, of which he was appointed Colonel Proprietor and Inspector, and which was known in America as the Legion of Lauzun; even of these a part, consisting of a third of his regiment, were left behind, from the lack of transports, and the deficiency which was never made good was the cause of bitter complaints to the Ministry whom he openly accused of a want of good faith. He

aspired to the glory to be obtained by independent command ; and it is but justice to de Rochambeau to say that he never lost sight of the claims of the Duke to detached service. M. de Guegan was the Lieutenant-Colonel of this corps.

The French troops were disposed in one line. On the right wing, commanded by the Baron de Vioménil, was the Brigade of Bourbonnais consisting of the regiments of the Bourbonnais' and Royal Deux-Ponts. The left, the Brigade of Soissonnais, commanded by the Count de Vioménil, consisted of the regiments of Soissonnais and Deux-Ponts.

The camps presented a strange contrast. In strength the two armies were about equal. There is no means of estimating the precise force, but it was not far from ten thousand men.

No account of the appearance of the American troops can be better than that of an eye witness. We may safely recur again to the Abbé Robin, who returned to France after Yorktown and published his narrative in 1782.

"The American troops have as yet no regular uniform. The officers and the artillery corps alone are uniformed. Several regiments have small white fringed casaques, the effect of which is sightly enough ; their wide, long, linen pantaloons neither incommode them nor interfere with the play of their limbs on the march, yet with a nourishment much less substantial than our own, and a temperament much less vigorous, for this reason alone, perhaps, they support fatigue much better than our troops. * * * These American garments, although easily soiled, are nevertheless kept extremely clean. Their neatness is particularly observable among the officers. To see them you would suppose that they had a large amount of baggage, but I was surprised to find in their tents, which accommodate three or four persons, not as much as forty pounds weight ; hardly any have any mattresses, a single covering stretched upon the knotty bark of trees serving them for a bed ; I observed the same care exercised by their soldiers never to sleep on the ground, which our own prefer. Their cooking gives them little trouble ; they are satisfied to broil their meat, and to cook in the ashes their corn cake—an unleavened bread."

Of the discipline of the American forces the observant Abbé speaks in the same high terms. He notices its extreme severity and the extensive power of the officers. In these simple words may be found the best existing account of the American troops. They were hardened to war ; the raw militia of the earlier campaigns had become inured to service until they were the equals in discipline and tenacity of any troops in

the world; a little army of veterans who shrank from no difficulty or danger, and acknowledged no superiors. Yet, with this fine training they had lost none of the enthusiasm of patriotism, and while steady as the best English soldiery in the hardest trial of troops—a protracted halt under fire—they moved to the assault with the dash of the French grenadier.

The French army, on the other hand, was in every way representative of the martial race, whose perfect armament, elegant equipment and well-appointed accoutrements had always been the admiration of Europe. Discarding the striking distinctions between rank and file, an example only in late years followed by other countries, their officers and men wore the same uniform. The infantry, long waist-coats and coats of white cloth; the uniform of the officers only differing from those of the soldiers in the color of the cloth. The distinction between the regiments was in the colors of the lappels, ornaments and buttons. Thus part of the Bourbonnais wore crimson lappels, with pink collars and white buttons; the Fores, which had been consolidated with the Bourbonnais, but kept their distinctive uniform, crimson lappels, with green collar and white buttons; the Soissonnais, red lappels, sky-blue collars and yellow buttons; Saintonge, sky-blue collars and yellow buttons; the Royal Deux-Ponts, (who had changed their costume from the regulation of 1776) in 1779 adopted blue for the uniform and collars, and lemon color for the lappels. The buttons were marked with the number of the regiment. The non-commissioned officers and soldiers wore a panache of white plumes. The grenadiers wore red plumes; the chasseurs, white and green. The artillery wore iron-gray coats, with lappels of red velvet.

There was one notable exception to the general uniformity. This was in the regiment of Soissonnais, who wore linen breeches, and in consequence suffered far less from the heat of the march than their snugly dressed neighbors. This wise change they owed to the thoughtfulness of their Colonel, the Count de Saint-Maime.

The days, immediately following the arrival of the French, were passed in an exchange of visits between the officers of the two nations. On the afternoon of the 8th Washington reviewed the two armies. The French were surprised at the admirable discipline of the American troops, and the Americans delighted with the perfect equipment and martial array of their allies. The Rhode Island regiment is mentioned by one of de Rochambeau's staff as presenting a superb appearance. On the 10th another review was held in the presence of M. de la

Luzerne, each army being drawn up in turn. All the General officers were present. On the 11th a visit was paid to the Legion of Lauzun, which was posted at Chatterton's Hill, and their fine appearance was equally gratifying. Heath says of it, that it was "as fine a corps as he had ever seen." De Lauzun was a favorite of Washington. In the emulation which sprung up between the two forces each had to learn something of the other. The Americans, precision and regularity; the French, endurance and patience under danger and privation. The officers of both armies were untiring in their efforts to prevent any jar or collision between men of races, habits and religion so different, which might compromise not only the alliance, but the safety of the cause. In spite of the intimations of quarrels circulated by the tory press of New York, there seems to have been no breach of the pleasant relations. Washington himself, in a letter to Stirling (14 July, 1781), says, "that the greatest harmony subsisted between the French and American soldiers."

In the diaries of the officers there are numerous references to the interchanges of courtesy. Dr. Thacher tells of a dinner given by a number of French officers to the officers of the Virginia regiment to which he was attached. They were received in an elegant marquee, the entertainment consisting of excellent soup, roast beef, etc., served in the French style. From the description he gives of their coats, white broad-cloth, trimmed with green, it seems that his hosts were of the regiment of Fores. He particularly notices their chapeaux as being cocked, but with two corners instead of three, which, he says, gave them a very novel appearance. No doubt he was right, and this shape was the *haute-nouveauté*. In the officers he recognised the accomplished gentlemen, free and affable in their manners. What else could be expected of the highest nobility of the most polite court in Europe! Dr. Thacher alludes also to the abundance of solid coin in the French camp.

M. Blanchard, the French Commissary, on the other hand, was not so well pleased even with the dinner he took with Washington under his tent. "The *table*," he says, "was served in the American style, and pretty abundantly; vegetables, roast beef, lamb, chickens, salad dressed with nothing but vinegar, green peas, puddings, and some pie, a kind of tart generally in use in England and among the Americans; all this being put upon the table at the same time. They gave us on the same plate beef, green peas, lamb, etc. At the end of the dinner the cloth was removed, and some Madeira wine was brought, which

was passed around whilst drinking different healths to the King of France, the French army," etc. He relates another occasion in the same company, when they sat long at table, and drank twelve or fifteen healths with Madeira wine; and this after dinner, during which beer and *grum*, a mixture of rum and water, were served.

The Count de Dumas has left a charming reminiscence of the delicate nature of French politeness, and the adaptability of French character to surrounding circumstances. His own words cannot be improved upon: "My friend Charles de Lameth, the two brothers Berthier, who had lately arrived from France and joined our staff, and myself established our bivouac near the Headquarters of our General, M. de Beville (the Quartermaster-General of the army), in a very pleasant situation between rocks, and under the shade of magnificent tulip trees. We amused ourselves in ornamenting this little spot near which our cannon were fixed, and in a short time and at a very trifling expense we had a very pretty garden. General Washington, who was taking a survey of his line, desired to see us. We had been apprised of his visit, and he found on our tables the plans of the battle of Trenton with the account of the war of West Point, and several other actions of the war." De Rochambeau also entertained the generals of the American armies and their military families, and it is tradition that on these occasions, the farm house which he occupied being too small to accommodate his guest, tables were set in the adjoining stables for the gentlemen of the staff, while the mangers served to hold their hats and swords. These occasions served for conferences between the generals, and under the cover of festivity their plans were laid.

It was at a dinner on the 14th, in the tent of General Lincoln, that the allied commanders arranged a forward movement. The Baron de Vioménil was to be left in charge of the camp, and Lord Stirling, who was to command the American army during Washington's absence, was directed to take the parole and countersign from him daily for the American line as being the "oldest in commission." On his return from dinner at about five o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Rochambeau gave orders for an immediate march, but hardly were the troops ready than they were ordered back to camp, the weather, which had been bad all day, becoming still more stormy. At nine o'clock the same evening the camp was alarmed by the sound of guns from the direction of the Hudson. A part of each army was immediately moved, General Howe leading the American line, but the main body was again ordered to their tents. The alarm was occasioned

by two sloops of war, two tenders and a galley, which came up the river with intent to destroy the stores at West Point; meeting two sloops laden with cannon and powder, they pursued them and run them aground near Tarrytown. There being no troops at Tarrytown, Colonel Sheldon, who was posted at Dobbs' Ferry, marched his mounted dragoons to the place; dismounting, they unloaded the stores with despatch. Meanwhile, the British vessels, which had anchored off Tarrytown, sent boats to destroy the vessels. The small party on board was forced to the water, and the vessels were set on fire, but the boats were in their turn compelled to withdraw under the fire of the dragoons and the French guard. When General Howe arrived with two pieces of artillery which de Rochambeau had furnished him at Washington's request, the guns of the American army not being as yet arrived from West Point, a battery was opened on the vessels which compelled them to drop down the river about two miles; General Howe again opening fire they stood up to Teller's Point, where they lay a few days and ravaged the country about Haverstraw; becoming uneasy concerning their situation they stood down the river again, but were severely handled by the batteries from the French works, and the American batteries on the other side of the river; one of the shells bursting on board the *Savage*, the largest of the ships.

On the 18th the Count de Dumas, who was constantly engaged in reconnoitering the several roads beyond the camp, made an extensive examination of the country between the camp and the British outposts. His own account of it is no doubt the best. He says that he was ordered by M. de Rochambeau to push his reconnoissance as far as he could, even within sight of the enemy on the point of the island. "He confided to me a detachment of lancers of the legion of Lauzun, at the head of which was the sub-Lieutenant Killemaine, who afterwards attained the rank of General of Division and distinguished himself as one of our cavalry officers. I was indebted to his energy and judgment for fulfilling to the satisfaction of the General-in-Chief the task which he had assigned me. After having made some small posts of Hessian chasseurs fall back we arrived within musket shot of the works, and met at this point with a detachment of light infantry which had in like manner explored the ground on our right."

On the 18th Washington and de Rochambeau, attended by General de Beville and General Duportail, crossed the Hudson at Dobbs' Ferry, and under an escort of a hundred and fifty men from the Jersey troops, spent the day in reconnoitering the island from the top of the Palisades.

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The object of all these reconnoitering parties was to prepare the way for a grand reconnoissance by both commanders, which would assume the importance of a demonstration in force.

Washington still held tenaciously to his original plan of operation against New York, which, to use his own words to Richard Henry Lee, "should produce either the fall of New York or the withdrawal of the (British) troops from Virginia."

III.—THE RECONNOISSANCE IN FORCE OF THE NEW YORK DEFENCES

On the 21st the orders of the 14th were repeated; the troops were directed to be ready; at eight o'clock in the evening, at the sound of the retraite, about five thousand troops were set in motion in four columns on four different roads; the right consisting of the Connecticut troops, twenty-five of Sheldon's horse, took the river road; two divisions, under Major-Generals Lincoln and Howe, the Saw-Mill river road. On the left of the Americans was the French right; the First Brigade of Bourbonnais, with its battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, two field pieces of twelve and two howitzers of four. The French left was composed of the regiment of Soissonnais, with two field pieces and two howitzers and the legion of Lauzun; the whole under the command of the Marquis de Chastellux. General Waterbury, with the Connecticut State troops and militia, was ordered to make a junction at East Chester with Sheldon's cavalry, and together they were to scour Throg's Neck, while Lauzun, joined by Sheldon's infantry, and covered by Scammel's light infantry, was to advance through the fields. Small parties were sent out to waylay all the roads from the North River to East Chester. Not a person, city bound, was permitted to pass. The march was difficult in the darkness, and the roads being heavy the artillery came up slowly, but at five in the morning a junction was made at Valentine's Hill, about four miles above Kingsbridge. The arrival of the Americans and the order of their march surprised the French officers. They marched in perfect silence and with the greatest possible celerity. At five o'clock the two armies were drawn up in line of battle on the heights back of Fort Independence which commands Kingsbridge; the left extending to Delancey's Mills. The enemy were completely surprised, having received no intelligence of the movement. Meanwhile the hussars and chasseurs were scouring Morrisania and the Neck. In this, their first offensive service, they appear to have yielded to the temptation to pillage and maltreatment of the inhabitants. Their own officers note the

fact with surprise and regret in their journals, which relate also the severe punishment the delinquents received for their excesses. There may be seen in Rivington's Gazette a pitiful letter from a lady in Westchester to her son, of the Loyal Refugee regiment, in New York, complaining of the brutality of the Swiss troops, while paying high encumiums to the French officers and men.

No time was lost by the generals in making a complete reconnoissance of the whole ground in the most thorough manner, though repeatedly under heavy fire of cannon and musketry. At home in the saddle, and at the head of his troops, Washington attracted the admiration of the French officers by his noble bearing and perfect coolness under fire. During the reconnoissance the Harlem creek was crossed and the explorations pursued close up to the British defences. The next day the commanders pushed on to Throg's Neck, which they crossed, remaining until the engineers had measured the distance to Long Island by their instruments. Detained until after the rising of the tide, and the bridge being broken, they were compelled to swim their horses across the intervening stream, an incident remembered by Rochambeau in his memoirs as new in his experience and partaking of savage warfare. In this exhausting and fatiguing reconnoissance, in which the general officers were constantly in the saddle for forty-eight hours, the casualties were insignificant. Count de Dumas had a horse shot under him. The surprise which the French had expressed at the excellent marching of the American troops was again aroused by their admirable coolness under fire. Rochambeau himself, to whose long experience every phase of military life was familiar, dwelt repeatedly on his astonishment that an army half naked, badly paid, and composed of old men and young and negroes even, should conduct themselves so well on the march and under fire. The reconnoissance finished, the troops were taken back at five o'clock by the same routes they came; but in a reversed order of march, and reached the camp at Philipsburg about midnight. On the 21st Washington wrote to de Grasse, whose appearance off Sandy Hook was daily expected, in the cypher of de Rochambeau, informing him of the junction of the allies, their strength, position and future plans, together with the force of the enemy. This he sent to General Forman at Monmouth, with instructions to keep lookouts on the Jersey heights, and on the approach of the fleet, to go on board and deliver the letter to the Count de Grasse in person.

Meanwhile Count de Barras, who had wisely declined to leave Newport with his fleet until he should have definite information con-

cerning the movements and intentions of De Grasse, despatched an expedition, consisting of two hundred and fifty land troops, under the command of Baron d'Angeley, to surprise a fort built at Lloyd's Neck, near Huntington Bay, Long Island, and garrisoned by a large body of loyalist refugees. A landing was effected on the morning of the 12th, but the post was found to be stronger than supposed, and not to be carried except by cannon, which had not been provided. Thus the expedition failed.

At the close of July the artillery joined the army. In June, while the troops were still at West Point, two six-pounders were attached to each of the divisions of the line, but the Park of Artillery did not take up its march until Sunday, the 15th July, when they were moved down the river by boats. They arrived on the 27th.

The attention of the enemy was kept constantly engaged by repeated foraging parties, which at times assumed a threatening attitude. On the 30th July, Colonel Scammel, a most enterprising officer, led his detachment as low as the Philipse Manor House, where, after loading his wagons, he laid in ambush in the woods, in the hope that the enemy might be tempted from their works; but they would not come out.

IV.—THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES TO KING'S FERRY

Early in July letters from Cornwallis, advising Clinton of his plan of campaign, had been intercepted, and towards its close still further information was received, announcing his intention to embark his troops at Portsmouth and sail for New York. On the afternoon of the 30th, a report being brought into camp of the arrival of Cornwallis at New York, the advanced posts were doubled, and the grenadiers and chasseurs, with two pieces of cannon, were pushed forward by Rochambeau to strengthen Lauzun's position at Chatterton's Hill. On the 2d of August an English deserter brought in news that the arrival was not of Cornwallis, but of the English garrison from Pensacola, to whom, on the capture of the town, the Spaniards had granted their liberty, on condition of not serving against their allies. It seeming apparent that Cornwallis had concluded to reinforce New York from Virginia, Washington began to consider other plans, in which the expected naval cooperation might prove of more advantage. The accounts of the movements of Cornwallis, faithfully reported by Lafayette, made it plain to the keen eye of Washington, who was inti-

mately acquainted with the country, that an opportunity was presenting itself for a rapid blow. On the 2d August, he wrote to the Superintendent of Finance at Philadelphia for information as to the stores at Philadelphia, and the number of vessels, including deep waisted sloops or schooners, proper to carry horses, which could be obtained at Philadelphia, Baltimore or on the Chesapeake.

The face of affairs began now to change with startling rapidity. On Saturday, the 11th, the long-expected reinforcements from Europe reached Sir Henry Clinton. They consisted of a fleet of twenty-three sail of transports, having on board near three thousand Hessian troops, under convoy of the *Amphion* man-of-war, accompanied by two armed ships. They had been thirteen weeks on the passage from Bremen. This news reached the allied camp on the 13th. On the 15th information also reached New York that Cornwallis, leaving a garrison at Portsmouth, which it was intended to hold as a permanent post, had marched up the peninsula to Yorktown. At the same time the British were startled by the news, brought in by a prize bound from the West Indies to Philadelphia, that the French fleet under de Grasse passed the island of St. Thomas, steering westward, on the 18th July; fifteen line-of-battle ships, and about two hundred merchantmen, transports, storeships, etc. These vessels, reinforced by the Newport squadron under de Barras, made up a fleet of thirty-two sail of the line and two ships of 50 guns, besides frigates. As the British fleet, with its expected reinforcement, would only amount to twenty-eight sail of the line, the superiority for the first time lay with the French armament.


Encouraging as was this news to the allies, that brought in by the same favoring gales was still more inspiring. On the 11th the frigate *Concorde* arrived at Newport in seventeen days from the West Indies, with dispatches from de Grasse, which a courier brought in to camp in the afternoon of the 13th. She brought the exciting news of the revolt of Hyder Ali in the Indies and the capture of Pondichery. De Grasse was to sail on the 3d August to effect his junction with de Barras.

The camp was alive with excitement and discussion as to where the contemplated blow would be struck; but the chiefs kept their own counsel. De Grasse found at Saint Domingo the letter of de Rochambeau, asking for the troops under M. de Saint-Simon for an operation in the Chesapeake. To this he replied, dispatching the frigate without delay, that he would reach the Chesapeake by the end of August. There was not a moment to be lost. Washington on the 15th wrote Lafayette that he would at once reinforce him, and instructed

him to take such position as would prevent the retreat of Cornwallis through North Carolina. The same day M. de Rochambeau wrote to the Count de Barras, and sent his dispatches by the Count de Fersen in person. A letter was also addressed on the 17th to the Count de Grasse, with the general outline of the plan of operations. This was signed jointly by Washington and Rochambeau, and sent by Brigadier-General Du Portail, commander of the engineers, whose familiarity with the defences of Charleston and general abilities particularly recommended him for the important mission. It was imperative that by no indiscretion should the movement, the success of which depended as much on its secrecy as its dispatch, be compromised. The English flags of truce were stopped at the outposts, their constant repetition irritating Rochambeau to the point of open denunciation of their disloyal abuse by Sir Henry Clinton.

General Heath alone was on the 17th informed by Washington "in confidence" of his intentions. Washington had by this time concluded to lead the expedition in person, and to Heath was to be entrusted the command of the main army in his absence; a most important trust in view of Clinton's large force, which now reached eleven thousand men. The allied forces were kept busy in exercise and manœuvre, each of the French brigades being reviewed in turn by Washington, who was well pleased with their evolutions.

The general uncertainty as to the point to which the operations were directed is admirably depicted by the Abbé Robin in his pleasing narrative. "*Philipsburg Camp, Aug. 15, 1781.*—Those who hoped we were going to Virginia begin to fear they have been deceived; the roads below here have been repaired towards Kingsbridge; orders have also been given to prepare those on the other side towards Staten Island, and even to build ovens there; and yet those to Philadelphia are also to be repaired. What to believe? This resembles the scenes at a theatre; the interest and uncertainty of the spectators constantly increases; will the end be of equal interest? The Isle of States, it is said, is guarded by eight or nine hundred regular troops; its capture would be a fortunate beginning; it is only seven or eight miles distant from Long Island. This proximity would annoy the English greatly, and would enable us more easily to make an effort on the Great Island. The troops are full of ardor and confidence; their leaders are men to inspire it; the presence of Washington heightens it by the idea they have of his talent, of his local knowledge of the country, and by reason of the impenetrable veil behind which he meditates and prepares his projects. It is said the



army will move in a few days; we can then judge better which is intended." Nor yet were the higher officers any better informed; the Duke de Deux Ponts in his diary expresses his entire ignorance of the point of attack.

On the 18th Major-General Heath received his instructions. The troops left in the department consisted of the two regiments of New Hampshire, ten of Massachusetts and five of Connecticut, the corps of Invalids, Sheldon's legion, the Third Regiment of artillery, and such of the State troops and militia as should be retained. The position recommended as the most eligible was that north of the Croton, so as to support West Point, as well as cover the country, in security and repose. The redoubts at the east side of Dobbs' Ferry were to be dismantled; the block house on the other side maintained, evacuated or destroyed in Heath's discretion.

The detachment intended for the southern expedition included the entire French army, with the two regiments of New Jersey, the First Regiment of New York, Colonel Hazen's regiment, Colonel Olney's regiment of Rhode Island, Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery and the light troops under the command of Colonel Scammell.

A word as to the light troops, who were destined to play an important part in the campaign here finds an appropriate place. On the 17th July a corps of light infantry was selected from the New England regiments, and placed under the command of Colonel Alexander Scammell, formerly Adjutant-General of the army. The light infantry corps had performed noteworthy service in several campaigns, but had not been continued as a standing organization. It originated in 1777 in the rifle regiment which Washington sent under Colonel Morgan to Gates, to which a body of infantry, selected from the line under Major Dearborn, was added, and distinguished itself at Saratoga. In 1779 it was reorganized, and under Wayne, stormed Stony Point. In 1780 it was placed under command of Lafayette, who devoted himself to its discipline, and armed it at his own expense; in the fall the corps was broken up and the men joined their regiments. It was again reorganized by Washington by his General Orders of February 1st, 1781, one ninth of its members being selected from each regiment, the "men to be well made, from five feet six to five feet ten inches stature," and in every way fitted for the service. On Feb. 19th it was formed into battalions and officers assigned; but it was expressly declared that the appointment of officers was not to affect the general plan of arranging the light infantry for the campaign. The corps thus picked marched with

Lafayette on the expedition against Arnold. The corps now raised was likewise composed of the most active and soldierly young men, and Colonel Scammell was allowed to select his own officers.


On the 31st July the light companies of the First and Second New York Regiments, with the two companies of the York levies, were formed into a battalion under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Major Nicholas Fish, and ordered to join the advanced corps under the orders of Colonel Scammell; and on the 19th August two additional companies were formed from the Connecticut line, and joined the light troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton. Finally on the 22d Washington, in his General Orders from Haverstraw, directed the detachment under Major-General Lincoln to consider themselves as Light Troops, and advised them to leave all their incumbrances behind.

The American army was paraded under arms on the morning of the 19th August, and pioneers sent forward to clear the road to Kingsbridge, but when the orders to march were given the troops were surprised by a command to face to the right-about. Marching rapidly by the river road they reached King's Ferry the next day, and at once crossed the river and went into camp at Haverstraw.

The American Park of artillery struck its tents also at six on the morning of the 19th, and marched at seven. They took the road to Sing Sing, where they halted that night; the American line, Col. Putnam, with his infantry, and Col. Sheldon's horse leading. The stores and baggage at the different halts were covered, secured and sent forward.

On the 22d the main body of the American army, under General Heath, destined to protect the Northern Department, marched from Crompond to Fishkill, and went into camp in two lines before the village.

The French troops took up their line of march on the morning of the 19th, and fell back to North Castle, a distance of eighteen miles. The rain fell in torrents, and the roads were knee deep in mud and water. They only reached their destination the next morning after a disorderly march, half the wagons remaining on the road. The next day, the 21st, they resumed their march by Pine's Bridge, and halted at Hunt's Tavern. The roads were better and the march more orderly. On the 22d they left Hunt's Tavern and marched to King's Ferry, where they went into camp on the high ground which overlooks the river. There being but a single house at King's Ferry, that belonging to the ferryman, the headquarters of the French army were made at Peekskill, about



four miles from the river. To cover the march of the troops, which a sudden sortie of Clinton would have seriously incommoded, de Rochambeau organized a strong rear guard, which included the two battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs and the legion of Lauzun, the whole under the Vicomte de Vioménil. The Duke de Deux Ponts commanded the detachment of the Bourbonnais brigade, and the Chevalier de la Valette that of the Soissonians; they covered all the roads leading to New York, completely masking the movement, until the troops and artillery were all under way. At half-past two on the afternoon of the 19th their posts were called in, but, detained by the heavy roads and the broken wagons they found in the rear of the march, they did not reach the front until the 21st, when they again formed the advance guard, and took post at Verplanck's Point.

De Lauzun was surprised that the English did not come out from New York to attack the retiring columns. The march, he complains in his Memoirs, was badly organized, and across marshy ground. The entire cavalry and all the wagons were stuck in the mud for thirty-six hours, and only covered by two regiments of dragoons and one battalion of the grenadiers and chasseurs.

The French lay in camp at Verplanck's Point and on the hills behind until the 22d, when the heavy artillery and the legion of Lauzun crossed the river; on the 23d the wagons were sent over; on the 24th the Brigade of Bourbonnais followed and went into camp in front of the Smith House, noted as the scene of Arnold's meeting with André the preceding fall—a commanding and salubrious situation. On the 25th the second division crossed and occupied the camp held by the first the night before. On the 26th the rear guard of the French troops had crossed the river. Before he left de Rochambeau had the satisfaction of hearing of the departure of M. de Choisy with the Newport garrison and the heavy siege guns which were soon to come into play. The vanguard were already far on their march.

Washington preceded the troops. On the 19th, Heath sets down in his diary, he "left the army, setting his face towards his native State, in full confidence, to use his own words (those of Washington), '*with a common blessing*,' of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army."

From King's Ferry he wrote on the 24th to the Count de Grasse of the purpose of de Barras to join him in the Chesapeake. His headquarters were at this time at Smith's House, whence he superintended the crossing of the river, a tedious and difficult operation with the limited number of transports at his command. His next headquarters were at

Paramus, where he was reported by Rivington as being on the 23d. Rivington may have been in error, or Washington may have returned for a visit to King's Ferry.

The supineness of Sir Henry Clinton in permitting this movement to be made without the slightest effort to prevent it, although with the Hessian reinforcement his force was superior to that of the allies, has been severely censured by military critics. He has left it on record in his own hand that he believed that New York was the point of attack aimed at and intended by Washington. On the other hand, the masterly manner in which Washington concealed not only the number of his men, but his slightest movements, is a model worthy the study of the best commanders. Yet all this would not have availed without the cordial cooperation of the French troops and the excellent judgment of de Rochambeau.

In the allotment of the abundant laurels which sprang into full leaf in this "glorious summer," it is to Rochambeau himself as the author of the campaign that the chief honors are due. It was his advice that directed de Grasse to the Chesapeake, his request that brought the reinforcements from the West Indies to assist in the siege of Yorktown, where his patience, his prudence and his fine military qualities were to receive their deserved reward. The fame of Washington needs no burinishing. His fertility of resources were never more conspicuous than in this campaign which in its conception, design, rapidity of execution and triumphant success was a marvel of military genius. Of this campaign the feint upon New York was the first and brilliant episode.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—William de Forbach, the younger of the two brothers Deux-Ponts, left an interesting journal of his services, entitled "*Mes Campagnes en Amérique*," the rescue of which from destruction or oblivion is due to the intelligent and critical eye of Dr. Samuel Abbot Green, who published the original text, with an annotated translation, and an admirable introductory biographical memoir in 1867. Mr. Green found this rare manuscript in a little bookstall on one of the quays of Paris, which, until the late war, was a favorite ramble of lovers of the curious and antique in manuscripts, books or charts, and even now well repays patient research. The purchase of Dr. Green is the third of the acquisitions of original material to a complete knowledge of the service of our generous and gallant allies. A notable contribution to this literature has since been made in the letters of Count de Fersen, translated last year for the Magazine. Mention must not be omitted of the manuscripts collected by the late Thomas Balch of Philadelphia. These are withheld from students since his death, but the originals exist and are fortunately accessible. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is also a manuscript, entitled "Copies of so much of the Muster Rolls of the French Army which served in the Revolutionary War of the United States as give the names and rank of the commissioned officers." These "*Etats de Service*" were copied from the original documents in the archives of the French War Department for the Honorable Richard Rush, while Minister to France. In the preparation of the present paper they have been controlled by the *Etats de Logement* of the officers of the army of Rochambeau at Newport, published in the July number 1877 of the Magazine of American History (III., 425) as part of an appendix to the article by the editor, entitled "The French in Rhode Island."

APPENDIX

THE MARCH OF THE FRENCH

Providence, 15 June, 1781

* * * Of my troops that have been landed to-day at Boston, there are four hundred in good condition to do duty, and two hundred and sixty attacked by scurvy. The four hundred will arrive here on Sunday, and on Monday, the 18th, I will set off with the regiment of Bourbonnais. The horses, the artillery and the wagons are arriving from different places, and I hope that the movement of every regiment will go on very regularly on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. I shall leave two companies of artillery, that will be ready to be embarked.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

His Excellency

General Washington

New Windsor, 24 June, 1781

Sir,

I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 26th, from which I have the pleasure to observe the progress you make in the march of the troops under your command, and your intention to come to my camp in person from Hartford. Be assured, Sir, I shall be very happy to see you whenever you arrive. You do not mention the route by which you intend to come. You will find me at Peekskill. My intelligence from the southward is too vague and uncertain to communicate to your Excellency. By the time of your arrival I hope to be able to give you some certain information of our situation in that quarter. I am, Sir, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Count de Rochambeau.

[Hartford, Conn.]

Hartford, 23 June, 1781

* * * I arrived here yesterday with the first regiment, which has been followed this day by the second, and will be so to-morrow by the third, and the day after by the fourth. I shall stay here this day and to-morrow to give time

for our broken carriages to be mended, and our young artillery-horses and oxen to refresh themselves. I shall set off the day after to-morrow with the first regiment for Newtown, the army to march in four divisions on before; and I shall probably arrive there on the 23th, and stay the 29th and 30th to assemble the brigades, and march in two divisions to the North River. The corps of Lauzun will march as far advanced as my first division through Middletown, Wallingfield, North Haven, Ripton and North Stratford, in which last place it will be on the 28th.

I have the honor, &c.,

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

His Excellency

George Washington.

Camp, near Peekskill, 27 June, 1781

Sir,

I have the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 23d instant from Hartford. It would have given me the greatest pleasure could I have made it convenient to meet you at Newtown; but independently of many arrangements which are necessary at the first taking of the field, I am detained by the hourly expectation of the Chevalier de la Luzerne. I am pleased to find, that your idea of the position which will be proper for the troops under your command coincides exactly with my own; and I shall be happy in giving your quartermaster-general every assistance in reconnoitring and marking out your camp.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cobb, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honor of delivering to you this letter, and will return to me with any dispatch or message which your Excellency may wish to communicate; or should you rather incline to come forward from Newton before the army, Colonel Cobb will be proud to attend you. I shall be much obliged if your Excellency will present to the Count de Barras, by the next occasion, my sincere thanks for the readiness with which he was pleased to accept the proposition

I had the honor to make to him through your Excellency. I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Count de Rochambeau [Hartford]

GENERAL ORDERS

[Head Quarters, Valentine's Hill]

3 July, 1781.

The Commander-in-Chief takes the earliest opportunity of expressing his thanks to the Duke de Lauzun, his officers and men, for the very extraordinary zeal manifested by them in the rapid performance of their march to join the American army. And the General also takes occasion to thank the officers of the American army for the alacrity with which they have supported themselves under the fatiguing march of yesterday and last night. The troops, who were engaged to-day, merit his particular thanks.

Valentine's Hill, eight o'clock P. M.

3 July, 1781.

Sir,

Count Fersen will do me the favor to deliver this to your Excellency. The operations of this day are over, and I am sorry to say, that I have not had the happiness to succeed to my wishes, although I think very essential benefits will result to our future operations from the opportunity I have had, in a very full manner, to reconnoiter the position and works of the enemy on the north end of York Island. The particular events of the day I shall do myself the honor to communicate, when I have the pleasure to join Your Excellency.

The American army and the legion of the Duke de Lauzun will march to-morrow to White Plains. If it will be convenient to you, I shall be happy to receive your Excellency at that place the day after to-morrow. When I shall have an opportunity to converse with your Excellency, I conceive I shall be able to give you such reasons for forming your junction at White Plains in the first instance, as will satisfy you of the utility and fitness of the position for commencing the operations for our concerted operations of the campaign.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To the Count de Rochambeau.

North Castle, 4 July, 1781.

* * * I arrived here with the first brigade yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning. The second brigade by a forced march, joined me in the afternoon; and we are now all together ready to execute your orders. I wait with the greatest impatience to hear from you and the Duke de Lauzun.

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

[His Excellency

General George Washington]

Camp near White Plains, 4 July, 1781.

Sir,

A few minutes after my arrival upon this ground I received your Excellency's favor of this morning. Were I to give way to the anxiety I feel to see the union between your army and mine, I should request you to march to-morrow morning from North Castle; but when I consider the fatigue which your troops have undergone from their long and rapid marches at this very warm season, I am much inclined to wish you to give them one more day's rests in their present quarters, and the more so, as there is now no real occasion for making an uncommon degree of haste. I shall however leave the matter entirely to your Excellency's determination; only wishing you to give me notice of your approach, that I may have the happiness of meeting and conducting you to your camp, which will be about four miles on this side of the village of White Plains.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[The Count de Rochambeau]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters Philipsburgh,

Friday, July 6, 1781.

The Commander-in-Chief with pleasure embraces the earliest public opportunity of expressing his thanks to the Count de Rochambeau for the unremitting zeal with which he has prosecuted his march in order to form the long-wished-for junction between the French and American forces, an event which must afford the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country, and from which the happiest conse-

quences are to be expected. The General entreats his Excellency the Count to convey to the officers under his immediate command the gratified sense he entertains of the cheerfulness with which they have performed so long and laborious a march at this extreme hot season. The regiment of Saintonge is entitled to peculiar acknowledgments for the spirit with which they continued and supported their march without one days' respite.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE BRITISH
POSTS AT KINGSBRIDGE

JULY 3, 1781

I

ORDERS OF WASHINGTON

Head Quarters, Peekskill, 30 June 1781.

Dear Sir,

The enclosed letter to the Count de Rochambeau is of very great importance, and requires the utmost secrecy in its communication. This idea you will convey to the Count before its delivery, to effect which you will first converse with the Chevalier Chastellux on the mode of its communication. Its object is to inform the Count that I have in contemplation a very sudden surprise of some post of the enemy, which will be of very great importance in our operations, and which we have flattering expectations of obtaining; to cover and support which, if obtained, we shall want the aid of the French army; in which case it will be necessary for the Count to push on his troops with greater haste than he at present intends, and by a different route from that now in his view. The Duke de Lauzun's legion is to advance.

The movements, which I would wish to be made by the French army, are particularized in my letter to the Count, which you will see. It will be for you to impress the gentlemen with the importance of their motions to support our operations, as it will be to little purpose for us to obtain advantages which we may not be able to maintain.

As the Count, with his troops, is now in a very disaffected part of the country, and the Tories will be desirous to give every information in their power, the most profound secrecy

will be necessary. Secrecy and despatch must prove the soul of success to the enterprise. This idea you will impress with energy, using your best discretion in the mode.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb.

[Hartford]

R E P L Y

Newton, 30 June, 1781.

Sir,

I was at Count Rochambeau's this evening when I received your Excellency's dispatches. General Chastellux was immediately sent for, and the heads of departments consulted on the new-intended route of the army. The Count inquired whether your Excellency was acquainted with the removal of the Yagers and some other troops from Long Island to New York. I assured him your Excellency was perfectly acquainted with it, and all the other movements of the enemy at New York; and that your Excellency would never undertake a matter of this kind but upon certain intelligence and the surest grounds of success.

The Count was perfectly satisfied with the plan proposed, and assured me that duty, as well as inclination, prompted him to comply with your Excellency's wishes. Orders are accordingly given for the march of the first brigade in the morning; and the Duke's legion, which is now at New Stratford, will undoubtedly march at the same time. It will be at the place of destination by the time proposed, twelve o'clock. The rest of the army will follow when the other division arrives, which comes up to-morrow. The Count in his letter wishes an answer from your Excellency by to-morrow night. It would be more agreeable if it came sooner.

I am, &c.,

DAVID COBB.

His Excellency General Washington,
Peekskill.

Head Quarters, near Peekskill,
30 June, 1781.

Sir,

You will immediately on receipt of this be pleased to collect as many men of your com-

mand as you possibly can, and march them from the place of rendezvous, so as to form a junction, without fail, with Colonel Sheldon at Clapp's in King Street on the 2d of July by sunset. You must not exceed that time on any account. You will bring four days' provisions, ready cooked. You will receive further orders at Clapp's. Carry no baggage; the movement is to be as light as possible. I must enjoin it, and I shall depend upon your keeping your movement a profound secret from every officer under your command. You will be pleased to inform me, by return of Captain Bulkley, of the number of men which you think you shall probably collect.

I am, Sir, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Brigadier-General Waterbury, [Horseneck]

Head Quarters, near Peekskill,

30 June, 1781.

Sir,

In the fullest confidence I inform you that I intend to make an attempt by surprise upon the enemy's posts, on the north end of York Island, on Monday night. Should we be happy enough to succeed, and be able to hold our conquest, the advantages will be greater than can well be imagined. But I cannot flatter myself that the enemy will permit the latter, unless I am suddenly and considerably reinforced. I shall march down the remainder of this army, and I have hopes that the French force will be near at hand by that time. But I shall, notwithstanding, direct the alarm-guns and beacons to be fired in case of success; and I have to request that your Excellency will upon such signals communicate the meaning of them to the militia, and put yourself at the head of them, and march with the utmost expedition towards Kingsbridge, bringing with you three or four days' provisions at least. In that time I think we shall have so arranged matters as to have little need of the militia suddenly called out. I have upon a hope that we shall succeed ordered Brigadier-General Clinton to send down the regular troops immediately. Should circumstances make it necessary, I can countermand the order.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Governor George Clinton, Poughkeepsie.

Head Quarters, Peekskill, 1 July, 1781.

Sir,

I wrote to you yesterday by Captain Bulkley, directing you to march with all the troops you can collect under your command, and form a junction at Clapp's in King Street with Colonel Sheldon, who is to be at that place on the 2d instant. I am now to inform you that you will also be joined at the same time and place by the French legion, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun, who is a brigadier in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, and an officer of distinction, long service and merit. The Duke is to command all the troops that will be assembled at the point mentioned. You will therefore be pleased on his arrival to put yourself and troops under his orders and command, he being furnished with any instructions for his movement subsequent to meeting you at Clapp's.

As the Duke will be a stranger to that part of the country, which is to be the scene of your operations, it will be in your power to give him much assistance and information, which I have no doubt but you will do with the greatest cheerfulness and accuracy. The service, to which you will be called, requires great precaution, attention, and despatch.

I am, Sir, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Brigadier-General Waterbury,
at Horseneck.

INSTRUCTIONS

Sir,

The object of your present command—consisting of two regiments, formed into four battalions under the command of Colonel Scammell and Lieutenant Colonel Sprout, of a detachment of artillery under the command of Captain Burbeck, of the corps of watermen under command Major Darby, and the water-guard under the command of Captain Pray,—is to attempt the surprise of the enemy's posts upon the north end of York Island.

My ideas, as to the most probable mode of attaining this object, have been minutely detailed in the several conversations which we have had upon the subject, and you have been furnished with such papers as I have been able to collect, and upon which my judgment has been formed. But it is not my wish, or desire,

that there should be any restraint upon you. Your own observation and the circumstances of the moment must in a great degree govern you.

The success of your enterprise depending absolutely upon secrecy and surprise it will be wrong to prosecute it a moment after you are discovered, unless the discovery is made so near the works, that you may, by a rapid movement, gain them before the enemy have time to recollect and put themselves in a posture of defence. Fort George upon Laurel Hill ought to be your primary object, because success at that place will open a communication with the main afford an asylum to the troops, who may be disappointed in other attacks, and secure a retreat in case of necessity to the main body of the army.

Should you carry Fort Knyphausen and Fort Tryon only, you cannot without infinite risk hold them, as we shall not be in a situation to support you from without. I would therefore recommend your damaging them as much as you can and relinquishing them. The artillerymen will be proportionately divided for the three attacks; each party will be provided with two lanterns and two rockets, one of which is to be fired in each work as soon as it is carried.

If complete success should attend the enterprise not a moment should be lost in drawing the boats across the Island from the North River into Haerlem Creek, and securing them under the guns of Fort George, if circumstances will admit of it. But in case of disappointment, and being obliged to retreat by water, and not being able to pass the enemy's ships and boats, the dernier resort must be a push over to the Jersey shore, and an abandonment of the boats, if they cannot be drawn up the bank and carried off on carriages. It will be very essential, that I should be made acquainted as early as possible with your success, and the extent of it. If complete you will announce it by the firing of thirteen cannon, at one minute's interval, after all less firing and confusion have ceased. If Fort George only is carried, six cannon are to be fired in the same manner. For Fort Knyphausen, Tryon, or both of them, you need not fire a signal, because you are, as before directed, immediately to relinquish them.

The foregoing is upon a supposition that the principal object, the attempt upon the works of York Island is carried into execution; but, should you, upon reconnoitring the enemy tomorrow, find it unadvisable to prosecute the plan, or should you be obliged to give it over on account of an early discovery by the enemy's shipping or boats, I would then have you turn your attention to the support of an attempt, which is also to be made on the morning of the 3d by the Duke de Lauzun upon Delancey's Corps lying at Morrisania. To effect this, you will land your men at any convenient place above Spiten Devil Creek, and march to the high grounds in front of Kingsbridge, where you will lie concealed until the Duke's attack is announced by firing or other means. You may thus dispose of your force in such a manner, in view of the enemy, as to make them think your party larger than it is, which may have the double effect of preventing them from crossing over the bridge to turn the Duke's right, and also of preventing any of Delancey's party from escaping that way. Your further operations must depend upon the movements of the enemy and other circumstances.

I expect to be in the neighborhood of Kingsbridge in the morning of the 3d with the remainder of the army. I shall as soon as possible open a communication with you, and give you such orders as the general state of matters may require. If you land on the east side of the river, above Spiten Devil Creek, you will send your boats up along the east shore. If Major Darby receives no particular orders from me, he will proceed with them to King's Ferry.

Given at Head Quarters, near Peekskill, this 1st Day of July, 1781.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Major-General Lincoln,

[Present]

Head Quarters, Peekskill, 2 July, 1781.

Sir,

I have this morning received your Excellency's favor of last evening. I think it will be very well for your Excellency to proceed tomorrow to North Castle where you will continue until you assemble your whole force unless you should

hear from me within that time. Being at North Castle will put you in a direct route to receive your provisions from Crompond and it will be in a direct way for your troops to advance to White Plains, or any other point below, as circumstances shall appear to demand.

Colonel Hull, an active and very intelligent officer, will have the honor to deliver this to your Excellency. He is charged with my instructions to the Duke de Lauzun; and being perfectly acquainted with our intended movements, and with the scene of operations, he will give all the aid in his power to the Duke. The same gentleman will be able to reply to any queries your Excellency shall be pleased to put to him.

With perfect esteem and regard, I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To the Count de Rochambeau,
[Hartford]

Head Quarters, Peekskill, 2 July, 1781.

Dear Sir,

The arrangement you have made for the period of transportation of the heavy stores from Philadelphia agrees perfectly with my ideas of the matter, as I think we must be certainly able to determine ultimately upon our plan of operations by the time they are to be in motion.

An enterprise, which I have long had in contemplation, will be executed in the course of this night, if General Lincoln, who commands the operating party finds the attack advisable upon reconnoitring the position of the enemy and he can do it by surprise. The enterprise is against the posts upon the north end of York Island. The remainder of the army marched this morning towards Kingsbridge. Part of the French troops were last night at Ridgebury and will be at Bedford this evening. They will, in the course of to-morrow, be at hand to support us, should there be occasion. At the same time that the posts upon York Island are attempted I have planned a surprise upon Delancey's Corps at Morrisania, which is to be executed by the Duke de Lauzun in conjunction with Sheldon's regiment and Waterbury's State troops.

Should we succeed in the attempt upon the

posts every effort will be made to hold them, and your assistance will be materially necessary. I shall take the speediest method of communicating the event to General McDougall at West Point, who will bring out the militia to our support. You may therefore take it for granted that we have succeeded if you hear the signals. You will in such case come immediately down, leaving Colonel Stevens to put every thing in readiness to follow.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Brig. General Knox at
New Windsor

II

WASHINGTON'S OFFICIAL REPORT

Head Quarters, near Dobbs' Ferry,
6th July, 1781.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to inform your Excellency that the army marched from their camp near Peekskill on the morning of the 2d without either tents or baggage, and reached Valentine's Hill, about four miles on this side of King's bridge, a little after daylight the morning following.

General Lincoln, with a detachment of eight hundred men, fell down the North River in boats, landed near Philipse's House before day-break on the morning of the 3d, and took possession of the ground on this side of Haerlem River, near where Fort Independence stood. This movement was principally intended to support and favor an enterprise, which I had projected against a Corps of refugees, under the command of Colonel Delancey, at Morrisania, and other light troops without the bridge, and which was to have been executed by the Duke de Lauzun with his own legion, Colonel Sheldon's regiment, and a detachment of State troops of Connecticut under the command of Brigadier General Waterbury. The Duke, notwithstanding the heat of the day of the 2d, marched from Ridgebury, in Connecticut, and reached East Chester very early next morning; but upon his arrival there, finding by the firing that General Lincoln had been attacked, and the alarm given, he desisted from a further

prosecution of his plan (which could only have been executed to any effect by surprise), and marched to the General's support, who continued skirmishing with the enemy, and endeavoring to draw them so far into the country that the Duke might turn their right and cut them off from their work on the east side of Haerlem River, and also prevent their repassing that river in boats. General Parsons had possessed the heights immediately commanding King's bridge, and could have prevented their escape by that passage. Every endeavour of this kind proved fruitless; for I found, upon going down myself to reconnoitre their situation, that all their force, except very small parties of observation, had retired to York Island. This afforded General Duportail and myself the most favorable opportunity of perfectly reconnoitring the works upon the north end of the Island, and making observations, which may be of very great advantage in future. Finding nothing further could be done, I returned the day before yesterday to this ground, where I expect to be joined this day by his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, who reached North Castle on the 2d instant.

I cannot too warmly express the obligations I am under to the Count, for the readiness with which he detached the Duke de Lauzun, and for the rapidity with which he pushed the march of his main body, that he might have been within supporting distance, had any favorable stroke upon the enemy below given us an opportunity of pursuing any advantage which might have been gained. General Lincoln had five or six men killed and about thirty wounded in this skirmish.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The President of Congress.

WASHINGTON'S ACCOUNT IN HIS DIARY

1781, *July 2*—General Lincoln's detachment embarked last night after dark, at or near Teller's Point; and as his operations were to be the movements of two nights, he was directed to repair to Fort Lee this day, and reconnoitre the enemy's works, position and strength, as well as he possible could, and take his ultimate deter-

mination from appearances; that is, to attempt the surprise, if the prospect was favorable, or to relinquish it if it was not; and in the latter case to land above the mouth of Spiten Devil, and cover the Duke de Lauzun in his operation on Delancey's Corps. At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental army, in order to cover the detached troops, and improve any advantages which might be gained by them. I made a small halt at the New Bridge over Croton, about nine miles from Peekskill, another at the church by Tarrytown till dusk (nine miles more), and completed the remaining part of the march in the night, arriving at Valentine's Hill (at Mile Square) about sunrise. Our baggage and tents were left standing at the camp at Peekskill.

July 3—The length of the Duke de Lauzun's march, and the fatigue of his corps, prevented his coming to the point of action at the hour appointed. In the meantime General Lincoln's party, who were ordered to prevent the retreat of Delancey's Corps by the way of King's bridge, and prevent succour by that route, were attacked by the Yagers and others; but on the march of the army from Valentine's Hill, they retired to the Island. Being disappointed in both objects, from the causes mentioned, I did not care to fatigue the troops any more, but suffered them to remain on their arms, while I spent a good part of the day in reconnoitring the enemy's works. In the afternoon we retired to Valentine's Hill, and lay upon our arms. The Duke de Lauzun and General Waterbury lay on the east side of the Bronx on the East Chester road.

July 4—Marched and took a position a little to the left of Dobb's Ferry, and marked a camp for the French army upon our left. The Duke de Lauzun marched to White Plains, and Waterbury to Horseneck.—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, VIII., 98-99.

III

FROM DR. THACHER'S DIARY

Camp Phillipsburg, July 5.—The reveille beat at three o'clock on the 2d instant when we marched and reached Tarrytown in the evening; the weather being extremely hot, the troops

were much fatigued. Halted at Tarrytown about two hours and then proceeded, marched all night, and at sunrise arrived within two miles of the enemy's works at Kings' bridge. Having halted about two hours, a firing of cannon and musketry was heard in front, and we were informed that a party of our troops had engaged the enemy, and we were ordered to advance rapidly to their assistance; but before we could reach the scene of action, the enemy had retired within their strong works. A detachment of continental troops, under command of Major-General Lincoln, went down the North river in boats in the night, to attack the enemy by surprise, or to draw them out to a distance from their works, to afford an opportunity to the Commander in Chief to engage them in the field, but this object could not be accomplished, and a skirmish only ensued in which both parties suffered severe loss and General Lincoln brought off ten prisoners. We took our repose for the night in the open field, and our tents and baggage having arrived the next day we pitched our encampment in two lines on the most advantageous ground within a few miles of the outposts of the enemy. The French army under General Rochambeau, have arrived and encamped at a small distance on the left of the Americans.

The French legion of dragoons and infantry under command of the Duke de Lauzun arrived and took their station near our encampment, and appear in true military style; they are a fine looking corps, full of military ardor, and in conjunction with Colonel Sheldon's dragoons much important service is expected,—*Thacher's Military Journal*, 1827, p. 257.

IV

NARRATIVE OF THE DUKE DE LAUZUN

Translated for the Magazine from Memoires du Duc de Lauzun

M. de Rochambeau received a letter from General Washington informing him that he addressed to me a secret message containing an order for me to move with my regiment by a forced march, the day after next, to a rendezvous at a considerable distance. M. de Rochambeau sent for me in the middle of the night, to a distance of about fifteen miles, to give me the orders of

General Washington, who had entered into no details with him. I was prompt at the appointed place, although the excessive heat and very bad roads rendered the march extremely arduous. General Washington was far in advance of the two armies, and told me that he intended me to surprise a corps of English troops encamped before New York to support Fort Knyphausen, which was held to be the key of the fortifications of New York.

I was to march all night in order to attack them before daylight; he joined to my regiment a regiment of American dragoons, some companies of light horse and some battalions of American light infantry. He had sent General Lincoln by another road about six miles to the right with a corps to surprise Fort Knyphausen, the relief of which I was to prevent. He was not to show himself until my attack had begun, when I was to direct him to begin his. He amused himself by skirmishing with a small guard which had not observed him, and thus gave the alarm to the corps which I was to surprise. This corps withdrew within the fort, made a sortie upon General Lincoln, who was defeated, and would have been lost and cut off from the army if I had not moved promptly to his assistance.

Although my troops were worn out with fatigue I marched upon the English; I charged their cavalry and my infantry exchanged shots with them. General Lincoln took advantage of this to effect his retreat, though in bad enough order. He had two or three hundred killed or prisoners, and many wounded. When I saw that he was safe I began my own retreat, which was made with good fortune as I lost hardly any one.

I rejoined General Washington, who was marching with a large detachment of his army to the support of General Lincoln, about whom he was very uneasy; but his troops were so much fatigued that they could go no further. He showed the greatest joy on seeing me again, and in his general orders gave to my division the greatest praise. He wished to take advantage of the opportunity to make a reconnoissance close up to New York. I accompanied him with a hundred hussars; we received the fire of numerous muskets and cannon but saw all that

we wished to see. This detailed service lasted three days and three nights, and was extremely fatiguing, as we were night and day on the march with nothing to eat but the fruit we found along the road.

V

BRITISH ACCOUNT

Rivington's Royal Gazette, New York, July 14, 1781.

The following are the particulars of the transactions at King's bridge on the 3d instant, and of the skirmish between 200 Yagers and 30 horse, under the command of Lieut. Colonel de Prueschenck, and the advance corps of the rebel army of 800 foot and 300 horse.

In the evening of the 2d Lieut. Col. Emmerich marched with 100 men drawn from the regiments of the line to Philipse's house, as the next morning a number of waggons, under the escort of 200 foot and 30 mounted Yagers, were to be sent to the same place for some hay. But about ten o'clock the same evening intelligence was received of Gen. Washington's army having been at Singing in the afternoon of the 2d inst. It was therefore resolved to leave the waggons within the lines, and send the detachment to recall Col. Emmerich. Lieut. Colonel de Prueschenck, with the following officers under his command: Captain Henricks, Capt. de Wangenheim, Lieut. Schaefer, Lieut. de Deimar, and Lieut. de Baltholmai, left the camp at day-break, and having left Kingsbridge would not pass a series of defiles before he had reconnoitred Fort Independence, he therefore ordered his advanced guard, under Lieut. Schaefer, and another party of a sergeant and ten men to examine the Fort and its environs. It being not yet quite day, these parties did not perceive the enemy drawn up in a line of battle till they were within ten yards of them; they received the enemy's fire, returned it, and fell back to a proper distance. Lieut. Col. de Prueschenck immediately, and with great resolution and presence of mind endeavored to gain the height in the rear of the fort, and tho' he received the enemy's whole fire, succeeded so far as to take possession of the ruins of a barn, which was formerly fortified by Colonel Emmerich; from whence he attacked the rebels in their advan-

tageous position, intending to dislodge them; but observing a batallion with flying colours in the fort, finding their superiority of numbers, being furiously attacked with the bayonet, and at the same time being no possibility of gaining any ground to his advantage, resolved to fall back under the cannon in Charles' redoubt, but the rebels pressing too hard upon him, and his infantry, on account of the narrow passage, began to lose ground, and being apprehensive of sustaining some loss in repassing the defile in such a situation, to avoid this and prevent confusion, he ordered his cavalry under Lieut. Flies to charge the advancing enemy. This had the desired effect, the rebels stopped, the Yagers formed again, and recommenced the attack with doubled vigor, obliged the rebels to quit the fort, and drove them from the heights as far as Deveaux's house, and took possession of the ground the rebels had quitted. At this time Lieut. Colonel de Wurmb arrived with the rest of the Yager corps from Kingsbridge, and took possession of the rising ground between the Bridge and Fort Independence, reconnoitred the enemy's new position, extending from Miles-Square road over the heights to Williams' bridge, with a thick wood in their rear, plainly indicating a design to conceal their real strength; and as repeated intelligence was received that 300 French horse covered the enemy's left at Williams' bridge, Col. de Wurmb acted with precaution, and did not think proper to risk another attack; but Lieutenant-Colonel Emmerich retreating over Spiten Devil, and being cut off by the rebel's position, 200 men being arrived at this time from the regiments of the line, and the Refugees from Morrisania having joined, it was absolutely necessary to force the rebels from their ground, to give Col. Emmerich an opportunity of joining by the way of Cortlandt's house, still in possession of the rebels. The Yagers moved forward and took possession of Cortlandt's bridge; the Refugees and the advanced parties of the Yagers engaged the rebel advanced posts and drove them to their main body, who immediately filed off to the left and retreated towards Williams' bridge; the passage being now open, Col. Emmerich was desired to leave Spiten Devil and to join, which he did,

and informed General de Losberg that he drew 200 rebels into his ambuscade at Philipps' house, of which he killed three and took nine—that the rebel army was moving in two columns (one of which was already seen on Valentine's hill advancing towards Cortlandt's bridge). The troops were now ordered to fall back to their former position, leaving 100 Yagers at Fort Independence, and observed all the motions of Gen. Washington's army, who himself reconnoitred Spiten Devil at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. At 4 o'clock the troops moved into the lines and to their encampment.

The loss of the Yagers is 3 men killed, 1 officer, 1 sergeant; 26 men wounded and missing.

That of the rebels is very considerable; intelligence is received that they embarked 101 wounded men at Sing-sing, and sent them up the North River, besides a great many more who died of their wounds before they reached that place, and 1 officer and 17 men, who were left on the field with 17 stand of arms.

THE RECONNOISSANCE IN FORCE OF THE NEW YORK DEFENCES,

JULY 22, 1781

I

WASHINGTON'S ORDERS

Head Quarters near Dobb's Ferry,
14 July, 1781

My Lord,

While I am with the detachment of the army below you will remain in command here. Your principal attention will be paid to the good order of the camp, and the security of the baggage and stores left in it. There will be no need of advanced pickets, as you will be fully covered in front. The camp guards should be vigilant, and the officers commanding them should see that the men are not permitted to straggle, or to plunder the baggage of the officers and soldiers.

The greatest harmony having hitherto subsisted between the French and American soldiers, your Lordship will be particularly careful to see that it is not interrupted by any act of imprudence on our part; and as Baron Vioménil, who will command the French here, is older in commission than your Lordship, you will take

the parole and countersign from him daily. It is scarcely probable that the enemy will make any attempt upon the camp, while so respectable a force is near their own lines. Should they do it, it must be by water. The officer commanding the water-guard will communicate any movement to Colonel Greaton at Dobb's Ferry who will give immediate intelligence to you, which you will of course transmit to Baron Vioménil. The party at Dobb's Ferry being for the purpose of erecting a work there, they are not to be withdrawn for camp duties.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Major-General Lord Stirling,

[Present]

Head Quarters, Camp near Dobb's Ferry

21 July, 1781

Sir,

The army will make a movement this evening. You will march your corps on the same route, and in such time and manner as to be at East Chester between daybreak and sunrise. Your troops should be supplied, if possible, with three days' cooked provisions; and the movement of the army, as well as of your troops, must be kept a secret until the moment you march.

In order to prevent the enemy from obtaining any intelligence whatever from us, I have ordered small parties to waylay all the roads from the North River to East Chester. I must request that you will send an active subaltern and twenty men, with good guides, early this afternoon across the fields and woods from your encampment to some good position for an ambuscade, on the side of the road leading from New Rochelle to East Chester, as near the latter as may be without hazard of discovery. This party must remain perfectly concealed, with orders to apprehend all persons going towards Kingsbridge. It is essential that your party should not be seen by the inhabitants, as this might frustrate the very object of our operations. You will be convinced, Sir, by your own experience and good sense, that the profoundest secrecy is absolutely necessary in all military matters, and in no instance more indis-

pensably so than in movements towards the enemy's lines. After you have given all the necessary orders, I could wish you would come to head-quarters and dine with me, as I may have many things to communicate personally to you.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Brigadier Gen. Waterbury.

II

WASHINGTON'S ACCOUNT IN HIS DIARY

1781, *July 21*. I ordered about five thousand men to be ready to march at eight o'clock for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's posts at Kingsbridge, and of cutting off, if possible, such of Delancey's corps as should be found without their lines. At the hour appointed the march commenced in four columns on different roads. Major-General Parsons with the Connecticut troops, and twenty-five of Sheldon's horse, formed the right column, with two field pieces, on the North River road. The other two divisions under Major-Generals Lincoln and Howe, together with the corps of sappers and miners and four field pieces, formed the next column on the Saw-Mill River road. The right column of the French, on our left, consisted of the brigade of Bourbonnais, with the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, the regiment of Soissonnais, two field pieces and two twelve-pounders. General Waterbury with the militia and State troops of Connecticut was to march on the East Chester road, and to be joined at that place by the cavalry of Sheldon for the purpose of scouring Frog's Neck. Sheldon's infantry was to join the legion of Lauzun and scour Morrisania, and to be covered by Scammell's light infantry who were to advance through the fields, waylay the roads, stop all communications and prevent intelligence from getting to the enemy. At Valentine's Hill the left column of the American troops and the right column of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also by *mistake*, as it was intended it should cross the Bronx by Garrineau's and recross it at Williams' Bridge. The whole army (Parsons's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge about daylight, and formed on the heights back of Fort Independence, extending towards De-

lancey's Mills; while the legion of Lauzun and Waterbury's corps proceeded to scour Morrisania and Frog's Neck to little effect, as most of the Refugees had fled, and hid themselves in such obscure places as not to be discovered; and by stealth got over to the islands adjacent, and to the enemy's shipping which lay in East River. A few, however, were caught, and some cattle and horses brought off.

July 22.—The enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our movement, or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them, until the whole army was ready to display itself. After having fixed upon the ground, and formed our line, I began with General Rochambeau and the engineers to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works; and first from Tippet's Hill, opposite to their left. From thence it was evident that the small redoubt (Fort Charles), near Kingsbridge, would be absolutely at the command of a battery which might be erected thereon. It also appeared equally evident that the fort on Cox's Hill was in bad repair, and little dependence placed upon it. There is neither ditch nor friezing, and the northeast corner appears quite easy of access, occasioned, as it would seem, by a rock. The approach from the inner point is secured by a ledge of rocks, which would conceal a party from observation till it got within about one hundred yards of the fort, around which for that or a greater distance this ground has little covering of bushes upon it. There is a house on this side under Tippet's Hill, but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing place most favorable to a partisan stroke. From this view, and every other I could get of Forts Tryon, Knyphausen and Laurel Hill, the works are formidable. There are no barracks or tents on the east side of the hill on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stand, nor are there any on the hill opposite, except those by Fort George. Near the Blue Bell there is a number of houses, but they have more the appearance of stables than barracks. In the hollow, near the barrier gate, are about fourteen or fifteen tents, which are the only encampment I could see without the line of palisades. A continued hill from the Creek, east of Haerlem River, and a little below Morris's White House,

has from every part of it the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining is within range of shot from batteries which may be erected thereon. The general width of the river, along this range of hills, appears to be from one hundred to two hundred yards. The opposite shore, though more or less marshy, does not seem miry, and the banks are very easy of access. How far the battery, under cover of the blockhouse on the hill northeast of Haerlem Town, is capable of scouring the plain, is difficult to determine from this side; but it would seem as if the distance were too great to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest the creek before mentioned, and which is also nearest the heights back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776. It unfortunately happens that in the rear of the continued hill before mentioned there is a deep swamp, and the grounds west of that swamp are not so high as the heights near Haerlem River. In the rear of this again is the Bronx, which is not to be crossed without boats below Delancey's Mill.

July 23—Went upon the Frog's Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Island, and the engineers attended with instruments to measure the distance across. Having finished the reconnoitre without damage, a few harmless shot only being fired at us, we marched back about six o'clock by the same routes we went down, but in a reversed order of march, and arrived at camp about midnight.

III

FROM DR. THACHER'S DIARY

Camp Phillipsburg, July 21.—In the evening of the 21st our army and the French were put in motion, and marching with great rapidity through a thick impregnable wood and swamps, and through fields of corn and wheat. Passing through a swamp in the night, our rear guard and myself with Dr. Munson lost sight of the main army for more than an hour, and I got a severe fall from my horse. In the morning we arrived near the enemy's post at Morrisania, but they had taken the alarm and escaped to New York. Having continued there during the day, we retired in the evening about

five or six miles, and lay on the hills near King's bridge, where we remained unmolested till the night of the 23d, when we returned to our encampment. While near the enemy's lines, the army was drawn up in a line of battle, and General Washington, General Rochambeau and all the general officers and engineers, were employed in reconnoitring the different positions of the enemy's works in all directions. The position which we now occupy is the neutral ground between the lines, a beautiful fertile country, and the woods and commons as well as the enclosures are covered with grass, while the deserted houses in ruins, and the prostrate fences, exhibit the melancholy devastation of war.—*Thacher's Military Journal, 1827, p. 260.*

IV

FRENCH ACCOUNT

Narrative of the Count de Dumas

Five thousand troops of the two nations with two battalions of field artillery, were set in motion about midnight under the command of Generals Chastellux and Lincoln. The head of the column arrived at daybreak within sight of the English and Hessian advanced posts. All the ground between the arm of the sea which separates the continent from Long Island and North River to the east to the whole extent of the Island of New York this space, or rather this point of the continent, about three leagues in its mean breadth, was soon cleared of the enemy's posts, most of them consisting of American loyalists, who were scattered over it and made but slight resistance. The hussars of Lauzun and the dragoons belonging to the escort of the generals in chief who were joined by their aid-de-camps charged these fugitives; all who could not embark to return to the Island were taken or killed.

The generals with their staff passed slowly over the open ground about the fortified points, and approached them as nearly as possible. The cannonade was very brisk, as well from the several works as from the small men-of-war anchored in the channel, and forming a kind of girdle round the island. These serious demonstrations produced the effect which the generals of the allies expected; and though General

Clinton had received on the 11th of August a reinforcement of 3000 troops which with the garrison of Pensacola raised his force to 12000 effective men, which made it superior to that which observed him he did not venture to weaken it in order to reinforce Lord Cornwallis.

Narrative of the Duke de Lauzun

I encamped at the White Plains where the two armies effected a junction the next day. General Washington gave me the command of the two advance guards. We remained six weeks in the camp where I was greatly fatigued making constant foraging expeditions close up to the posts of the enemy. General Washington and M. de Rochambeau desired to make another reconnoissance of New York; I was ordered to cover it with all the cavalry of the two armies, all the American light infantry and a battalion of French grenadiers and chasseurs. A considerable detachment of the two armies under the command of the Chevalier de Chastellux and General Heath took up a position at some distance that I might fall back upon it in case of accident. I drove back with ease all that I met on my road and made some prisoners. The generals occupied two days in making their reconnoissance which was extremely dangerous, as they received a very brisk fire of cannon and musketry.

V

BRITISH ACCOUNT

Stedman's American War

In the meantime General Washington had assembled his army at Peekskill, towards the end of the month of June, and marching from thence to White Plains, was then joined on the sixth of July by the Count de Rochambeau with the French troops from Rhode Island. In the evening of the twenty-first, the whole American and part of the French army marched from their encampment towards King's bridge, and appearing before it early the next morning, were drawn up in order of battle, whilst the French and American officers reconnoitred the positions of the British works. The same scene was re-acted in the morning of the twenty-

third and in the afternoon the confederated armies returned to their former encampment.

Rivington's Royal Gazette, July 25, 1781

The Comte de Rochambault and Mr. Washington, Lieutenant General of the army of his Most Christian Majesty the King of France, having with their united troops presented themselves for some days past at our lines in the vicinity of Kingsbridge and Morrisania, on Monday night last suddenly decamped from the latter post. They were pursued ten miles by some of Colonel De Lancy's Refugees, who took five prisoners, seven horses and about twelve yoke of oxen.

THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES TO
KING'S FERRY

WASHINGTON TO ROCHAMBEAU

King's Ferry, 21 August, 1781

Sir,

I have this moment the honor of your letter by Monsieur Blanchard.* I am very sorry for the difficulties and impediments which fall in the way of your march, and hope they will decrease as you proceed. I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that my troops arrived at the Ferry yesterday, and began to pass the river at ten o'clock in the morning, and by sunrise of this day they were all completely on this side of the river. I hope your army will be enabled to cross with the same facility when they arrive.

I have no news worthy of communicating from any quarter. I shall be happy in your company to-morrow at dinner at my quarters, and will meet you at the Ferry to-morrow by eight o'clock, when we will either be furnished with some cold repast *en passant*, or I will take you to my quarters, about three miles from the Ferry, where you shall be introduced to a warm breakfast.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Count de Rochambeau.

* Blanchard was Commissary-General of the French Army.

ALMANAC FOR NEW YORK

1781

JULY

July begins on Sunday, hath 31 Days.

Full Moon, Thursday, the 5th. Last Quarter,
Friday, the 13th. New Moon, Saturday, the
21st. First Quarter, Friday, the 27th

	DAYS.	High wa- ter.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
1	Sunday	5.16	4.37	8
2	Monday	6.09	4.37	8
3	Tuesday	7.07	4.38	8
4	Wednesday	8.02	4.38	8
5	Thursday	9.02	4.38	8
6	Friday	9.54	4.39	8
7	Saturday	10.47	4.39	8
8	Sunday	11.34	4.39	8
9	Monday	12.21	4.40	8
10	Tuesday	12.59	4.40	8
11	Wednesday	1.37	4.40	8
12	Thursday	2.14	4.41	8
13	Friday	2.55	4.41	8
14	Saturday	3.33	4.42	8
15	Sunday	4.17	4.42	8
16	Monday	5.05	4.43	8
17	Tuesday	5.49	4.44	8
18	Wednesday	6.41	4.45	8
19	Thursday	7.38	4.45	8
20	Friday	8.33	4.46	8
21	Saturday	9.29	4.47	8
22	Sunday	10.24	4.48	8
23	Monday	11.13	4.49	8
24	Tuesday	12.03	4.50	8
25	Wednesday	12.51	4.51	8
26	Thursday	1.38	4.52	8
27	Friday	2.25	4.53	8
28	Saturday	3.14	4.54	8
29	Sunday	4.07	4.54	8
30	Monday	5.02	4.55	8
31	Tuesday	5.56	4.56	8

AUGUST

August begins on Wednesday, hath 31 days.

Full Moon, Saturday, the 4th. Last Quarter,
Saturday, the 11th. New Moon, Sunday, the
19th. First Quarter, Sunday, the 26th.

	DAYS.	High wa- ter.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
1	Wednesd y	6.54	4.57	8
2	Thursday	7.49	4.58	8
3	Friday	8.42	4.58	8
4	Saturday	9.26	4.59	7
5	Sunday	10.14	5.00	7
6	Monday	10.59	5.01	7
7	Tuesday	11.37	5.02	7
8	Wednesday	12.16	5.03	7
9	Thursday	12.55	5.04	7
10	Friday	1.37	5.05	7
11	Saturday	2.15	5.06	7
12	Sunday	3.02	5.08	7
13	Monday	4.36	5.09	7
14	Tuesday	4.57	5.10	7
15	Wednesday	5.30	5.11	7
16	Thursday	6.24	5.13	7
17	Friday	7.22	5.14	7
18	Saturday	8.17	5.15	7
19	Sunday	8.52	5.16	7
20	Monday	10.01	5.17	7
21	Tuesday	10 50	5.19	7
22	Wednesday	11.39	5.20	7
23	Thursday	12.27	5.21	7
24	Friday	1.19	5.22	7
25	Saturday	2.10	5.24	7
26	Sunday	3.06	5.25	7
27	Monday	4.00	5.26	7
28	Tuesday	4.56	5 27	7
29	Wednesday	5.50	5.29	7
30	Thursday	6.44	5.30	7
31	Friday	7.33	5.31	7

ROCHAMBEAU'S HEADQUARTERS IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y., 1781

On the 4th July, 1781, the American army went into camp at Philipsburg in Westchester County, and were there joined, on the 6th, by the French troops under de Rochambeau.

The Americans were in two lines, resting on the Hudson at Dobb's Ferry, where they were protected by strong earthworks,¹ and extending east to the Neperan, or Saw-Mill River; the French lay further east, beyond the valley of the Neperan.

"It was a lovely country," said one who knew it well, "for a summer encampment — breezy hills commanding wide prospects, umbrageous valleys watered by bright pastoral streams, the Bronx, the Sprain, and the Neperan, and abounding in never-failing springs;" the Count de Dumas wrote of it, "We have a charming position here among rocks and under magnificent tulip trees."

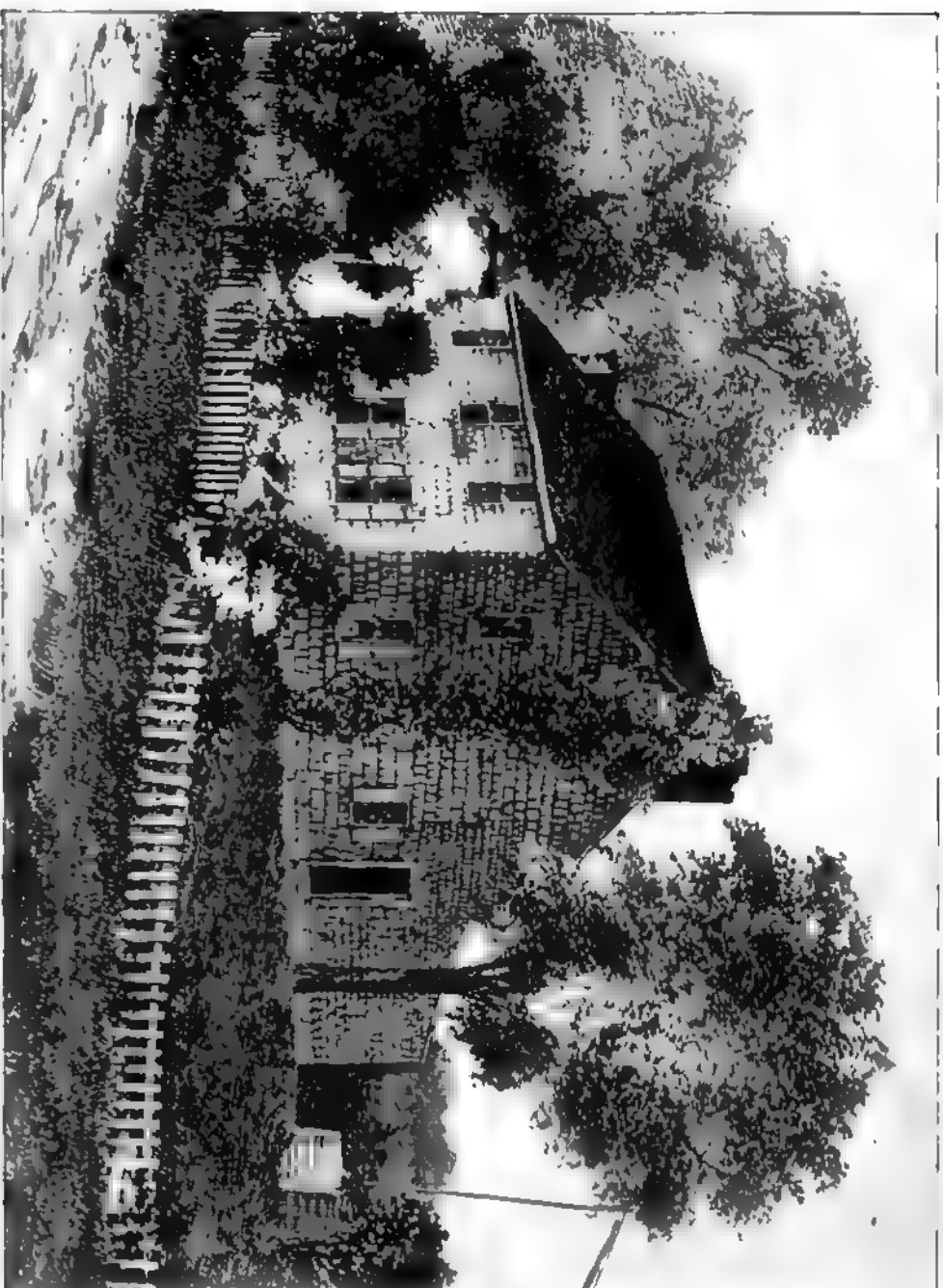
The old Odell homestead, the house occupied by the Count de Rochambeau as his headquarters, which is figured in the illustration, is still standing on the north side of the road leading from Hart's Corners, on the line of the Harlem Railroad, westward to Dobb's Ferry on the Hudson River. Here the French General took up his quarters, and his camp became a scene of bright gayety. It was midsummer, and the tents made a fine display stretched among the rugged hills. Some of the young officers, we are told, vied with each other in decorating their encampment, and forming little gardens in the vicinity of their tents. Several times Washington dined with Rochambeau at the Odell house, and on these occasions long tables were spread for the military staffs of the two Generals in the adjoining stables, the mangers serving as a convenient repository for their hats and coats. The light-hearted Frenchmen soon won the favor of the country girls, and many a ball was given at the Headquarters. Mrs. Churchill, who was living in 1848, the daughter of a former proprietor of the place, told the late Mr. Robert Bolton,² the historian of Westchester County, that she remembered dancing in the parlor of the house with the celebrated Marshal Berthier, at that time a young man on Rochambeau's staff.

The tradition of the family is that the French troops marched from North Castle to Young's Four Corners, later known as the burnt house, thence to Greenburg, or the Philipse Manor, by the Appleby place.

The light horse halted to build a causeway for the artillery about a mile to the northward. In the open field across the road from the Odell house was a field of waving wheat, but so careful were the French officers not to do any injury to private property, and such the discipline of the troops, that, it is said, not a blade was taken away; and a road was cut through the field for army purposes. In a field adjoining, to the southward, on the same side of the road, the east, there is still to be seen a few brick remains of the French ovens.

The Odell family, numerous in this region, many of whom were in the patriot ranks, descend from William Odell, one of the early settlers of Rye in 1660. "The river Ouse," says Camden, "runs under Odil or Woodhill, formerly Wayhull, which also had its Barons of Wayhull, eminent for their ancient nobility." A grandson of this William Odell of Rye was Colonel John Odell, a former owner of the house. This officer was a son of Jonathan Odell, the original proprietor of the mansion now owned by the Hamilton family at Dobb's Ferry, and was born October 25, 1756. He served during the early part of the Revolution as a guide to the American army, and afterwards received a Colonel's commission. It was he, no doubt, who was reported by Gaine, in the New York Gazette, as "'one Odell brought into New York June 13, 1781, by a party of Delancey's refugees, with three others, stiled guides, they acting as such to the rebel army, and receiving pay as captains." He died on the 26th of October, 1835. Jonathan Odell, the father of Col. John Odell, was arrested, with four of his neighbors, by the British, at the time of the battle of White Plains, carried to New York and imprisoned. His companions died in prison, it is said from poison given to them in their food. Mr. Odell was saved by having his provisions brought to him every day by a friend. The cause of their treatment is alleged to have been the fact that each one had a son in the American ranks.

The two armies were encamped here some weeks. During the time Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and a corps of engineers, made a very wide and accurate reconnoissance of the country lying just outside the British lines between the Hudson and the Sound. This accomplished, Washington turned his attention towards Virginia. Between the 17th and 19th of August he broke up his encampment and started with his troops for Verplanck's Point, there to cross the river at the King's Ferry. Rochambeau followed, bidding farewell to the Odell house, and taking the route to Verplanck's by way of White Plains, Pine's Bridge and Crumpond. "All Westchester County," said an elo-



THE ODKI L. HOUSE—ROMILANREAI'S HEADQUARTERS—WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

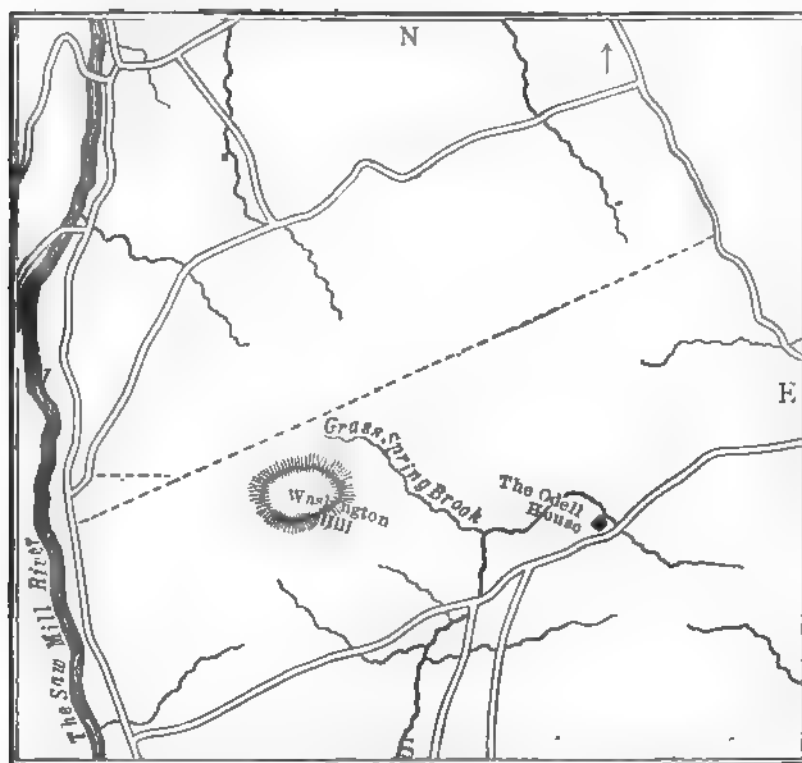
quent writer, "was alive with the tramp of troops, the gleam of arms, and the lumbering of artillery and baggage wagons along its roads." The brilliant band left behind them forever the old mansion which had been the witness of their brief sojourn, and which stands to-day a fine specimen of the once numerous, but now rapidly disappearing Revolutionary houses of Westchester County.

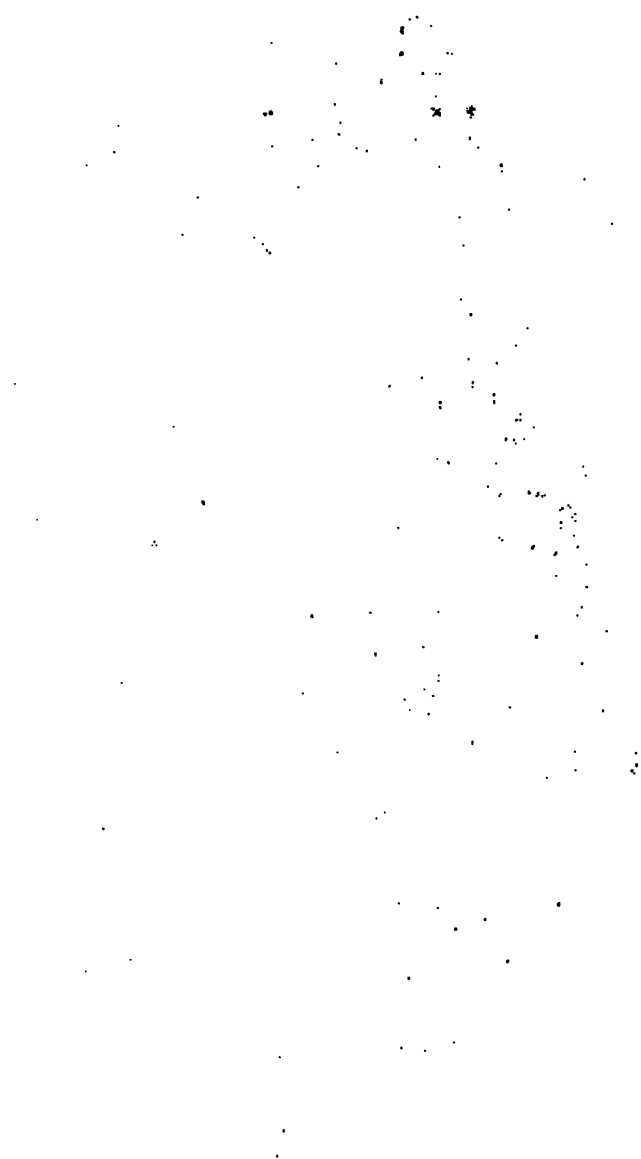
CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

¹ The remains of the fortifications at Dobb's Ferry may still be seen near the bridge arching the railroad track.

² Mr. Bolton died in October, 1877. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing for publication a new edition of his History of Westchester County, a work which it is greatly to be regretted he did not live to complete, as with him passed away a great knowledge of the unwritten history and traditions of the County.

³ The following are the names of the Westchester County guides in the Revolution: John Pine, John Odell, James Oakley, John McChain, Michael Dyckman, Abraham Dyckman, Isaac Odell and Frederick M. Post. The late Dr. Macdonald, of Flushing, left behind him a large number of papers and notes upon localities and persons of Westchester County. By his will he appointed Dr. George H. Moore, then Librarian of the New York Historical Society, his literary executor, some of the papers having been read before that institution. It is a matter of regret that they have not as yet been made public.





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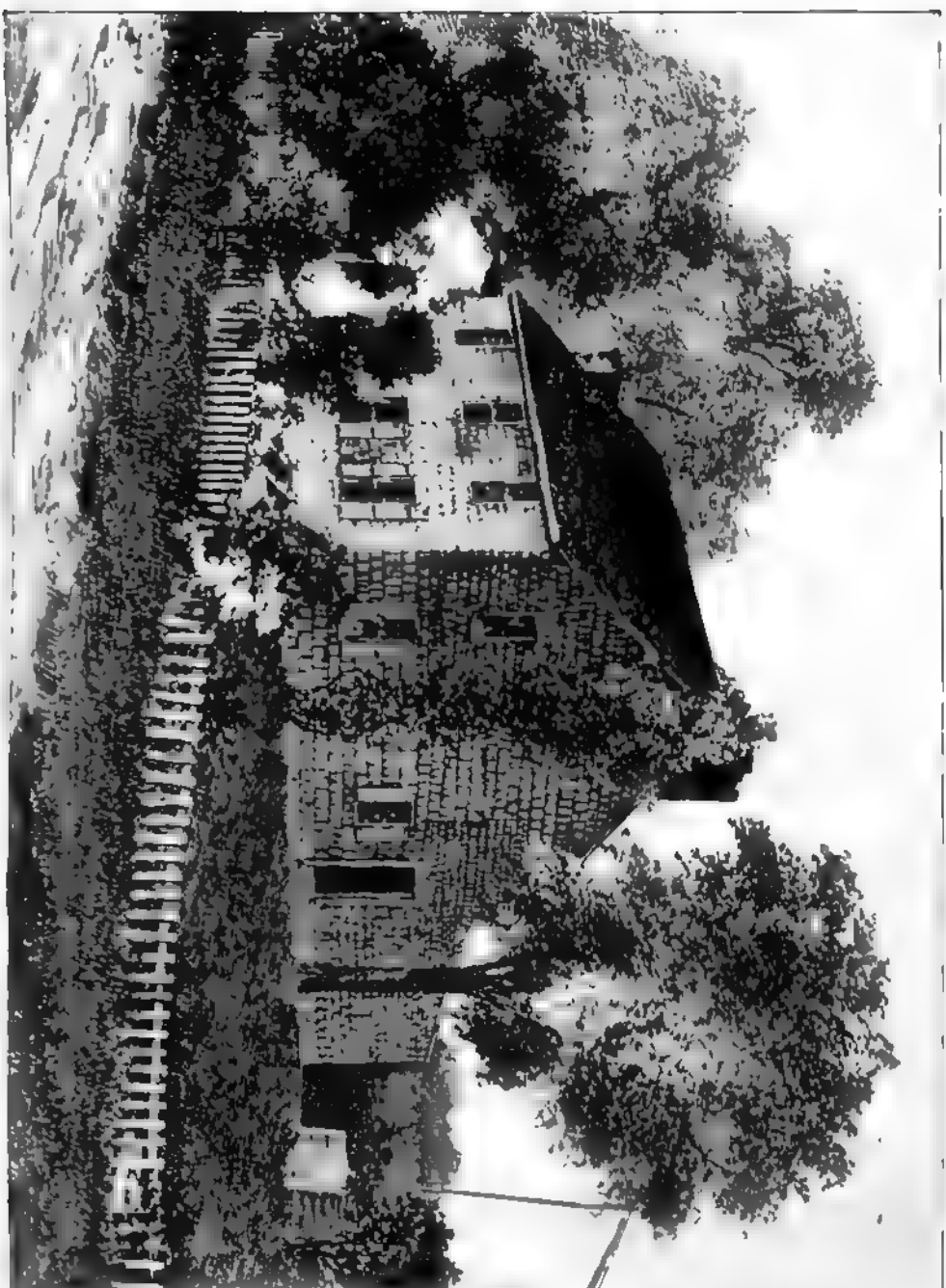
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THE OIKI I. HOUSE—NOT HANNAH'S HOUSE—WENT COUNTRY, N. Y.

LADY AND MAJOR ACLAND

Up to the present time Lady Harriet Acland's life, after her return to England, has been little known, and that little incorrectly stated. It has been published as veracious history that shortly after the arrival of herself and husband in England, the latter became involved in an altercation with a Lieutenant Lloyd, a brother officer, in which he defended the Americans against aspersions of cowardice; that a duel followed which resulted in the death of Major Acland, who fell at the first fire; that Lady Harriet thereupon became insane, remained so for two years, and finally married Chaplain Brudenel. Wilkinson appears to have first given currency to this story; and he has since been followed by Mrs. Ellet, Mr. Lossing, Fonblanque in his *Life of Burgoyne*, myself in *The Campaign of Burgoyne*, and in fact, by all who have written on this subject. Even Miss Warburton, in a letter to her nephew, the late Sir John Burgoyne [Fonblanque, p. 301], relates substantially the same story, varying the narrative, however, by stating that the duel was fought with swords, and that Acland, in making a pass at his adversary, slipped on a pebble, struck his temple upon it in falling, and instantly expired. These stories, however, though quite romantic, have no foundation in fact.

Being desirous of ascertaining what the truth really was, and thus setting, through the medium of *The Magazine of American History*, the matter forever at rest, I recently wrote to Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, whose father was an own nephew of Major Acland, asking if his great-aunt was ever married a second time, and if so, to whom? He replied that the question had never been raised in the family, as it was not doubted that Lady Acland had most certainly remained a widow after the Major's death. Thereupon, I again wrote him that the question was by no means settled in this country, and I would be greatly obliged if he would kindly furnish me with the reasons for his belief. He promptly, and with great courtesy, acceded to my request in the following letter, which I now lay before the reader:

" KILLERTON, EXETER, March 20th, 1879.

" MY DEAR MR. STONE :

" In accordance with your request, I have made further inquiries about Lady Harriet Acland.

Lord Carnarvon tells me that 'he is confident the story of a second marriage has *no sort of foundation*.' Through the brother of Lord Carnarvon, Hon. Allan Herbert, who is the present owner of Tetton where Lady Harriet ended her days, I have been enabled to apply for information to a person whose father was in the service of Lady Harriet. The substance of it is as follows :

Lady Harriet Acland left a will with four codicils of 1813 and 1815, respectively, wherein she is described as 'Lady Christian Henrietta Caroline Acland (usually called Lady Harriet Acland), of Tetton, &c., widow.' She signed it as 'H. Acland,' and before the executors proved the will and codicils, Mr. John Weech, of Milverton, Somerset, then the family solicitor, had to make an affidavit, with another person, that the signature was 'the proper writing of the said Lady Christian Henrietta Caroline Acland (usually called Lady Harriet Acland).' Mr. Weech must have known if Lady Harriet Acland had ever married again after the death of Colonel Acland, and he could not have made such an affidavit if she had married again.

I have ascertained that there is a person now alive, whose father was living at Pixton, where Col. Acland died of the cold he caught when he went to Hants-ham to fight the duel on Bampton Down. Col. Acland *was not wounded there* ; and the old man referred to continued to live in the service of Lady Harriet Acland to the day of her death at Tetton. He was fond of talking of Lady Harriet and the family ; but my informant never heard a word from him about a second marriage—nor from Mr. Roal of Brendon Hill, an enterprising farmer, who married Miss Grant, the governess to Lady Harriet's children. Mrs. Roal was also in the habit of talking about Lady Harriet and the family, but nothing was heard from her of a second marriage. The Rev. J. S. Gale, Vicar of Kingston, writes that three old people are still living who remember Lady Acland—none of them believe that she married a second time.

I am indebted for the foregoing information to Richard Bere, Esq., of Milverton, solicitor, who, through his uncle, James Randolph, Esq., has succeeded to the business of Mr. Weech, who was my late father's agent. The management of our family property in Somersetshire and Cornwall has been uninterruptedly in the hands of the firm from the beginning of this century. For many years they were also the agents of the Earl Carnarvon, who inherited a considerable property in Somersetshire at Pixton near Dulverton and Tetton near Taunton, through his wife (Kitty), the daughter of Lady Harriet.

From the same gentleman, Mr. Bere, I learn that Lady Harriet continued to reside at Pixton Park after her husband's death, interesting herself in the care of her children and the improvement of that property. When the second Earl of Carnarvon, then Lord Porchester, married her daughter Kitty, she removed to Tetton, the original seat of Dr. Dyke in the Parish of Kingston—a picturesque place on the slope of the Quantock Hills—the hills known to all readers of Coleridge and Wordsworth. I have heard that she bore a fearfully painful complaint

[cancer] for sixteen years without ever discovering the fact to those nearest to her, in order to spare their anxiety—carrying her fortitude to the very last. We have a beautiful painting of her by Reynolds in this house. Lady Acland rebuilt Tetton, and, having survived both her children, died there on the 21st of July, 1815.

The following is a copy of the Register of Lady Harriet's burial in this Parish, Broad Clyst (near Exeter), to which place her remains were removed a few days after her death. It seems to be a thoroughly conclusive answer to your question.

EXTRACT FROM THE PARISH REGISTER OF BROAD CLYST CO., DEVON.

1815.			
THE RIGHT HON. LADY HARRIET ACLAND.	AGE 66.	BROUGHT FROM TETTON HOUSE, SOMERSET, JULY 28TH.	MONT. BARTON, VICAR.

"I have made out a pedigree which will show you clearly the relation of Lord Carnarvon to Lady Harriet, viz.: that he is her great-grandson. Lady Harriet was, by marriage, aunt to my late father.

"Yours, faithfully,

"T. D. ACLAND.

"WILLIAM L. STONE, ESQ.,

"Jersey City Heights,

"United States of America."

From the same writer (in another letter) I am indebted for most of the facts in the following sketch :

Major John Dyke Acland (not Ackland)—whom Gates speaks of as "a learned and sensible man, though a confounded Tory"—was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Acland, Bart. (seventh Baronet) of an ancient and well known Devonshire family. He was born at Columb-John, Devonshire, and took the name of Dyke from the family of his mother, Elizabeth, the only daughter of Dr. Thomas Dyke of Tetton, Somersetshire. According to the British army lists—kindly furnished me by General Horatio Rogers of Providence, R. I.—he was ensign of the 33d Foot, March 23d, 1774; Captain, same regiment, March 23d, 1775; Major, 20th Foot, December 16th, 1775.

Wilkinson states that Acland, after his return to England, procured a regiment; but this is not the fact, for, although Acland is styled "Colonel" in the announcement of his decease, he derived this title from holding, at the time of his death, the Colonelcy of the 1st Battalion of the Devonshire militia.

Major Acland died on the 31st of October, 1778, at Pixton Park, the family seat of the Dykes in Somersetshire—now the residence of the present Earl of Carnarvon, a great-grandson of Lady Acland, and late Secretary of State for the Colonies. Major Acland was a member of Parliament at the time of his military service in this country (as was General Burgoyne), and reports of his speeches are given in the Register of Debates for the years 1774–5. In the list of the House of Commons, 1778, 14th Parliament, he is entered as a member for Callington Co., Cornwall, in the following words: “*Callington*—John D. Acland, eldest son of Sir Thomas Acland, Bart., a major in the army; died; a new writ ordered, Nov. 26th, 1778.” The Annual Register and Gentleman’s Magazine also notice his death as having occurred at Pixton, but without reference to his having fallen in a duel, for the very sufficient reason that, as we have seen, such was not the fact.

Major Acland left by his wife two children, viz.: Elizabeth Kitty, who married Lord Porchester (afterwards 2d Earl of Carnarvon, who survived his Countess twenty years, dying in 1833) and who inherited the Pixton estates in Somersetshire; and John, who succeeded to the Baronetcy on the death of his grandfather in February, 1785, but who died the same year. Thomas Dyke Acland, the younger brother of Major Acland, on the death of his nephew, John, succeeded in turn to the title as the 9th Baronet. The son of the latter (10th Baronet) is thus mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his diary for the 15th of April, 1828: “Dined with Sir Thomas Inglis, and met Sir Thomas Acland, my old and kind friend. I was happy to see him. He may be considered now as the head of the religious party in the House of Commons—a powerful body which Wilberforce long commanded.” The Sir Thomas who is thus alluded to, died in 1871, aged 84. The present and 11th Baronet, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, the son of the latter and my correspondent, is the grandnephew of Major and Lady Acland.

WILLIAM L. STONE

AN AFFAIR OF HONOR

DANIEL WEBSTER AND JOHN RANDOLPH

An unpublished page of personal history

Communicated by Charles Henry Hart

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The following manuscript, covering two pages of foolscap, all in the neat, careful autograph of John Randolph of Roanoke, was picked up by me at a public sale of odds and ends something more than a year ago. Its remarkable character led me to seek for some reference to its subject in the written history of the day, and the published lives of the two chief actors, but nowhere in print could I find the least clue; on the contrary, in Mr. Curtis's *Life of Webster* he says: "It was during this session [*ending April* 30, 1816] that Mr. Webster received a challenge from Mr. Randolph *the sole instance* in which a message of that character was ever sent to him," and Garland, in his *Life of Randolph*, is equally silent upon the subject. The italics in the quotation from Mr. Curtis's work are of course mine; and it would seem that all the parties kept the secret well, until Mr. Inman, afterwards Commodore Inman, U. S. N., either forgetting Randolph's injunction to him on giving him the papers, or thinking that as all the parties had gone to their long account it was dissolved, gave the documents away, unreservedly, as an interesting bit of history.

These papers were accompanied by another in Randolph's handwriting, endorsed by him, "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Comm'ee on Edwards's charges ag't the Sec'y of the Treasury

1824." "I met with this by accident; copied by me in 1825, when I returned from Europe." Putting this and that together, I concluded that the correspondence of Randolph with Webster must have had something to do with this investigation, as they were both on the committee, and turning to that mine of historical gossip, the *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, I found, under date of May 27, 1824, the following paragraph: "On going into the House, I found a remnant of agitation upon a letter from John Randolph of Roanoke to his Constituents, published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, which came this morning. He was a member of the Committee on Investigation, but went away, embarked last week, at New York, for England, and wrote this letter at sea, and sent it back by the pilot. It is a gross and furious attack upon Edwards, upon the President and upon a majority of the Committee of Investigation. Webster, Livingston, Taylor, McArthur and even Floyd, flatly denied the truth of his statement respecting the majority of the committee."

Here then was the whole story. Webster had "*flatly denied the truth of his statements*" during Randolph's "absence from the United States," and for thus "*aspersing my veracity*," was sent this deliberate and unequivocal challenge.

The investigation was of some charges of official misconduct, brought by one Ninian Edwards, formerly a Senator from Illinois, against the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, and the majority of the committee, consisting of Webster, Livingston, Floyd, Taylor and McArthur, brought in a report excul-

pating Crawford entirely, and it was the expression beforehand of the views that led to this action, that brought forth Randolph's letter to the Richmond Enquirer. It would seem from this letter that the diarist must be in error in saying that it was "a furious attack upon Edwards;" the name must have been a slip of the pen for Crawford; and the odor of the challenge, which followed in February, could not have even been sniffed by Mr. Adams, for his pages are a blank upon the subject.

Peter Harvey may refer to this occasion, when in his *Reminiscences of Webster* he says: "One day I had been asking him some questions about his controversy with John Randolph. It was said, I told him, that John Randolph had challenged him. He replied that was not true. 'But,' said he, 'he sent Colonel Benton to me to know if I meant such and such things, and I told him that I did not choose to be called to account for anything I had said, and that I meant just what I said. It was evident that there was a purpose to have a row with me.'" But Mr. Webster's answer, as given by his friend, is hardly reconcilable with the papers now printed, from which it appears that Randolph *twice* challenged him. Not the least interesting part of the following documents, now for the first time printed, is the amusing way Randolph has commented upon certain expressions of Mr. Webster.

CHAS. HENRY HART.

Spruce st., Phil., April 1st, 54

Dear Sir

Please accept the enclosed: autograph papers of the late John Randolph

of Roanoke, and the endorsed newspaper; presented to me, on our voyage to Russia in 1830. They may possibly find some interest for you as a Litterateur, and observer of men. * * * *

Yours very Respy

WM. INMAN

Charles Henry Hart Esqr

I

RANDOLPH TO WEBSTER

[Saturday, Feb 20, 1825]

Sir

I learn from unquestionable authority, that during my late absence from the United States, you have indulged yourself in liberties with my name [aspersing my veracity] which no gentleman can take, who does not hold himself personally responsible for such insult.

My friend Col. Benton [the bearer of this note] will arrange the terms of the meeting, to which you are hereby invited.

I am Sir—your obed Servt

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE
To Daniel Webster Esqr
of Massachusetts

II

MEMORANDUM OF THOMAS H. BENTON

Mr W. is, now,* willing that M should say to Mr R. that he has recollection of having said any which can possibly be considered as affecting Mr R's veracity, beyond he said in the H. R. If he has other expressions they must have at about the same time—and same import. He does not now them—& disclaims all of a import. As to what Mr W. said

Feb. 25, 1825
no letter from M to Mr R's note.
he had prepared in a word of it

WEBSTER

from Mr R's which I knew as an

no copy put by thus

now* say it would have said the said understanding is

the letters by thus son is called for, my authorized by

Feb 23 with much regard D. WEBSTER

intervened much J. R. of

OF BENTON

house, he meant only to state that Mr. R. was under an entire mistake, or misapprehension as to the facts,—he meant to say nothing more; and neither intended to make nor did make any imputation on the personal veracity of Mr. R.

Mem.—Received from Mr Webster to be delivered to Mr R

* Why "*now*"—What has happened since *then*

THOMAS H. BENTON

Feby. 25th, 1825.

III

WEBSTER TO BENTON

Feb 25.

My dear Sir.

I send you Mr R's original communication, of which I keep no copy. The letter prepared as an answer, is destroyed; & no copy preserved. The correspondence * bg thus disposed of, I send you a *memo* of what I am willing that you should now* say to Mr R. & will add that it would have given me pleasure to have said the same at any time. Our understanding is distinct, I think, that the letters bg thus disposed of, no publication is called for, & none is to be in any way authorized by either of us. Yrs with much regard

D. WEBSTER

Hon Mr Benton

(*the word "*now*" intervened) much virtue in *now* as well as in "*if*." J. R. of R

IV

MEMORANDUM OF BENTON

Feb. 25, 1825

Mem. I received no letter from Mr Webster in reply to Mr R's note. I saw him burn one he had prepared in reply, but did not read a word of it, nor

did he intimate the character of its contents. It was merely exhibited before me for the purpose of seeing that it was burnt.

THOMAS H. BENTON

(† Letters! good! i. e. my letter of Saturday 20th [J R. of R])

V

BENTON TO RANDOLPH

St. Louis, July 7th, 1825

Dr Sir

On my return from the Southern Circuit, for I still practice law, I found your kind note of enquiry of the 17th April, and have the pleasure to say that, thus far, the banks of the Mississippi have proved as favourable to our healths as the summit of the Allegany.

I am very glad to see that your constituents have pressed you again into the service. It is something to have honest witnesses, &c.

The tissue of lies and nonsense of the N. Y. Evng. Post, I should suppose to be the work of somebody really ignorant of the truth, but very willing to propagate a lie; I say ignorant of the truth, for such a statement would justify the publication of the paper which I delivered you, and thus most cruelly disappoint the object of the writer. If not the work of a *really ignorant*, it must proceed from some one who counts much on our forbearance, for in the most depraved presses, even in those in which the moral sense was wholly extinct, I have not seen a more vile fabrication, one so easily exposed.

Yours most faithfully

THOMAS H. BENTON

Mr Randolph of Roanoke

VI

RANDOLPH TO BENTON

Roanoke, Aug 25th, 1825.

My dear Colonel,

You may well imagine that I was highly gratified with your letter for I hope you need no assurance on my part to satisfy you that I feel a lively interest in all that regards yourself and Mrs Benton, and your little ones. May health [and happiness too] continue to attend you, not only on the banks of the Mississippi, but, wheresoever you may go.

I shall not publish the paper which you delivered me, notwithstanding you think such a step justifiable. The truth is that I shrink at the thoughts of coming out in a newspaper in a case of *character*; with a timidity more than feminine I have made it a rule thro life, in an affair of this sort, to satisfy my real friends, but above all myself—and “*malignum sperne vulgus*”—whether they be “the great vulgar or the small.” But as I wish to leave behind me the means whereby my friends may vindicate my honour, in case it should be assailed, I must ask the favour of you to note down [at your perfect leisure] the progress of that affair so far as you were privy to it. The points to which I ask your attention are these: 1st. Our first conversation before you went to Virginia— 2. Our Interview in the Senate chamber after your return. 3. at Dawsons (on the morning when for the first time I learned, and from yourself, your sentiments on the approaching election. 4. At the same place, on the day I gave you the unsealed note for Mr. W.—

5. When you brought me his request “for time to search his memory” [how the thing got air]. 6. When you laid before me his proposal to explain in case my note should be withdrawn.* [the substance of what he would say was in writing, in your own hand]. 7. His proposal to leave his card with me, &c.

Our good friend Mr Mason has been bereaved by death of his youngest daughter. Outlaw, Gatlin, Hall and Spaight have lost their elections, and Mangain within a hairs breadth of it: a strong symptom of the sentiments of North Carolina.

My health was never worse than now. I have been for a week confined to my bed, unable to move, or even to turn. The day before yesterday, for the first time I was able to rise and put on my clothes. Thanks for your congratulations on my kind reception by my constituents. In this canting and sneaking age, a high minded honorable man is the rarest of all rare things: to receive the approbation of such a one is to me worth more than the applause of “Cesar with the Senate at his heels.” We may differ [and do differ] upon speculative points in politics; but in one thing I am sure we shall always agree, in “preferring the to the monk.” You know whose the words are.

I am dear Colonel

most faithfully yours

JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke.

To Thomas H. Benton, Esq.

St. Louis, Mo.

* NOTE.—J. R. said that he would not make the withdrawal of the Paper, a condition precedent—That the withdrawal and disavowal must be simultaneous acts. And it was settled

and agreed as Col. B.'s answer to this letter not yet copied [by him] will show. [T. H. B.]

* *Correspondence consisting of one letter—i. e. my own. O Horne Tooke how say you?*

[J. R. of R.]

Endorsement. Mr. Inman will please to keep this as I have the originals or certified Copies by Col. Benton, but permit no copy to be taken for publication.

NOTES

STATUE OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD.
—The editor of the New York Journal, etc. (May 31, 1770), among the articles of importance which had arrived from England at that period, says: "We hear that the *Britannia* has brought over the Statues of *his Majesty* and Mr. Pitt, *now Earl of Chatham; also a large Bell for the New North (*Dutch*) Church in this city, the gift of Simon Johnson, Esq., to said Church; also a part of the Governor's baggage and several Servants."

Extract from a letter dated New York, July 11, 1776: "Last Monday evening the Equestrian Statue of George III., which tory pride and folly raised in the year 1770 (August 20th), was by the Sons of Freedom laid prostrate in the dust, the just desert of an ungrateful tyrant. The lead wherewith it was made is to be run into bullets, to assimilate with the brains of our infatuated adversaries, who to gain a peppercorn have lost an empire."

The next day Gen. Washington, in "General Orders," dated July 10th, notices the act as follows: "Tho' the General doubts not that the persons who pulled down and mutilated the Statue on Broadway last night were actuated by zeal in the public cause, yet it has so

much the appearance of riot and want of order in the army that he disapproves the manner, and directs that in future these things shall be avoided by the soldiery, and left to be executed by proper authority."

The last Governor, Oliver Wolcott, as also his patriotic father, Gen. and Gov. Wolcott, both of Connecticut, furnishes us with the following: "An Equestrian Statue of George the Third of Great Britain was erected in the City of New York on the Bowling Green, at the lower end of Broadway; most of the materials were lead, but richly gilded to resemble gold. At the beginning of the Revolution this Statue was overthrown. Lead being very scarce and dear, the Statue was broken to pieces, and the metal transported to Litchfield, Conn., as a place of safety. The Ladies of this village converted the lead into Cartridges, of which the following is an account of the numbers made:

Mr Marvin (made)	6,52—Mrs Beach (made)	2,002
Ruth Marvin "	11,592—Sundry Persons "	2,180
Laura "	8,370—Col. Wegglesworth's Regt	300
Mary "	10,790—Total ball Cartridges—	42,288
Frederick "	936—	

A portion of this relic has a further history in the following communication: "The existence of one of the 'unhonored and unsung' relics of the revolution, not generally known to have been in Jersey City for the last half century, was discovered to the public two or three days since. It is the pedestal of the equestrian lead statue of George III., which stood in the Bowling Green, New York, until the year 1776, when the statue was run into revolutionary bullets. In 1783 Major John Smith, of the British Army, died, and was buried on

quent literary pre-eminence, were John Cotton, Roger Williams, and Francis Higginson.

Turning to Mr. Tyler's "second period," we find that many of its most notable writers were likewise born and educated in England; that others of them were the sons of the English born New Englanders of the first period; and that most of the remainder were graduates of Harvard College. This latter institution was founded in 1638, just one hundred and sixteen years before the first New York College, King's, now Columbia, was established. So that for more than a century before New York, the New Englanders enjoyed the educational advantages and the intellectual stimulus of trained culture. One hundred and sixteen years is a long start in this young country.

Still again, Mr. Tyler's work shows that a majority of the early writers of New England were theologians, and their writings were confined to religious subjects or theological controversies. Nothing has been so fruitful of book making as theology; and of theology New England had a little too much in the anti-colonial days. Polemics influenced the quantity and quality of the general literature of New England by educating the taste, and nursing the habit of writing for the press.

These seem to me the three leading reasons for the superior literary achievements of colonial New England over New York: First, the scholarly character of her first settlers; Second, the early founding of her college; Third, the intensely theological spirit of her people. New York was remarkably dissimilar

from New England in each of these respects. I can now recall the name of but one New York colonist—Cadwallader Colden—who had enjoyed exceptional educational advantages in the mother country; and certainly there were none such among the Dutch settlers, not excepting the ministers. The earliest men of culture in New York were obliged to go to Yale or Harvard for their education, and naturally there were not many among them. Finally the most distinguishing feature of colonial life in New York was, perhaps, the absence of polemics occasioned by the extraordinary religious toleration which prevailed there while the New Englanders were persecuting moderate dissenters and confining the suffrage to members of the Church.

These differing conditions of course affected the colonial character quite perceptibly, and to one influence growing out of them may be traced the historical overshadowing of New England. The habit of self-assertion was remarkably strong among the people of this section; and it has found its way into their books, where it has its influence in moulding the judgment of the later generations. The early New Englanders were not over-modest as to the part they played in the development of the colonial history, and as a natural consequence the equally important and equally creditable part of New York has been belittled by being ignored. I am speaking now of the political history of the two sections. In the literary point of view, New York must yield the palm, however reluctantly, and however much the fact

may be due to circumstances over which neither New York nor New England had much individual control.

S. N. D. NORTH.

Utica, N. Y.

JUDGE JONES AND JUDGE LEWIS MORRIS.—On page 358 of the second volume of this "veracious history" occurs a passage, the scandalous untruth of which is not worth notice. Its incorrectness is pointed out as another instance of the carelessness or ignorance of Judge Jones, who should have known better, if he were received in the good society of the day, as his editor asserts.

"An old worn out Judge of the Admiralty, who lived about ten miles from the city, when in town lodged at Lewis's. This old Judge had a young Dutch wife," &c., &c.

Lewis Morris, Judge of the Admiralty for the province of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, is the person here alluded to. He lived at Morrisania, about ten miles from the city; but he neither then nor at any other time had "a young Dutch wife." Judge Morris was born in 1698. His first wife, Catharine, daughter of Dr. Samuel Staats, was born in 1697. In 1746 he married his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Nicholas Gouverneur, who was born in 1715, consequently forty-one years of age at the period named by Jones, 1756. She was no more Dutch than the Judge himself, as the editor should very well know, since the Morris dates are taken from a Family-Bible record contributed by him to the Biographical and Genealogical Record for 1876, Vol. VII., page 17.

J. A. S.

IMPROMPTU LINES BY ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.—Chancellor Livingston, many years since, being upon a tour with a male friend and four ladies, up the River Hudson, landed upon a small island opposite Red Hook, said to have been a rendezvous for buccanniers infesting that part of the country, and supposed to contain much of their hidden treasure; a partition of the island was jocularly proposed, which gave rise to the following impromptu from the Chancellor. It is necessary to premise that the names of the ladies were Forrest, Brook, and two Miss Livingston's.

The isle is rich, you often say,
In hords of buried gold,
Like friends then let us share, I pray,
The good that it may hold.

The trees at least no riches boast,
No plunder'd treasures share,
Take now the earth you value most,
To me a *Forest* spare.

Be yours the rocks with golden grains,
The treasur'd vales be thine—
The *Brooks* that glide across the plains
The *Living stones* be mine.

—*Baltimore Federal Gazette*, July, 1818.
W. K.

THE JUSTICE OF OUR FATHERS.—In the first decade of the century, which is now in its last quarter, Squire Brough meted out even-handed justice to all who applied for the same in Marietta, Ohio. He was the father of John Brough, the renowned "War Governor" of Ohio. Like his more distinguished son, he was endowed with a plentiful supply of good, sound common sense, and a strict regard for justice, though, not having served an appren-

ticeship in a circumlocution office, he knew but little about red tape, and was accustomed to take the shortest cut to the point he wished to reach. Upon a certain occasion a case was brought before him, and adjudicated at a single sitting in a manner remarkable enough to make it worthy of being put on record.

The plaintiff in the suit, Mr. Brown, alleged that a certain John Smith, who was present as respondent, had on a day mentioned borrowed of him a skiff, which was in good floating condition, with the understanding and assurance that said skiff should be returned in due time without evidence of injury in any way or manner. The defendant, John Smith, had failed to return the said skiff, and the plaintiff was a poorer man by the value thereof. Therefore he, the plaintiff, prayed that the said John Smith might be mulcted to the full amount of the damage that had inured to him.

That the facts were as stated was clearly proved by the testimony of several witnesses. But it also came out that one Jeremiah Noggles, who was present as a witness, had taken the skiff, and was the direct and immediate cause of John Smith not being able to return the same to Mr. Brown, the rightful owner. Whereupon Squire Brough, without further process of law or waiting for a new indictment, decreed that the witness, Jeremiah Noggles, should pay to Mr. Brown the full value of the skiff, and added thereto all the costs resulting from the trial. The decision was so obviously pert, that no one present entered a demurrer.

Maricitta, O.

M. C.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION AND COLONEL ERKURIES BEATTIE.—In the list of documents, pertaining to this famous expeditionary campaign, appended to Mr. Edson's comprehensive article upon "Broadhead's Expedition," the Beattie manuscript Journal is one of the first mentioned. In 1873, shortly before its deposit in the archives of the New York Historical Society, being favored with its perusal by the venerable donor, the Rev. Charles C. Beattie, D.D., of Steubenville, O., a son of the author, we desire here to record our sense of the historical value of this manuscript journal, with the hope that it may soon appear among the publications of that Society. It is creditable alike to the head and heart of the youthful soldier-journalist, but, written in camp-life haste and on poor paper, *ex necessitate rei*, and having suffered since somewhat in legibility from the "tooth of time," much needs the conserving types.

Among the memoranda of a former merchant of this city, whose memory is very dear to me, I find some oral reminiscences of this important chapter in our revolutionary history, received by him from the same distinguished officer many years later in life. We give the introductory paragraph only, which is as follows: "About the year 1813 or 1814," says the writer, "I became acquainted with Col. Beattie of Princeton, N. J., an intelligent gentleman and a prominent citizen of that town, who informed me that he was in General Sullivan's army, sent to chastise the Indians."

Of the incidents of the expedition mentioned in this interview, a prominent one was the sad fate of Captain Boyd

and his company, who were ambushed and cut off by the wily foe near the present beautiful village of Genesee. This tragical event, also circumstantially described in the "Journal," was fitly commemorated some forty years since in the Genesee Valley, at the instance of Henry O'Reilly, Esq., a veteran resident member of the New York Historical Society, and then postmaster of the city of Rochester. A monument to the fallen heroes was dedicated in Mount Hope Cemetery in that city, and an oration on the occasion delivered by the eminent Myron Holley. An interesting record of Boyd's calamity, as well as of this impressive commemorative act, may be found in Mr. O'Reilly's "History of Rochester and Western New York," a work which was in advance of all others relative to that part of our State, both in time and accuracy of research.

Inwood, N. Y. City.

W. H.

BRITISH BARROWS.—Bearing the imprimatur of the Clarendon press, handsomely printed, and illustrated in the highest style of art known to the engraver in wood, is Canon William Greenwell's *British Barrows*, presenting a faithful record of the examination of more than two hundred and thirty sepulchral mounds in various parts of England, the erection and use of which antedate the occupation of Britain by the Romans. This work contains a supplement, by Professor George Rolleston, wherein he discusses the peculiarities of pre-historic crania, and acquaints the reader with the characteristics of the Flora and Fauna of England during the Neolithic period. This effort to

revivify an almost forgotten past has been performed with a care, intelligence, scholarly ability and zeal worthy of all commendation; and this publication constitutes a contribution to Archæological knowledge most valuable and acceptable. Its merit has already been universally recognized in European circles, and to the student of American Archæology its accurate research, well-considered observations, pertinent suggestions, and apt illustrations must prove not only most interesting and instructive, but indispensable for the purposes of comparison.

Among the *vestigia* of the pre-historic people of the earth appear a kinship in manufacture and a similarity in the monuments of early constructive skill. The battle with nature for life and subsistence was fought, in the main, with like rude weapons; and the primal methods adopted for the procurement of protection, comfort and final repose, bear close resemblance among tribes occupying seats widely separated. It is only after patient and extensive examination of ancient burial places, refuse piles, open-air work-shops, caves, and the sites of aboriginal settlements in various portions of the globe, and by an intelligent comparison of the results, that we can hope to arrive at a just apprehension of the status of primitive man, and appreciate the diversities of customs, manufactures and ideas, born of race, climate, material and circumstance. Every investigation, therefore, which interprets the arcana of a definite field in this wide domain of observation, is cordially welcomed.

Canon Greenwell in his *British Bar-*



rows has lifted the veil which had been partially withdrawn by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Mr. Ruddock, Mr. Warne and others, and we are now advised of the customs and the manufactures of the races inhabiting Britain at an early period of human occupancy.

It is in the tombs of departed nations that we acquire surest warrant for conjecture, and derive knowledge most reliable when interrogating an inscriptionless and unlettered past. The Barrow and the Tumulus have conserved for us what the elements and the iconoclastic touch of time would otherwise have consigned to utter oblivion. These are the treasure-houses, and the secrets which they disclose lend a tongue to the erstwhile dumb centuries.

The work before us contains a full and most satisfactory account of the varying forms and locations of British Barrows, and fixes a classification of them. It discusses their physical peculiarities and the method of their construction. Their contents are laid bare for our information. The funeral customs observed during the inhumation,—the practice of incineration—the ornaments of jet, stone and bone, and the stone and bronze weapons and implements interred with the dead, and the cinerary urns, incense cups, food vessels and drinking cups forming part of the original sepulture, are clearly described. The pottery exhumed from these grave-mounds is peculiar and full of interest. The difference between it and that of Roman manufacture made in England, is explained; and we are by many and clever illustrations, made acquainted with the various types,

ornamentations, and uses of this fictile ware.

Having recently enjoyed the pleasure of a personal examination of Canon Greenwell's extensive collection of relics taken by him from these Barrows, I can testify to the accuracy of the illustrations with which this handsome and scholarly work is enriched.

The social condition of the Barrow-makers, as disclosed by the contents of these tumuli, is considered. The use of domesticated animals is established, and the fact ascertained that these ancient peoples—skilled in the manufacture of various articles of use and ornament—had attained to high perfection in the process of casting bronze objects. We here learn that it was a custom among them at the solemnization of the funeral obsequies of the deceased, to slay and bury with the head of the family or tribe, wife, child, and slave; and we are certified of their belief in a future life by the food, food-vases and various weapons, implements and ornaments lodged with the skeletons in these final resting places.

The distinctive peculiarities of the skulls found in the Round and Long Barrows, the extensive lines of defensive works extending over the Wold district, and many other topics, connected with this interesting subject, are discussed with an accuracy and ability most attractive.

Very extensive were Canon Greenwell's explorations in the North, East, and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The aboriginal monuments of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham and Gloucestershire, and the Long

Barrows in various localities claimed and received his exhaustive attention. Specifying the situation, dimension, peculiarities and contents of each Barrow opened by him, he has perpetuated his observations with a candor and care quite unusual.

In a word, our author has exhausted his subject, and leaves nothing more to be desired. He has erected another and a worthy monument in the Archæological temple whose porches have been enriched by the labors of Evans, Lubbock, Fergusson, and others whose names and researches are held in high repute.

The comments of Professor Rolleston upon the series of Pre-historic Crania, and his remarks upon the Flora and Fauna of the Neolithic period, constitute a most valuable supplement to this interesting work.

To these gentlemen we tender the unqualified thanks of an American reader for the distinguished service they have rendered in presenting to the public, in such attractive form, the results of their patient, intelligent and extensive research.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

Angusta, Georgia.

JUDGE JONES'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK. SOME ERRORS CORRECTED.—Vol. I, p. 21, *Ritzeina* for *Ritzema*; p. 46, it is *Ritzma*; *c* left out.

45, 403, *Dominie* for *domine*; *Dominie* is Scotch for schoolmaster. Walter Scott made the word popular with us.

267, *note*, *Charlestown* for *Charleston*.

423, *Daniel* Kissam; this must be *Benjamin*, a noted lawyer in New York,

1765. So I think. John Jay was his pupil.

507, Pierre Von Cortland for *Van*.

567, 592, *Duychinck*, *h* for *k*.

568, For deputies, 221; against 788. It should be 747.

569-70, These names are wrongly placed. Rockaway should describe but *one* name, Thos. Cornhill; and Hog Island but *one*, Justice Thos. Smith. Whereas in this statement Rockaway is made to include 5 names, and Hog Island 4 names. You will see the error better by looking in my "Queens County in Olden Times," p. 49.

648, Rev. Mr. Keteltas was *not* pastor of the Presbyterian church at Jamaica.

661, Oliver Delancey did not die *Nov.* 27; but *Oct.* 27, as I gave it in my *Rev. Incid. of Queens County*, p. 244. See *Gent. Mag.* for 1785, p. 918.

401, 3d line "the" before Bishop, omitted.

401, There are six mistakes in the account of Mr. Vesey's Induction, viz: 1, The ceremony did not take place in the Dutch church in Garden street; 2, the Governor did not officiate; 3, nor did he make an address; 4, nor did he deliver the keys; 5, Selyns and Nucella, the witnesses, were not the two Dutch clergymen of the city; 6, Mr. Vesey did not "on each occasion," morning and afternoon declare his assent and consent, etc.

401, For the reasons of these remarks, see *The Churchman*, published in N. Y. May 3 and 10, 1879.

Vol. II. p. 24, *note*, Daniel Kissam's children did not "settle in Nova Scotia." The widow died at the Homestead in 1813, aged 85.

40, "it" is omitted, 7th line from bottom.
52, 4th line from bottom *Gabriel D.* Ludlow; there is no such name. It should be *George D. Ludlow*.

167, "The Kills" is in Newtown, not in Suffolk County. Sussex should be Success, now Lakeville. Cow Harbor is not in Queens County; but *Cow Bay* and Hempstead *Harbor* are.

701, in Index, 1st col. Sam. Pintard did not retire to Jamaica on Long Island, but to Hempstead.

709, in Index, Tolnice for Tolmie.

398, Ludlow resided at Hyde Park, not at Hempstead.

407, Creedshill should be Creed's hill. It is not the name of any place, other than a hill on a Mr. Creed's land.

462, *James Coggeshall* is *John* on p. 163.

462, Thos. Bayeux and William Rescoria. See 163, Thos. Bayeau and William Riscola.

456, Mayor for Major John Morrison.

92, Amberman, the miller, lived in Jamaica, not at Hempstead.

418, 1683 for 1693, *bis*. (The Vestry Act.)

475, Rev. Henry Munro for Harry.

439, Waldron Blean, *bis. n* for *u*, Bleau.

442, He says "the time of Fanning's death is not recorded;" Yes! it is in my Rev. Incid's. of Kings, p. 172.

444, *note*, Dan. Horsenanden married Mary, widow of Rev. Mr. Vesey. She was daughter of *J. Reade*, not of Col. Abraham *Depeyster*.

450, *note*, Van Zandt of the firm of Van Zandt, not Van Zandts, & Keteltas.

477, *note*, B. Michael Houscal, *c* for *e*.

508, 100, Pattison, Patteson? Patter-son?

508, St. John's should be St. John without the *s*.

512, Wickkham should be Wickham, *k* for *h*.

561, Peter Von Schaick, *o* for *a*.

597, 3d line *Westward* of Queens County should be *West End*, as in the original letter. Woodhull was not *out* of the County.

598, Carpenter's tavern is not still standing, nor is there still a tavern there.

598, At the close of Woodhull's letter it is not "make bricks *without* straw; the original has it, "make bricks *with* straw.

305, 294, Vol. I., Hendrick Onderdonk was not a leading member in Queens County Committee. His name nowhere appears as such. By marriage and social position he was connected to the Tory side. Almost, it could be said, he was as nearly neutral as he could be; nor was he "as great a Rebel as existed." Jones probably confounds him with his brother Adrian Onderdonk, who was Deputy chairman of a Whig Committee.

597, Gen. Woodhull's movements are not stated correctly or clearly. All writers *misplace* his letters. I have given them *in the order* they were written in my Rev. Incids. of Suffolk County, pp. 32, 33, 34.

These writers take for granted that the letter *first* written was first received, which is not so. The second letter was received and acted on by the Convention before the first came to hand.

On August 25th and part of 26th, Woodhull was at Jamaica preparing to move westward (to drive off the cattle to keep them from falling in the enemies hands), on the morning of the 27th, he

had got to the "west end" of Queens County (probably where the road runs that divides Kings and Queens Counties), or not far (about a mile) west of the present Woodhaven; then, hearing the bad news of the defeat of our army at Brooklyn, he retreated eastward to Jamaica, where he wrote his second letter of August 27th.

He halted at Jamaica, yet on the 28th, whence he wrote his third and last letter; and then he set out eastward and was overtaken at Carpenter's inn, about or nearly two miles east of Jamaica.

598, *note*, Woodhull's letter written on a foolscap sheet, got torn in two, and the leaves were bound up in separate Vols. of the MS. journals of the Convention, viz: the first half in Vol. 16, p. 339, and the second half in Vol. 18, p. 35. When this correspondence was printed, the latter half escaped the notice of the Editor. I discovered the detached parts in 1844, and communicated the fact to Col. Force, who printed them together in his Archives.

I made the same discovery in a detached letter about Daniel Kissam (MS. journal xxvii. 23, and xxxv. 563), which escaped the Argus-eye of the state archivist, who prints only half of it in his Rev. Papers, Vol. I, p. 258. Both portions of it were printed together in my Rev. Incids. of Queens County, p. 48.

HENRY ONDERDONK, JR.

SIR JOHN BURGoyNE'S GRAND-DAUGHTER ON THE BATTLE-FIELD OF SARATOGA.

—"Rev. James L. Spurgeon, brother of the famous preacher of England, with his wife, arrived at Saratoga, Tuesday. Mrs. Spurgeon is a grand-daughter of

Burgoyne, who capitulated at Saratoga in 1777, and one object of their visit to Saratoga was to see the historic battle ground. Wednesday they went over it, having the good fortune to be accompanied by Mr. William L. Stone, the historian of the Burgoyne campaign, who was staying at Saratoga. Mrs. Spurgeon is the daughter of Sir John Burgoyne, distinguished in the Crimean war and a son of him who surrendered to our arms a hundred years ago. She was greatly pleased by her visit to the scene of her ancestor's famous battle, and carried away with her as a memento of the place an Indian arrow head, found by Mr. Stone near the spot where Gen. Burgoyne received three bullets, two of them entering his hat and one piercing his waistcoat. Mr. Stone also presented her with a copy of his interesting and complete monograph on the Burgoyne campaign."—*Extract from Saratoga newspaper, September, 1879.*

The readers of the Magazine will remember the exhaustive account of the battle, prepared by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth for the May (1877) number. This interesting paper has been reprinted with the addition of a large map of the third Saratoga period of the Burgoyne campaign, and is now the accepted guide-book to Saratoga and its vicinity.

It was with this book and map in hand that the grand-daughter of Burgoyne went over the ground.

EDITOR.

OLD NEW YORK TAVERNS.—An interesting and quaintly illustrated article in Scribner's Monthly for September, 1879, the author of which seems anxious to

know something more of our old inns and taverns, tempts me to add one item to the general fund.

I find in the will of Philip Van Cortlandt that he left to his son two houses, "fronting the City Dock in the Dock Ward, within the same city, one known by the name of the "Coffee House," and the other, the "Fighting Cocks," now in the possession of David Cox and James Napier." This will was made in 1746. Philip was the grandfather of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, the royalist officer, whose monument Mr. Jennings saw at Hailsham, Sussex county, England. Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt was the great-grandfather of the present Lord Elphinstone, and an ancestor of many descendants in the female line, all his sons having died without male issue. Philip Van Cortlandt was the great-grandfather of Pierre Van Cortlandt, present proprietor of the Van Cortlandt Manor House at Croton Landing.

Croton Landing.

C. E. V. C.

Reference has already been made in the Magazine (III., 635) to the "Fighting Cocks" Tavern, in a reply by our well-known antiquary, Colonel Devoe, to a query concerning the first use of fire-engines in New York. The indirect notice quoted by the Colonel from the New York Gazette of May 9, 1737, is, we believe, the only mention which occurs of it in our old papers. The house is there described as next door to the Exchange Coffee House, but the keeper's name is not given. In 1750 "Andrew Ramsay, innkeeper near the Exchange," who the year before had kept

a house near the Long Bridge, advertised "that he had opened the Exchange Coffee House, next door to where Mr. Cox lately kept it." In 1754 David Cox is to be found at his house, next door to the King's Arms Tavern, and opposite the Royal Exchange, where he advertised for sale "an assortment of English hairs." The innkeepers of old New York were a restless set, and kept the columns of the newspapers full of their migrations. The houses named in the will of Philip Van Cortlandt above quoted were apparently adjoining. The name of Napier as a tavern keeper we do not remember to have seen.

The query in the Magazine (II., 500) concerning the royalist Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, whose monument Mr. Jennings mentioned in his "Field Paths and Green Lawns," called out a reply (III., 380), in which it is stated that the royalist Philip was a cousin of the famous Brigadier-General Philip Van Cortlandt of the Continental Army.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

THE ROGERENES. — Can any one of your readers contribute information in regard to a queer sect known as the Rogerenes? The following is from a Boston newspaper of June 28, 1762: "We hear from New London that on Thursday last died there Mr. Ebenezer Bolles of that Town, a wealthy Trader, esteemed a very honest and hospitable Man. The Occasion of his Death was as follows: A few Days before he had been cutting some Vines or Bushes, which were of a noxious Quality, whereby he was poi-

soned, and his Body swelled to a great Degree; but being of the Sect called by the Name of Rogerenes, who forbid the Use of Means in Sickness, he would neither allow a Physician to 'be near him, nor the most simple Medicine administered. Just before he departed this Life, when in great Pain, he seemed desirous of some Help, but the Brethren and Sisters of the same Profession would not allow it, lest he should deny the Faith."

PETERSFIELD.

INDIAN SEER.—This day is published, 2s. 6d., The Seer; or the American Prophecy. A Poem, being the Second Sight of that eminent Ohio Man, or Indian Seer,

OOMIANOUSKI PITTIWANTI-PAW. In the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight.

Our Senators

Cheat the deluded people with a shew
Of Liberty which yet they ne'er must taste of :
All that bear this are villains, and one
Not to rouse-up at the great call of Nature
And check the growth of these domestic spoilers,
That make us slaves, and tell us 'tis our Charter.

OTWAY.

Printed for Harrison and Co., No. 13 Paternoster row, and sold by all other booksellers in Great Britain and Ireland. [1779]. — *Upcott's American Clippings*, Vol. V., 391.

Can any one inform me what manner of book this is?

IULUS.

BOSTON MIXED DANCES.—After (the sermon on Mr. Cobbett's death, Nov. 12, 1685) the Ministers of this Town Come to the Court and complain against a Dancing Master, who seeks to set up

here, and hath Mixt Dances, and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day; and 'tis reported he should say that by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root speaking against mixt Dances.—*Sewall's Diary*. Can any one of your readers describe a mixed dance of this period?

TERPSYCHORE.

REV. JONAS CLARK.—Did not Rev. Jonas Clark, who lived at the old Hancock House at the time of the battle of Lexington, preach several sermons, in the old White Church on the Common, upon the anniversary of that battle? If so, where can the sermons be found?

Ogdsensburg.

R. W. JUDSON.

HOBOKEN.—Was Hoboken an island at the time of Hendrick Hudson's discovery of the North River?

P. Q.

REPLIES

THE TORY BALLADS OF THE REVOLUTION.—(III., 636.) The writer of a note in the October number of the Magazine does not seem to be aware that nearly all the verses of this class have been published. Many of them are contained in Moore's "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution," where may be found "The Trip to Cambridge."

"When Congress sent great Washington,
All clothed with power and breeches,
To meet old Britain's warlike sons,
And make some rebel speeches,"

The principal authority on this subject, however, is "The Loyalist Poetry of

the Revolution," privately printed in 1857, by Winthrop Sargent and J. Francis Fisher, from the originals in their possession.

This book is exceedingly scarce, copies of it (with the "Suppressed tag") being eagerly sought for by collectors. The one in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, which I saw in 1876, was presented to the Society by the authors.

Mr. Sargent in 1860 published a supplementary volume, "The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury and Dr. Jonathan Odell," which forms volume VI. of Munsell's Historical Series.

C. A. C.

LONGEVITY IN THE COLONIES.—(III., 694.) In reference to this query, I will say that the average of fifty-six signers of the Declaration at their death was sixty-five years. Eight lived to be seventy and upwards, ten attained the age of eighty and over, and John Adams, William Ellery and Francis Lewis were over ninety, while Charles Carroll, the last survivor, was ninety-four.

The average age of the fourteen New England delegates was seventy-five.

I think the same will hold good as to the thirty-three members of the First Continental Congress that met at Carpenter's Hall, and who were not in the Congress July 4, 1776; Patrick Henry dying at sixty-three, Washington at sixty-eight and Charles Thompson, so long Secretary to the Congress, at ninety-four.

R. M. JUDSON.

Ogdensburg, N. Y.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.—(III., 694.)

In "Clermont or Livingston Manor," by Thomas Streatfield Clarkson, Clermont, N. Y., 1869, p. 54, mention is made that Robert R. Livingston was one of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and page 56, "Philip Livingston, Judge Livingston's cousin, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Robert R., although one of its chief advocates and framers, was prevented from signing, being called home to attend to duties in New York in the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member. So he had not the good fortune to place his signature to that instrument. He thus lost the opportunity of being enrolled in popular biographies as 'one of the signers.'"

Hudson, N. Y.

A. MUNGO.

PICKETING.—(III., 760.) John Smith Hanna's Life of Captain Samuel Dewees, page 238, contains an account of this barbarous punishment:

"Our officers had a whipping post erected on the centre of the parade ground. Near to the foot of the post a wooden peg was drove into the ground, the top of which stuck out of the ground about ten or twelve inches, and was as sharp as the tip of a person's middle finger. Sometimes the soldiers, after being flogged, were made to stand on the tip or point of this peg ten or fifteen minutes each, with one foot, and it bare, the other foot raised up and held in one hand, whilst the other hand would be tied up to the whipping post. This was called 'picketing.'"

IULUS.

GROANING BEER.—(III., 694.) Oc-

tober 23, 1879, I visited Robert Hunter, aged 87, of the Scotch-Irish stock who peopled Bald Eagle Valley in 1769. He said, when a boy an old man named Billy Underwood invited him and some others down to his house to spend an evening and "crack awhile;" that is, have a talk; and Billy's wife, a good old Irish woman, among other accomplishments, bragged that in the old "counthry" she was a good woman at a "Karian;" that is, following the bier to do the crying. It occurred to me that "*Groaning Beer*" was the solace Sewell furnished the *pensive* train that followed his wife to her long home.

Bellefonte, Pa.

J. B. L.

I have never seen Sewall's Diary, and of course my first reply was meant for a joke; but my uncle, Dr. William Irvine Wilson (father of the wife of Ex-Governor A. G. Curtin), who is now in his eighty-seventh year, and very active and bright for all that, now sitting in my office, and is as good as an Irish dictionary, tells me that his teacher, Rev. Thomas Hood, told him seventy years ago that "groaning beer" was "the beer brewed for a woman in her *accouchement*, and for her attending friends to rejoice over a safe delivery." He also says that Kenian was the Irish for crying at a funeral, not Karian, as I had it. "Shedost" they used as we say "good health," when they tossed off a glass of whiskey.

Bellefonte.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

"Medicus" notes Sewall's reference to "brewing his wife's groaning beer," and asks if this was an old style "cau-

dle." It requires but a slight degree of familiarity with the works of Scott and Burns to enable one to give an answer. The "groaning malt" was the liquor invariably provided for a lying-in or a christening.

J. MUIR, M. D.

Pierrepont Manor, N. Y.

MOURNING WOMEN.—(III., 451.) The query made is not answered by W. H. In our own time women have been seen bearing the tassels of the pall, but they were not "mourning women" in the sense that Sewall described them. They were not official mourners—in other words, female mourners paid to serve on the occasion, as is still the fashion with male mourners in Holland. The query remains unanswered. Can no New Englander certify to the habits of his ancestors?

HISTORICUS.

MACOMB'S DAM.—(III., 449.) Mr. Robert Macomb, the gentleman after whom this former structure across the Harlem was named, and whose old tide mill was at King's Bridge, near his fine residence there, was not a *son* of Major General Alexander Macomb, as inadvertently stated, but a *brother*, and probably pretty near him in age. In Bolton's History of the County of Westchester, published in 1848, "a beautiful painting by Waldo" of the General is spoken of as seen in one of the rooms of the Kingsbridge house, then occupied by "the widow of Robert Macomb." This good lady is pleasantly remembered by a venerable friend of ours in the vicinity, who, some forty years ago, being on public work at the bridge, was often invited to a hospitable

'bowl of bread and milk" at her table. Mr. Edick also informs us that the ruins of the lower water gates at the mill are still visible. These and those at the dam were designed to shut in the ebbing tides in both directions, so as to preserve a continuous water-power for use at King's Bridge. We also learn from another source that Mr. Robert Macomb, either when repairing or inspecting his dam, met with an accident, which eventually occasioned his death. Our oldest Knickerbocker resident in these parts, one of the original Outward families and estates on Manhattan Island of the seventeenth century, Isaac M. Dyckman, Esq., recalls Mr. Macomb as "a man of great culture and fascinating manners." And a very aged lady, who has lived long near King's Bridge, has a delightful memory of him as a gentleman, whose politeness and kind recognition of his neighbors won the hearts of all.

General Alexander Macomb *had* a son (see Drake's Biographical Dictionary), who, if we mistake not, was a commodore in the U. S. Navy during the war of the Rebellion. Alexander Macomb, the father of the General and Robert Macomb, was the son of John, from Ireland, who established himself in this city in 1742. This son, Alexander, amassed a fortune at Detroit in the fur trade. There he married, and there the General was born in 1782. Returning to New York shortly, after this Alexander built for his own residence the large double brick house, 39 Broadway, which was obtained for General Washington during the second session of the First Congress, and which he liked so

much. Many years later it was noted as "Bunker's Mansion House."

Alexander Macomb represented the city of New York, 1787-8, in the State Legislature. During the war of 1812 he is said to have furnished five or six sons for his country's service—a truly patriotic record, which, in connection with the distinguished military exploits and accomplishments of the Major-General, entitle the name of Macomb to a long and honorable historical remembrance. W. H.

JOHN SHREVE.—(III., 564.) The following statement of the military career of Lieut. Shreve will be found on page 93 of "The Officers and Men from New Jersey in the Revolutionary War." It differs slightly from the statement in his interesting paper of revolutionary reminiscences:

"*Shreve, John*, Ensign, Captain Breasley's Company, Second Battalion, First Establishment, July 25, 1776; Ensign; Captain Lawrie's Company, Second Battalion, Second Establishment, November 29, 1776; Ensign, Captain Hollinshead's Company, ditto, February 5, 1777; Second Lieutenant, ditto, November 1, 1777; Ensign, Second Regiment; Lieutenant, ditto, to date, February 3, 1779; resigned."

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III., 316, 456, 694.) On page 365 of the Magazine, mention is made of Colonel, later Brigadier-General de la Neuville, in the list of French officers who served in America prior to the treaties between France and the United States, made by Hilliard d'Auberteuil, in 1782. EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTH-MEN, TO THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION OF THE STATES. Preceded by a sketch of the pre-historic period, and the age of the Moundbuilders. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Fully illustrated. Vol. III. Royal 8vo, pp. 655. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, New York, 1879.

The preceding volumes of this already standard history were noticed, in their order of publication, in 1877 and 1878 (*Mag.* I, 455, II, 701). The present is of more direct interest than either, extending into the period of the revolution, which is now receiving close examination and attentive treatment in monographic papers; the most satisfactory form of historical disquisition. The editors must not, therefore, be surprised to find their present work the subject of some criticism. Of the general excellency of the workmanship too much can hardly be said. Its arrangement is perfect, the style full of variety, compact in statement, graceful in narrative, charming in description, and always clear and unmistakable in language. It has a table of important dates, a well arranged index, and as is claimed on the title page, is fully illustrated. It is questionable whether the modern fashion of illustrating historical works with sketches from fancy is desirable, but such charge does not hold against a book professedly intended as a popular history. The paper, typography and press work are excellent in their kind.

The twenty-four chapters cover a field rich in material and not yet wholly gleaned. It opens at an interesting period in the history of New York; the recall of Andros and the passage by the Assembly of the declaration of rights of 1633, the famous Charter of Liberties and Privileges, which remained the political frame or constitution of the colony until the revolution. Close upon this the story of the resistance of Leisler and its tragic end. A second chapter takes up in turn the administrations of the Royal Governors under William and Mary; the demoralization under Fletcher, when New York was a "nest of pirates," the amusing and inefficacious effort of the reformer, Bellomont, to suppress piracy by organizing a joint stock company to pursue the pirates and divide the spoil. Bellomont seems to have been more sentimental than practical in his ideas of government. His

successor, Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, was an eccentric character. He was wont to dress as a woman, and appear in this costume in the streets of New York. Without moral sense he was at the same time a bigot in religion and intolerant in politics. These were followed by Lovelace, Ingoldsby and Hunter in the government of New York. During the administration of Hunter the war with France was brought to a successful termination, and the first dismemberment of her great American empire, which she delighted to call "*la Nouvelle France*," was effected in the treaty of Utrecht, by the cession of Port Royal (Nova Scotia). On the retirement of Hunter in 1719, he was succeeded by Burnet, who did not rise above that happy mediocrity with which it has always been the policy of England to favor her English-speaking colonies.

After New York the other colonies are taken up in turn. Virginia, from the close of Berkeley's administration till the arrival of Dinwiddie, and Maryland, under the mild and equitable rule of the gentle Baltimore, take up the third chapter, and in their turn the Carolinas; New England, from the abrogation of her independence, and her conversion into a Royal province by the charter brought home by Sir William Phipps; in her opposition to the centralizing schemes of Lord Bellomont, her boundary quarrel with Rhode Island over the terms of the Winthrop patent, the artful persistence of Dudley in his personal rule and detestation of chartered rights, which destroyed the country as a residence for "lawyers and gentlemen," has a careful record. In this chapter the reader will pause with pleasure over a charming description of the remnant of the Narragansett Indians at Westerly, who still preserve their tribal government under the mild rule and fostering care of the State.

Next in order comes the history of Georgia, from its projection in 1717 by Montgomery as the Margravate of Azilia, with a curious plan of the proposed principality laid out in a grand territorial square, with divisions and subdivisions in the same geometric manner; the palatial mansion of the Margrave in the centre, and each proprietor on a square of his own. Needless to say that this plan was not successful. In 1732 it was settled by Oglethorpe with a ship load of emigrants, and named Georgia for the King, George II. The beautiful city of Savannah was laid on his symmetrical plan, the success of which, perhaps, owed something to the fanciful idea of the Margrave. The liberal spirit of the colony attracted to it a

varied emigration. The Salzburgers, descendants of the Waldenses, driven from their homes by religious persecution, were here warmly welcomed with their industry and their Bibles, and allotted lands on the Savannah. They were joined by others of the Lutheran faith and a body of Moravians in 1735, who came over on a voyage called the Great Embarkation. The proximity of the Spaniards in Florida, and of the formidable Greek Indians prevented much growth, until the cession of Florida to England freed her from the presence of one of these dangerous neighbors, and left her room for undisturbed development.

Chapter VII recites a more familiar theme; Pennsylvania, from the return of Penn to "the American Desert," as he called his colony on his embarkation. The colony was not nineteen years old, he had not seen it for fifteen years, but he found that his desert had blossomed like the rose. The province contained more than twenty thousand inhabitants, Philadelphia, the city of Brotherly Love, above two thousand houses, generally three stories high, and many curious wharves. Here again one pauses with delight over the pleasing description of the Quaker City, and of Pennsburg Manor, the spacious estate of the Governor, on the Delaware River, with its avenue of poplars and terraced banks, its lawns, its gardens, abounding with native and imported fruits and shrubs and flowers, and the delicately drawn picture of Hannah Penn, cradling her child in simple elegance in one of the spacious rooms within, while in the great hall, about long tables, whites and Indians clustered to partake of the perennial hospitality and never-failing cheer. On the closing pages Benjamin Franklin makes his appearance. In 1728 he was concerned in the establishment of the "Pennsylvania Gazette," a famous and long-lived journal. In 1732 he published the first edition of Poor Richard's Almanac, and in 1744 founded the Philanthropical Society. Pennsylvania at this time begins to merge her history into that of the union of the colonies. Even the Quakers were preparing for defence.

Chapter VIII, "New England and the French," including the romantic period of its history, the siege of Louisburg, which with the heroic individuality of doughty Pepperrell, reads more like an old Viking song than a page of plain New England story, the visit of George Whitefield to America, and his progress through the country preaching to thousands, reviving the slumbering embers of the Puritanic fire, and awakening an emotional religion, the influence of which is yet felt in the camp meetings of our own day. As in the preceding chapter on Pennsylvania, the forthcoming volume is foreshadowed in the mad attempt of Commodore Knowles to press Americans into the British ser-

vice. This was attempted in Boston in 1747. Every officer of Knowles' fleet who was on shore was seized by the people and held as a hostage for the return of the kidnapped men. The Commodore threatened to bombard the town. History does not record the negotiations; only this, when the fleet sailed she carried no Boston Boy.

Still another chapter on New York is necessary to bring her history down in even march with that of her sister colonies. In Chapter IX. the administration of Cosby and his controversy with Van Dam, who represented the popular party, comprising all the plain people but not without a mingling of powerful families, who were divided into two camps, religion being the dividing line. The gifts of the crown were in the hands of the British officials and their adherents, the Delanceys, who held the offices high and low of the colony; these were all high churchmen. The popular party on the other hand represented the great body of the people, and at their head the dissenter families of Morris, Livingston and Alexander, all of which held vast estates and were strongly national. This was the period when Delancey brought Zenger to trial for newspaper libel and was ignominiously defeated in his triumphant acquittal; at this time also was the strange, popular delusion known as the negro plot to burn the city—the negroes were then numerous in New York; many of them native Africans fresh robbed from their homes; one must have lived in a West India Island to understand the terror of a negro plot. In New York also, as in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the troubles of the colonies were culminating; here they took the phase of a bitter contest between Clinton the royal Governor and the Assembly. They resented his dictation, his policy was thwarted, his supplies denied, and when he called out the city troops to march to the frontier, they refused to obey even the King's orders unless an act of the Assembly were passed for the purpose, which justifies his opinion of their "republican principles." He was superseded in 1753.

Chapters X., XI., XII. relate the incident of the French War (the seven years' war), from the southward movement of the French through the Alleghany Valley and their entrenchment at Venango on territory claimed by the Ohio Company in the fall of 1753 until the fall of Quebec in 1759; continuing with the conspiracy of Pontiac, who endeavored to combine all the Indian tribes from the Ottawa to the Lower Mississippi against the whites.

Chapters XIII., XIV. and XV. continue the account of the alienation from England, the end of colonial rule and the beginning of war.

Chapters XVI. to XXII. are respectively entitled, the Siege of Boston; the Northern Campaign of 1775; Opening of the Campaign of 1776;

Declaration of Independence; Loss of Long Island and New York; the New Jersey Campaign, and the Campaign in Pennsylvania. Throughout these chapters a lucid narrative style is sustained, but here, as was indicated in the outset of this notice, criticism has fullest play. For our own part, we are not content with the manner in which the non-importation agreements of 1765 are alluded to. They were laughed at indeed by the royal Governors in their delusion, although as the author says, "they were so powerful as to govern the whole course of the year's trade and were sufficient to appall some of the largest manufacturing houses in England." But they were of more consequence than this; had they been maintained by all the colonies with the same fidelity that they were maintained in New York, they were sufficient, such were the words of Lord North, to have secured compliance with all the demands of the colonies. Nor yet are we satisfied with the omission to give the honor to New York of having originated this formidable merchant-league against oppressions; this was done at Burns' Tavern (which stood on the site later occupied by the City Hotel), on the 31st October, 1765, a week before any action was taken at Philadelphia, and more than a month before these two were followed by Boston.

We are glad to see that the author has discarded the sensational account of the tea party with its Indian disguises. We notice, also, two errors in New York localities. It is true they have had a certain amount of credence, but are now known by all local historians to be errors. A cut is given with the legend: "*Burns' Coffee House opposite Bowling Green, Headquarters of the Sons of Liberty.*" George Burns, who kept the "King's Head Tavern at the White Hall," moved to the Province Arms in 1763. Here in the long room the non-importation agreement was signed in 1765. The Sons of Liberty met at the long room of the tavern of Abraham Montagne, in the fields, opposite the liberty pole. He moved here in 1769, taking the house occupied by Edward Bardin, under the sign of "The King's Arms." Here the repeal of the Stamp act was celebrated in 1774, with a dinner and toasts. Equally mistaken is the statement that the "Old Town Headquarters" was the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway. There is no evidence that Washington ever had his headquarters there and abundant proof that he did not. In 1776 it was used as a barracks for the troops, and a very dirty place it was, if contemporaneous accounts may be credited. These are small matters, but they should be corrected.

More grave are the errors in the story of the Burgoyne campaign, to which Chapter XXII. is entirely devoted. It is easy to say of Gates "that he was a better politician than soldier;" but it would be difficult to maintain such rash words. The military capacities of Gates were

amply recognized by Washington as well as by Congress. The series of movements which terminated in the capitulation of Burgoyne, were marked by strategy of the first order and crowned with entire success. It is amazing to read the account of the steady holding of his impregnable position by Gates, while, to use the author's own words, "a net was forming about the enemy which they must break through at one end or the other or be captured;" and again that "Gates followed the enemy, making such disposition as to surround them"—*a net which was prepared by the order of Gates himself*, as may be seen by an examination of his unpublished papers in the N. Y. Historical Society, and yet read such an opinion of Gates' "military capacities," as has been quoted, and the final words of the chapter that "Congress presented to Gates a medal for completing the work which others had begun, and made possible if not inevitable." It is a matter of well known history that until Gates took command no efforts had been made to prevent Burgoyne's advance to Albany after he crossed the Hudson; that the impregnable position of Bemus Heights, the key of the country, was selected by Gates and Kosciusko after Schuyler had been removed by Congress from command, a removal which he himself later wrote was not only justifiable but necessary (see Mag. III, 760); that Gates held firmly to this position, awaiting the attack of Burgoyne, while taking measures to destroy his line of communication with Canada, and cut off his supplies. Not less glaring is the erroneous statement that at the battle of the 19th, Arnold was on the field, to which there is the direct contrary evidence quoted by Bancroft, the words of Arnold himself in his letter of complaint to Gates, and the positive statement of Livingston in his letter to Washington.

The concluding chapter, XXIV, is entitled the "Alliance with France," (a consequence of Gates' victory) and the rejection of the "Proposals for Peace," and closes with the stirring tale of the capture of the Serapis by the Bon-Homme Richard, the happy beginning of a long series of naval victories over the superior marine of the Mistress of the Seas.

This celebrated action was fought off Flamborough Head, on the coast of Yorkshire, on the 22d September, 1778. The Richard was consorted by the Alliance and Pallas, the Serapis by the Countess of Scarborough. The fight began at an hour after sunset, under a full moon. After a hot contest at close quarters the Countess of Scarborough struck to the Pallas and the Serapis to the Richard. Jones took his prizes into Holland.

We heartily commend this volume as an admirable contribution to our historic literature. It deserves its name, and will long stand as the popular history of the country.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS

NO. 6. THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF RHODE ISLAND, AT PORTSMOUTH, R. I., AUGUST 29, 1878. 4to, pp. 118. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

This historical tract comprises accounts of the battle of Rhode Island by writers of three of the four nationalities engaged in the conflict—the American, the German and the English—and an *ex post facto* opinion of Lafayette to the effect that the capture of the British garrison at Newport would have terminated the American war.

The centennial anniversary of the battle was celebrated on the 29th August, 1878, on the scene of the conflict. The oration, in which will be found the American account above referred to, was delivered by Samuel G. Arnold. In it the antecedent events which led to the purpose of the allied forces to carry the post by assault or siege, the arrival of a superior British fleet, the sea-fight and storm which followed it, the withdrawal of the French fleet, the consequent abandonment of the attack by the Americans left to their own resources, their retreat, and the battle bravely and successfully fought with the British forces, which marched out to attack the withdrawing columns. Every incident of the action is graphically told. The careful reader will notice that Mr. Arnold, while he records the complaint of the Americans of the sailing of the French fleet for Boston, does not use one word of condemnation of that withdrawal. He says, however, that Lafayette endeavored to dissuade d'Estaing from withdrawing. He adds that Lafayette refused to sign the protest which the American officers drew up against the withdrawal.

In a note, entitled "Conversations with Lafayette," which is included in the volume, Lafayette is stated to have said to Mr. Zachariah Allen of Providence, who was one of the town committee to receive him on his visit in 1824: "My most earnest entreaties for him (d'Estaing) to stay only a short time to finish the conquest of the British army were all in vain." The accuracy of the statement, so far as Mr. Allen is concerned, is unquestionable; but whether Lafayette was correct in his memory of the event is not so certain. Nothing appears in his correspondence to show that he censured the withdrawal, disappointed though he may have been; and, on the other hand, the very best modern authority on the history of the French marine, M. Chevalier, entertains a very different idea. He says that, on the return of the French fleet on the 20th August from their conflict with Admiral Howe, "the Marquis of Lafayette hurried on board the Languedoc to carry to the

Count d'Estaing the news of the arrival" at New York of the larger part of Lord Byron's squadron of thirteen vessels, which had left Plymouth in pursuit of the French fleet. The superiority of the English fleet was now so great that d'Estaing did not feel himself safe even in the port of Boston, except under the guns of the batteries he had erected at George and Nantasket Islands. It needs more than the recollection of Lafayette in 1824, to establish the fact that he did so foolish a thing as to counsel the French Admiral to remain in Newport to be blockaded by sea and land; the more, as the French officers were unanimous in their counsel that it was their duty to withdraw. The last word on this subject has not yet been said.

General J. Watts de Peyster contributes a translation of the operations in Rhode Island from the Hessian accounts, given by Max Von Eelking. In addition, there is a letter from Major-General Pigot, the British post commander, to Sir Henry Clinton; the Report of Major-General Sullivan, and an account of the conduct of the black regiment in the battle.

MARY WHITE—MRS. ROBERT MORRIS.

An Address delivered by request at Sophia's Dairy, near Perrymansville, Harford Co., Maryland, June 7th, 1877, on the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of Colonel Thomas White, before a reunion of his descendants, Halls, Whites, Morrisses. By CHARLES HENRY HART. 8vo. Philadelphia, [1879.]

This is an elegant edition of one hundred copies of the article which appeared, under the same title, in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," and is graced by an admirably executed steel portrait of Mrs. Morris after Trumbull's portrait. Mr. Hart is well known for his pleasing contributions to family history, one of the most grateful occupations to which a gentleman of education can devote his leisure. The materials for such monographs are now jealously guarded by their custodians, and it requires discretion and sympathy to draw them from their treasure houses. Mr. Hart, we understand, is still devoting himself to the study of the Financier of the revolution, Robert Morris, and this sketch of his accomplished and patriotic wife is but a chapter of the more important work which is to follow. The public success and private reverses of the career of Morris are well known. Can anything be more beautiful than the passage in the obituary of the wife, which records her enjoyment "without

arrogance of the wealth and the honors of the early and the middle years of his life," and her endurance "without repining of the privations incident to the reverses of his fortune towards the close of it."

This sketch is full of pleasant relations of incidents in the career of the "lovely White," as a contemporary parlor poet described her, in which Washington, Jay, Lafayette, the Chevalier de la Luzerne and the Prince de Broglie figure.

In the mass of correspondence of Governor Livingston, which Mr. Hart does not appear to have seen, there are several charming letters, which passed between the families of the Governor and Mr. Morris.

COLLECTIONS OF THE OLD COLONY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers read before the Society during the year 1878. 8vo, pp. 70. Published by the Society. Taunton, Mass., 1879.

This, the first collective publication of the Old Colony Society, we greet with pleasure and satisfaction. The Society was incorporated in 1853, and has now a membership of three hundred and sixty-five, a goodly number. Like many similar institutions, its slumbering activity was aroused in the historic *revival* of 1876, the results of which in this line of inquiry are beginning to be widely and, it is to be hoped, permanently felt. There is no more sure monitor to strict observance of duty by public servants than the certain assurance that history will preserve the record of their acts, and bring them to the bar of public opinion at last. The papers here presented are a Biographical Sketch of Samuel White, the first lawyer in Taunton, by Arthur M. Alger, and a Sketch of the Pilgrims and Puritans of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. I. Nos. 1 to 6. January to June, 1879. 8vo, pp. 6,216. BIGELOW BROS., Publishers, Buffalo, 1879.

In the September number [III., 586], attention was called to the initial January publications of the series of the Buffalo Society. Five additional numbers have now appeared with monthly regularity. They contain respectively No. 2, the February number, a paper on Buffalo cemeteries, by William Hodge; No. 3, for

March, the Braves' Rest, or the Old Seneca Mission Cemetery, by William C. Bryant, and the Old Black Rock Ferry, by Charles D. Norton; No. 4, for April, Preachers, Pedagogues and Poets in Buffalo in 1825, by Rev. John C. Lord, and Buffalo in 1825, by S. Ball; No. 5, for May, Early Reminiscences of Buffalo and Vicinity, by James L. Barton, and the Trial and Execution of the Three Thayers, by Nathaniel Wilgus; No. 6, for June, the Village of Buffalo during the War of 1812, by William Dorsheimer, and an Ancient Wreck and Stockade, two papers by E. B. Stewart and O. H. Marshall.

The papers in this collection are selected from the archives of the society by a committee, of which Mr. O. H. Marshall is the chairman, and are published under the editorial supervision of the Rev. Albert Bigelow. It is intended to issue twelve monthly numbers during the present year. So far the papers, as is proper, concern Buffalo chiefly, but promises are made of publications of a more general nature; among others, Major Norris' Journal of Sullivan's Expedition of 1779, for July, to be followed by Mr. Marshall's paper on the Building and Voyage of the Griffin in 1679. She was launched two hundred years ago in Lake Erie, the first vessel of consequence built by white men on the lakes.

The typography, presswork, paper and editorial finish leave nothing to be desired. We congratulate our good friends of Buffalo on their enterprise and trust they may receive the support they deserve.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. I. No. 7. 8vo. BIGELOW BROS., Publishers. July, 1879.

MAJOR NORRIS' JOURNAL OF SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION, June to October, 1779, from Original Manuscript in possession of the Society.

This is the timely and welcome contribution of the Buffalo Society to the literature of the Sullivan expedition, one of the most important events in the history of New York. By it the famous confederacy which after imposing an undisputed sway over nearly all the Indian tribes from the Ohio to the Penobscot, was powerful enough to hold in check the extension of the whole settlements in the State of New York. There are many journals of this campaign, indeed, no part of our revolutionary history called into service so many contemporaneous pens. This manuscript was given to the society by the Hon. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, Maine. This is not a complete narrative, but extremely valuable as corroborative testimony.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF HOLLIS, NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1879. With many biographical sketches of its early settlers, their descendants, and other residents. Illustrated with maps and engravings. By SAMUEL T. WORCESTER. 8vo, pp. 393. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1879.

Mr. Worcester, the author of this history, has long been well known to the reading public by his contributions of minor articles, on the subject he now treats in full, to the periodical publications of New England. The old district of Dunstable on the Merrimack and Souhegan rivers was divided in 1746 into the four townships of Dunstable, Hollis, Munson, and Merrimack. The charter of Hollis bears the date of April 3d of that year. Its early history, therefore, is that of Dunstable, which was settled, under patents of the Plymouth Company, in 1629, and chartered as a township by the General Court of Massachusetts October 16, 1673, o. s. It was baptized in blood, the terrible war of King Philip decimating the border population from 1675 to 1678. All Dunstable fled before the invasion save one man, the brave Jonathan Tyng, sire of an illustrious line, who stood it out, with a few companions, a sentry and watch tower in the outpost of a New England settlement. The first recorded birth was that of William, son of the valiant Jonathan, born April 22, 1679, the year after peace had been conquered by the death of King Philip. The succeeding years were not more quiet, and hardly less dangerous. King William's war, Queen Anne's war, and Lovewell's war are still remembered in tradition and ballad, and there are yet to be seen on the doors of ancient houses the marks of the tomahawk of the midnight foe.

The name of Hollis is supposed to be derived—and nothing is more curious than the large part that suppositions play in history—from that of the Duke of Newcastle, whose family name was Holles, or from Thomas Hollis, a distinguished benefactor of Harvard College, one of whose buildings, dear to the alumni of the prolific mother, still perpetuates the old name. The youth of Hollis were early inured to war. They took brave parts as scouts and wards in the French and Indian wars of 1744, and sent ample contingents to the New Hampshire regiments, which marched to the conquest of Canada in the Old French or Seven Years' War. Chapters, full of local and not devoid of general interest, recite the history of the town to the breaking out of the revolution. Governed by its inhabitants in *town meeting*, which Mr. Worcester calls an original New England invention, but is after all but a variety of Athenian democ-

racy, pure and simple, Hollis was an excellent example of self-government. In 1774, months before the battle of Lexington, the people resolved to endeavor to maintain their liberty and privileges both civil and sacred, 'even at the risk of their lives,' an undertaking they amply performed. On the 19th of April the news reaching the town of the march of the British Regulars upon Lexington and Concord, one hundred minute men under Captain Dow marched for Cambridge. Part of these and others who joined them were with Colonel Prescott at Bunker's Hill. In 1776 Hollis had its quota in the New Hampshire regiment under Colonel Long, at Ticonderoga; at Whiteplains under Colonel Baldwin, and later, in the same year, a third regiment under Colonel Gilman. In 1777 all these regiments participated in the victories which Gates won over Burgoyne. As a distinct brigade they stood the privations of the winter of 1777-8 at Valley Forge and under Colonel Citty received the commendations of Washington at Monmouth. In 1779 Hollis men enlisted in the regiment which Colonel Mooney led to Rhode Island. In 1782 the regular ranks being again filled, Hollis contributed one man, the number wanting to complete her quota.

A valuable biographical chapter gives sketches of some of the Revolutionary officers and soldiers of the town.

The war of 1812 was not popular in New England generally, and Hollis shared in the disapproval. It was waged however for sufficient cause, and its results established the equality of the American flag on every sea. In the late civil war the men of Hollis responded with spirit to every call; the history of their service has been fully written. We cannot follow the elaborate historian further. Chapter XXXI. supplies a convenient table giving the names of persons deceased since the Revolution at ages of, or more than, eighty years, in which we notice three centenarians. Chapter XXXII. gives the marriages recorded in Dunstable and Hollis, and chapter XXXIII. some family registers. We notice with extreme regret the absence of an index.

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THE KING'S SECRET; BEING THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE OF LOUIS XV. WITH HIS DIPLOMATIC AGENTS, FROM 1752 TO 1774. By the DUC DE BROGLIE. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 399-536. CASSELL, PETER & GALPIN. London, Paris and New York [1879].

Sooner or later the secrets of kings, like those of minor personages, are sure to come to light. It seems to be an invariable law that, either by intention or accident, all that is interesting in

the history of nations, as in the lives of individuals, shall come to the surface, and though for a time the waifs may float in an apparently purposeless manner, in the end they fall into their suitable places in the general mosaic of which history is made. So with the original documents signed by the hand of Louis XV. himself, which are the foundation for this curious revelation. Louis XVI. gave directions that the written records of what the Duc de Broglie calls the "strange whim of the King's grandfather," the "Secret Affair," the "Secret of the King," should be destroyed; yet they were allowed to remain in the State Archives. During the changes of the revolution they had strayed from their repository, precisely as in 1848 letters, throwing light on the question of the Spanish marriages, disappeared from the Tuileries when Louis Philippe took flight, and were handed about in the city of New York. The papers concerning the King's Secret fell into the hands of one Giraud Soulaire, a collector of documents, who in 1810 offered a vast quantity of papers to the Imperial Government. The negotiation was not concluded till after his death, when the Ministry acquired them from his widow for the sum of twenty thousand francs. How they came into the hands of Soulaire is not known.

Before passing to a slight acquaintance of the book, one observation of the Duc de Broglie may be repeated, because as pertinent to ourselves as to his own countrymen. He suggests that "probably the muniment rooms, not to say the garrets of more than one ancient château, contain historical treasure of great price, hidden under the dust of centuries." This is well known to be the case in America, as the results of the rummaging among the garrets of our old homes since the historical revival of the centennial, and the original material printed in the pages of this Magazine amply show. We commend the Duke's remark to all of our readers.

The degraded condition of the administration of French public affairs during the last years of Louis XIV. and the reign of his successor is well known. Public offices were bought and sold, the secrets of the State were at the mercy of the corrupt courtiers and the favorites of the Monarch. Poland from the time of Francis I. had always been in a measure an object of special concern to French statesmen. The Duke d'Anjou, later Henry III. of France, the last of the Valois, had worn, though for a brief period, the uncertain crown. On the death of Jean Sobieski the Prince de Conti was elected King, but was not even proclaimed. Still later Stanislas Leckinski (afterwards the father-in-law of Louis XV.) was at first supported, and afterwards deserted by France in his struggle with Augustus of Saxony, the protégé of Peter the Great. The premature decline of Augustus was the occasion of a still

further intrigue in favor of a French rule, and overtures were made to Francois de Conti, a brilliant scion of the famous house of Condé. The business was opened to Louis XV., whose consent was readily obtained, on the express condition that the project should not be publicly avowed. This was the *King's Secret*. Now an ambassador had to be chosen, who should nominally represent the French Ministry, but in reality carry out the covert scheme. This ambassador was the Count de Broglie, who was selected by de Conti as the confidant.

The reign of Louis XIV. was one of magnificent and tragic episodes; that of his successor more resembled a comic opera in its levity and "inconsequence," and this is not one of its least amusing scenes. It was played with infinite seriousness by the hidden actors, but it was really nothing more than a play; it ended in a grand tragedy nevertheless. In 1772 Russia, Austria and Prussia, whose sovereigns were terribly in earnest, divided the spoil. The partition of Poland put an end to the fanciful diplomacy of France.

While the student will find but little of grave importance in these pages, their perusal will be amply repaid by the insight into the character, and an understanding of the minute details of this wire-pulling court which they present; and will wonder anew that the Bourbons can ever dream of again aspiring to the rule of an intelligent nation like France.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS,

NO. 7. THE JOURNAL OF A BRIGADE CHAPLAIN IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1779 AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS, UNDER COMMAND OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN. By the Rev. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D. With introduction and notes by the publisher. 4to, pp. 136. Providence, 1879.

This journal, the publisher states in his note is reprinted from the Manufacturers and Farmers Journal of Providence. In the fall and winter of 1823 a portion of it had appeared in the American Universal Magazine. What has since become of the Mss. is not known. The biographical details concerning Dr. Rogers, are chiefly compiled from his Ms. notes in the family Bible. Dr. Rogers' connection with Sullivan's army ceased on the 28th August; the history of the remainder of the expedition, and the return to Wyoming on the 1st October, are compiled from the accounts of contemporary writers by Mr. Rider, and in a most satisfactory manner.

In his introduction to the journal, Mr. Rider calls attention to the delay in the conduct of the expedition, which is equally charged on Sullivan and General James Clinton. The letter of

Washington of the 15th August, 1779, to John Jay, President of Congress, published in the *Magazine of American History* (III, 142), must be considered in any examination of this question. As we are informed that careful accounts of the entire expedition are now in course of preparation by competent persons, any final opinion on this point may be properly reserved for the present.

CENTENNIAL MEMOIR OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN, 1740-1795. Presented at Independence Hall, July 2d, 1876, by THOMAS C. AMORY. Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 8vo, pp. 17. COLLINS, Philadelphia, 1879.

The soldier of the revolution, whose memoir is here presented by one of his kinsmen by descent, was grandson of Major Philip O'Sullivan Beare, an Irish officer of the army which surrendered at Limerick in 1691, and a son of Daniel, who, born the year of the surrender, emigrated to America in early manhood, and established himself as a school teacher at Sullivan, in Maine, on Frenchman's bay, near Mount Desert. John was born in 1740. He was trained a lawyer, but early displayed a taste for military studies; and in 1772 enjoyed the rank of Major under the Crown. In 1774 he was delegated to the First Continental Congress, and in 1775 was elected one of the eight brigadiers of the newly formed army. He was at the siege of Boston in the left wing under Lee, fortified Portsmouth, took part in the Canada campaign, and at Long Island fell into the hands of the British. Exchanged, he was with Washington in Westchester, at Trenton on the famous Christmas eve, and at Princeton in the skirmish which followed. He commanded the right wing at Brandywine, and again at Germantown—of the latter action a detailed account is given in these pages—and received the special commendation of Washington in his report to Congress. In 1778 he was sent to Newport in joint expedition with the French fleet for the reduction of the British garrison; the expedition was a failure. His conduct in this command has been severely criticised by some historians, and is now as warmly defended by his descendants. In 1779 he was sent west with an expedition to punish the Indians on the Mohawk. In this command, also, for reasons which best appear in Washington's letter of August 15th, 1779, first printed in the Washington number of the *Magazine* (III, 142), his conduct was questioned, and at the close of the year he resigned his command. In 1781 he was appointed to the federal bench by

Washington, a sufficient evidence of the esteem in which his patriotism was held by the highest authority. He died on the 23d January, 1796. His judgment may be open to question, but of his patriotism and devotion to the cause of independence there can be no doubt.

ANNOUNCEMENT

PREBLE'S HISTORY OF THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. A history of the Flag of the United States of America, and of our National Songs. With an account of the Symbols, Standards, Banners and Flags of Ancient and Modern Nations. By Rear Admiral GEO. HENRY PREBLE, U. S. Navy.

Second edition, revised, corrected, extended and enlarged. About 650 pp., royal 8vo. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, Mass.

The first edition of this admirable work, which has received the well-earned encomiums of those most competent to judge of its technical as well as its literary merit, was published in 1872, and is already out of print, every copy having been taken up. Since its appearance Admiral Preble has occupied himself in the accumulation of new material and facts and a careful revision of the original work. The chapter on the return of the battle flags of the volunteer regiments has been extended and brought up to date, and a chapter on the history of State flags and colors added. The colored plates of flags have been re-arranged, and numerous wood engravings, fac-simile autographs of songs and documents relating to the history of the flag, have been added.

An enumeration of the sections into which this volume is divided will afford an idea of its compendious and comprehensive nature, and the variety of interests to which it is addressed. Part I. The standards, flags, banners and symbols of ancient and modern nations, richly illustrated. II. pp. 860, 1777, The first banner planted during the discovery of America; the Colonial flags; the flags preceding the stars and stripes. III. The stars and stripes, 1777-1818, IV. 1818-1861. V. 1861-1865. VI. 1865-1880. Part VII. A miscellaneous chapter, includes the navy and army signals, the seal of the United States and departments; the yacht club flags and signals.

The work is being published by subscription. We earnestly commend it to our patriotic citizens. No public library should be without it and it will be found a pleasant companion on the home-table, and a proper stimulant of a national sentiment in the hands of the rising generation.



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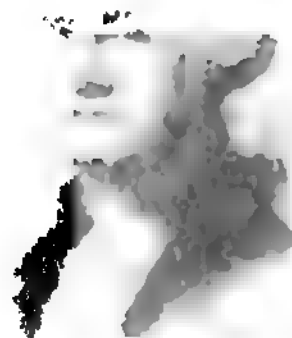
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

FEBRUARY 1880

No. 2

THE LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

THE publication of unpublished documents and letters of Washington was begun in the February and continued in the August number of the Magazine, last year (1879). In addition to some important public papers, eighty-nine letters from his pen or under his signature were then first printed. They covered a period from 1754 to the close of the year 1780, were printed in the order of their dates, and were numbered from I to LXXXIX.

After mature consideration it has been decided to adhere to the same order of chronological arrangement, and of numbering, until all letters of dates subsequent to those already printed and prior to the close of the Revolution have been made public.

The thirty letters of the present number comprise all that have been received of the year 1781. The publication of those of the year 1782 will follow in August; the intention being to publish a Washington number each February, and a supplementary block of Washington letters each succeeding August, until every accessible letter has been procured and printed.

It is hoped that this plan will meet the approval of all, and be accepted by those, whose contributed letters have not yet appeared, as a satisfactory reason for the delay in their publication. Among those thus reserved are numerous, some very important, letters of dates antecedent to, and of the earlier years of, the Revolution. These will form the first of a second series, which will be begun when the close of the Revolution has been reached in the present publication.

A general co-operation of all persons interested in American History is again requested, and the importance of this collection again earnestly urged. Every letter that bears the signature of Washington, whether in his handwriting or not, or however unimportant it may appear, has its value. The simple establishment of his presence at a particular date may have a controlling weight in determining some point of historic importance.

The generous contributions received from all parts of the country, in response to the appeal made last year, have not yet ceased, each week bringing additions to the already extensive collection. For this very reason the appeal is again urgently pressed, that the work may be carried forward to complete conclusion in the second series.

While special attention and preference has been, and is still given in the Magazine to letters of Washington, those of other characters distinguished in history have not been neglected. A large number of letters of Lafayette have already been brought together, and will appear in a Lafayette number, in the course of the year; to this contributions are also requested. In addition, any letters of French officers who served in the army of the United States, or in the French contingent under de Rochambeau, will be most welcome at this time, when no pains is being spared to supply in the pages of the Magazine all attainable information concerning the alliance with France and her intervention in American affairs. The centennial anniversary of the landing of the French troops occurs the present year. It is particularly desired that all French letters be contributed in the original text and not in translation.

An extensive collection of correspondence of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods has been made by unremitting effort and diligence during the last three years, the publication of which will be begun when the material is sufficient to allow of being presented in groups. By this method, letters desultory in character and of little separate importance, acquire value from their cognate relation and interdependence. Viewed in this light the letter of the soldier in the ranks has a place as important as that of the general in the council or the field. To this also general co-operation is invited. The contributors to this branch of documents are requested to send the originals, which will be transcribed and returned without delay.

The interest which has been shown in all parts of the country, by the press and by individuals, in this effort is gratefully acknowledged, and cordial thanks are also tendered to the numerous persons whose friendly correspondence has been a source of peculiar pleasure, and of itself a sufficient reward for the arduous labor of the undertaking.

EDITOR

A NATIONAL STANDARD FOR THE LIKENESS OF WASHINGTON

The vast interest taken in whatever relates to the glorious name of Washington gives rise to every description of eulogy and memorial; indeed, genius and patriotism are constantly stimulated to the highest degree of emulation in portraying the sublime grandeur of his mind and heart, as well as his majestic form and noble features. Yet, whilst literature is pronouncing his greatness with the correspondence of an uniform type, his image is assuming every variety of phase, even to senseless caricatures, an inconsistency which may be ascribed mainly to a want of confidence in the skill of his limners, since no two likenesses taken from life resemble each other, and none coincide with the numerous descriptions transmitted by historians and personal friends. These discrepancies have necessarily obliged modern artists to indulge in speculative conceptions, and in concert to present heroic rather than truthful presentations; an error which will, if not speedily arrested, fasten upon posterity an endless variety of mere mythical images.

The history of Washington is a record of facts engrafted on the annals of his country, and they are so simple and grand that fiction can add neither beauty or interest to them. So Marshall thought in writing his life, for in narrating his illustrious career, he transmitted the most truthful history of the nation. This dignified work, however, not proving sufficiently exciting and extravagant for the impulsiveness of the times, has been assigned to august repose in the library of antiquated classics, and every species of fanciful biography has been issued to supersede it. The image of Washington also, in conformity to the spirit of the age, has undergone similar treatment with more unsatisfactory results.

Public attention was called a few years since to a likeness as life-like in character as the truthful history of Marshall; and it is only necessary to sweep aside the rubbish and webs of prejudice, malicious detraction and selfish interest to establish universally the fact that in it exists the literal true portraiture of Washington as in the life, the truth of which statement must eventually be as fully realized as that the light of the earth is the reflex of the sun.

In support of this assertion the critic will require the evidence to be presented in an intelligent shape. To accomplish this result, a preliminary review of the whole subject appears expedient; yet for the sake of brevity, the leading points only will be examined. To comment upon the numerous publications which were designed to accomplish the object in view, would involve an amount of unpleasant and unprofitable controversy. Attention will therefore be particularly directed to an essay by the late George W. P. Custis, entitled the Appendix to the Custis Recollections and Private Memoirs, &c., which was intended to be a final suggestion towards the establishment of a "National Standard for Washington's personal appearance," by which the most authentic likenesses and the abilities of the artists who produced them will be carefully considered, and the conclusion as to their merits will rest upon a mere summary of the facts.

Mr. Custis names several pictures which have peculiar claims to authenticity, but he gives his entire sanction to three only: the first, by Charles Wilson Peale, painted from the life in 1772; the second, by Trumbull, and the third by Stuart. He mentions also that there was a Crayon profile by Sharpless, which was esteemed "an excellent likeness with uncommon truthfulness of expression." He merely adds "there was a portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale during the Presidency, which elicited much commendation from Revolutionary worthies." Mr. Custis gives the following as his conclusion: "Our readers may ask, Shall the Standard Portraiture be Equestrian? We reply, to the portrait of one as accomplished a cavalier as Washington, the white charger with the leopard skin housings, &c., would be an embellishment, the chief to be dismounted, with arm resting on the saddle after the manner of Trumbull. But whether equestrian or not, the Americans have the materials for the standard before them in the *head from Stuart* with some slight modifications from the original of 1772, and the *figure from Trumbull entire*."

The peculiar connection and association of Mr. Custis with the illustrious Washington render criticism or comment on his writings exceedingly embarrassing; indeed it may appear presumption to do or say anything calculated to weaken the value of his information, or question the correctness of his judgment and taste, for the public receive with eagerness and gratitude any recollections or descriptions calculated to bring vividly before them the character and personal appearance of one who is ever present in sentiment and thought. It would indeed have been providential had the enthusiastic essayist put an end to

speculation or controversy by pointing out the infallible means of establishing an unquestionable source for the national standard; but unfortunately he has rather complicated the already tortured subject by advocating the expediency of mosaicing three pictures painted by different artists at long intervals, and under entirely different circumstances; a mode of procedure which provokes further research, controversy and dissension.

The establishing of a standard of any national feature is a very serious matter; but the authentication and erection of a standard image to represent the Nation's Father, is an act of sacred dedication to the claims of eternal posterity. It may be said with profound deference that this is too grave a subject to be submitted to mere recollections, or casual opinions, for although incidents, events, scenes, and even language may have remained bright and clear upon the tablets of a memory three score years and ten, yet the lineal image and the evanescent spirit which flits over the features and consummate character cannot be indelibly impressed upon recollection. Besides, when imagination has been constantly fed by pictures, engravings and other effigies entirely at variance with each other, it must at last elect its own standard, a process which reduces the grand original to an image of fancy, or a creation of art. This was peculiarly the case with Mr. Custis, whose hand had toiled in Promethean labor many years, to give substance and identity to the vision of a dream.

A few comments upon the *modifying* plan adopted by Mr. Custis will suffice to dispose of all similar literary descriptive attempts, and as it is proposed to adhere strictly to facts established by unimpeachable authority, assertion or suggestion will be as much as possible avoided. When it is recollected how seldom there is a coincidence of opinion in speaking of or representing any particular individual of ordinary society even, it will easily be understood, how near to impossible it would be for the loftiest intellect to comprehend and describe so sublime a character and so inscrutable a countenance as that of the immortal Washington, and consequently determine his personal appearance by theoretical analysis and comparison.

The plan of taking the head by Stuart for the basis, the portrait by C. W. Peale painted twenty-three years previous for the modification, and the figure by Trumbull to place the head upon, would necessarily oblige the artist to exercise his conception and judgment to adapt youth to age, and combine the result of one feeble artistic skill with the strong and impulsive delineation of another. If this system be adopted,

the whole craft challenged to compete, and every aspirant privileged to exercise his own powers, there would be more versions of Washington than there were stricken tongues in discordant Babel, for the conclusion of each artist would be as individual as his conception of character and incident and his style of art. This appears not only in the painted and sculptured portraits of familiar celebrities, but is seen in the mechanical transfers of the daguerrean and photographic galleries. It may be said also that the originals are not always good representations in themselves, for the conditions of mind, body, health and even climate change individual aspect and features, and that there is no circumstance so calculated to dispel unconsciousness and alter expression as the assumption of a position in which to be copied for the world to criticise. No plan could be more hopeless than to pick and choose fragments of features and expressions from discrepant images. Even traditional opinions are unavailable, being themselves contradictory and rarely perspicuous. Even those living and those who have passed away, leaving to the future their memories, afford no reliable data except that of mere inference and individual impression. For instance: some say Washington had full light grey eyes; some contend he had small dark eyes, and others are positive he had deep, bluish grey eyes in an enormous space of orbit, with great breadth across the nose; some say he had a very large nose, others a Roman nose. Stuart has made his nose large and fleshy, his eyes large and of a clear blue, and not deeply sunk in the head as others have it. Descriptions of the most reliable character do not dwell upon any eccentricity whatever, but simply speak of his calm majesty of feature, and entire repose of countenance. Mr. Custis said, in remarking upon the various portraits, that the original was fair though considerably florid, the eye sunken and greyish dark blue in color, the expression mild and thoughtful, the whiskers never powdered and of a light brown. Stuart made the hair and whiskers a mass of white.

It would be rather strange if Mr. Custis confounded an early period with the latter days of the illustrious personage, or that Stuart should have been guilty of such a glaring oversight. Still it is distinctly understood that up to the close of the war Washington never wore his whiskers powdered, nor indeed did he use much powder at all, and his hair was dressed after the English fashion, whereas after his election it was dressed in the mode of the French court, the former being arranged with a cue bound with a black ribbon, and the latter with a black silk bag. Notwithstanding that there are numerous contradictions in the

description of his person, features and complexion, there is a general correspondence in the impressions made by presence, deportment, and address. It has unfortunately happened that none of the numerous efforts made to settle these difficulties have taken a comprehensive view of the various phases of the subject; on the contrary, they have all aimed at an individual preference, no one showing any clearer title to reliable authority than their own opinion, based upon limited or solitary facts.

In raising any representation to the immortal position of a national standard, it is a great, if not an indispensable consideration, to determine the most favorable age and most impressive incident connected with that period of his life. He was certainly at the acme of human greatness when closing the last scene of the Revolution; at all events national association and national enthusiasm are constantly emphasizing the conclusion of peace, and his resignation of high authority to seek the repose of domestic life. This is not only an incident dear to the hearts of his countrymen, but it gave an advent star to all humanity, and astounded an incredulous world.

In reviewing the different likenesses, it will be imperatively important to keep in mind that Washington was, by every artist, considered the most difficult subject ever submitted to the skill of the limner; and in addition to this important truth, it will be recollected that in the last century the fine arts had scarcely so much as an infancy in this country, and that even from England, where there was barely the nucleus of a school. Before and many years after the Revolution, portrait painting was the only branch patronized in this country; and even in England, up to the close of the century, it was with very limited exceptions entirely mechanical in its character; one class of artists painted the heads, and another the dress and accessories. C. W. Peale belonged more to the latter than the former class, as is clearly shown in Mr. Custis' favorite portrait painted at the age of forty-one. The gold lace, the coat and buttons are done with the utmost care and imitative skill; but the flesh is dry, lifeless, and inflexible. The face is an irregular oval, the brows are distinctly arched, and lined with penciling formality. The nose would not be remarked for size or the least peculiarity; indeed the whole picture excites no comment, except for the still-life features. The complexion denotes no relation to any particular temperament or constitution. C. W. Peale gave striking evidence of his cleverness in imitating still-life objects in a portrait of himself raising a curtain, palette in hand, and stepping into the long room of his museum in



Philadelphia. This picture was placed in a doorway leading to an upper room, two or more steps projecting in front of the picture, which were so left to aid the deception. At the first glance the illusion was complete; and it was only on a near approach and close examination of the unfleshy character of the face that the cheat was readily discovered.

The full length of Washington by Peale, now in the Patent Office Museum, painted in 1786, is very far inferior to the picture painted in 1772—indeed as a work of art as well as a likeness it is unworthy the least comment. It can be treasured only for the name it bears. Yet in the catalogue of that institution it is termed a grand representation of the original; without this literary index the picture would remain in the obscurity to which its insignificance consigns it.

Trumbull's equestrian picture is very much of the same order of work as Peale's, except that the general effect is more satisfactory, and indicates more capacity in the artist for the treatment of a subject. The form no doubt resembles Washington's; that is, as near as anything can which shows a feeble capacity for the drawing of those parts which enable the painter to give individual language and expression to his art. It might easily be mistaken for any one else of similar height, bulk and shape. The attitude is too common-place and too quiescent for the moment described. It would be difficult to conjecture the motive or state of mind which dictated an attitude so devoid of occupation in the battle-field. The ordinary impression doubtless would be that the great Commander-in-Chief was standing to display his person in tableau or for a portrait. When, therefore, it is known for whom it was intended, the inference necessarily attributes the whole arrangement to the ingenuity of the artist who, in wishing to produce something grand, relied upon his imagination instead of his memory and judgment. The very effort to exalt a sublime subject invariably results in inconsistency; hence, in all the compositions in which Christ is represented, the Divine personage is the most unmeaning character in the group or assembly. The most beautiful heads intended to represent that of our Saviour have been painted from individuals, the expression and position only being the conception of the artist. In a case where the object is present and the most rigid truth is required, and the artist fails, he is either unequal to the task, or he permits his fancy to obscure his consciousness of the present facts.

Trumbull had seen Washington under a variety of circumstances, was one of his aids, and in after life had frequent intercourse with him. It would be supposed therefore that no man could be better fitted to give an

accurate portrait of his person and his features, but he did not possess sufficient talent as a limner to paint a life-like portrait of so majestic and inscrutable an individual as the great Washington.

It is a very unpleasant task to criticise the works of men connected with a proud history, to which the best writers, the most enthusiastic *virtuosi* and the most eminent patriots have contributed their wealth of opinion. Many of these have attached certificates and legends to these questionable likenesses, which substantiate the trite assertion that there is no likeness or work of art too grand to escape censure, or too bad to be without praise. There is a class of critics, and they are the most numerous, who write on art from mere momentary impression, having had no habit of study or thought on the subject to build judgment upon. They, however, direct public opinion. One of these critics in eulogizing a colossal bust of Washington states that the artist was "a melancholy enthusiast, whose thirst for the ideal was deepened by a morbid tenacity of purpose and sensitiveness of heart." This monomaniac, for such from the above it would be inferred he was, produced "the most perfect representation of the man and the hero combined after Stuart's master-piece." The criticism ends with this pithy sentence: "The bust gave Washington a Roman look." Another writer says: "If we wish more particularly to see the graceful play of the lips in the act of speaking, and the peculiar expression of the mouth and chin at the same moment, we shall see it in Ceracchi's colossal bust." The same critic in another place says, in speaking of Stuart's head in the Boston Athenæum: "This last, differing so essentially from all other portraits, has been the cause of all the dissension about Washington's likenesses; although we have not the least doubt the artist gives us a true representation of the man when he sat to him; and thus we explain why we ought to receive *all* these originals as correct likenesses at the time they were taken." This last remark suggests the very familiar criticism: "it is exactly like, but it is a horrid daub." That which makes the resemblance in a horrid daub is the exaggeration of the notable features of the face, because a horrid daub would denote wretched art, or the total absence of art itself. Caricatures are the most recognizable of likenesses, and although offensive to the parties interested, are preferred by the mass of society. Washington was too strongly constituted and too distinctly individual in mind, character and physique, to admit the probability of his appearance undergoing such extraordinary changes. Very few are educated to observe the material form of nature in general, and still fewer to examine understandingly the mysterious variations of the

cult to realize the sublime inspiration of minds resolved to place name, life and fortune, in peril, ruin, or ignominious death, should the stupendous enterprise eventually fail in its object. Every man, as he walked up to place his name upon the parchment, saw the gallows, or the broken sceptre, in the vision of his soul. They dared the vengeance of a powerful monarchy; yet not one hand trembled, nor one pen quivered or blotted the vital instrument; even old age and infirmity strove to make legible the signature the palsied hand could hardly trace. Never were fifty-two autographs more firmly or clearly written, and if marks of the pen indicate power and will of mind, then were these signers the boldest and firmest of the earth, or the most inspired of heaven.

In the formal row of heads and legs so conspicuous in the picture, it would require an extraordinary imagination to realize the spirits that were hurling defiance at the gigantic parent of an empire. In looking at so tame an illustration, memory falls to sleep, and the grandeur of the incident is forgotten in reading the obscure language of an imperfect art.

The resignation of Washington is another of Trumbull's national pictures. This profoundly touching subject presents to the artist illimitable scope for eloquence of expression, dramatic beauty and effect. The simple mention of the subject in history is enough to thrill every fibre of the heart, and it would seem, that on reading the following graphic description, the artist's soul would dilate with inspiration. "The moral grandeur of the scene, and the patriotic exultation it was likely to call forth, could not suppress a feeling of tender melancholy on beholding that connection dissolved, which had been the source of national pride and glory; and many of the spectators yielding to this emotion melted into tears. The principal actors themselves, General Washington and the President of Congress, General Mifflin, were almost overpowered by their feelings."

The closing act of this great drama made a deep impression on the whole American nation. Here stood before the world's eye one who had broken the chains of tyranny, and formed a vast nation out of colonial fragments, and who commanded the hearts of a devoted army, which was prepared to crown him monarch or dictator. This majestic hero had but a few days previously, with tearful eyes, called around him the companions of his toils and dangers to press them to his heart, and bid them farewell, a word none could utter, but they turned in sorrow, one from another, many for ever. Having broken up his military family, he hastened to Congress to surrender the slender com-

mission he had received eight years before, with crushing responsibilities, without means, and a half starved, naked and undisciplined army; a commission now covered with glory and immortal fame. No combination of circumstances and events could render man a more sublime spectacle, or a grander subject for epic history or picture. The hand of genius would have portrayed the emotions of the actors, and rendered their thoughts and language readable to the hearts at least of the commonest natures. The tame representations, placed as national records in the Capitol of the nation, are calculated to depress taste and sentiment, rather than excite admiration and emulation; and the feeling of reverence is lost in the painful criticisms they excite, which must produce towards illustrative art an apathy, if not disgust.

That Trumbull gloried in his reminiscences and appreciated his subjects with worthy sensibility, there can be little doubt, yet he lacks the means of conveying his thoughts and feelings upon a scale so grand. Enthusiasm is too often mistaken for the inspiration of genius, and the desire to execute is confounded with the excitement of power to perform.

The pictures are treasured as a catalogue of good likenesses, while they are condemned as master-pieces of painting, but they are as questionable in one case as in the other, for it is notorious that Trumbull was not an accurate delineator of the life, except as a mere generalizer of the person and features. It would be impossible for a sculptor to model a life-like head from any of his portraits, which he could successfully do from many by Stuart, and nearly all by Vandyke or Lawrence.

Stuart's portrait of Washington has become the national standard. His fame in England, and the fact that his picture was engraved by the famous Heath of London have eclipsed the pretensions of all who have painted portraits of the illustrious subject. There are several versions of the history of Stuart's performances, and as they have at different times varied, and as the most recent is not creditable to the honor of Stuart, it will not be inapposite to add another, which was received from the great artist's own lips; yet as many years have elapsed, and it differs so entirely from a published account, memory is a little timid, and were there not a very cogent reason for giving it publicity, silence would still retain an unbroken seal. Many of the most interesting points in history have originated in oral legend.

The writer alluded to says: "This last, it appears by a letter of Mr. Custis which we have examined, was undertaken against the desire of Washington, and at the earnest solicitations of his wife, who wished a portrait from life of her illustrious husband to be placed among the



other family portraits at Mount Vernon. For this express purpose, and to gratify her, the artist commenced the work, and Washington agreed to sit once more. It was left *intentionally unfinished*, and when subsequently claimed by Mr. Custis, who offered a premium upon the original price, Stuart excused himself, much to the former's dissatisfaction, on the plea that it was a requisite legacy for his children." The other version is, that when an agent came from New York to propose to Stuart the purchase of his unfinished original head of Washington, Stuart promptly refused, and said it should never pass from his possession during his life. He then stated that he was commissioned to paint a full length from life, for the nature of the engagement is not strictly remembered, but during the progress of the picture, or immediately after he had made his study of the head, some unhandsome equivocations arose respecting the terms, and he consigned the picture to his closet, swearing he would never touch brush to it again.


If Stuart made use of the paltry subterfuge ascribed to him to secure an inheritance for his children, the time had arrived when he was offered \$4,000 for it—and he could not have hoped that in any event it would bring more, as the *first* original was extant. Besides, at this time, he was in actual want of the necessities, or at least the comforts of life, being sorely afflicted with the gout, and unable to draw an adequate income from his very casual professional labors. That some unusual occurrence checked his brush is clear, for the unfinished state of the picture detracted materially from its value. Had he designed this portrait for the object stated, it would have reached a *national value* by being an entire figure and perfectly finished, and would then undoubtedly have been an heir-loom productive of fortune, instead of a legacy too trifling to secure to his family more than a paltry pittance. It may be suggested that Stuart was not a provident man, that his tastes were expensive, and his temper subject to violent caprices, yet he was an exceedingly proud man, and incapable of an act disgraceful to him as a gentleman. It is true he could resent a wrong or slight with a violence incompatible with good taste. His stamping upon the portrait of Jerome Buonaparte, and refusing to finish or part with either that or Madame Buonaparte's, because the prince came an hour or so behind his appointment, is entirely characteristic of his indisputable pride. Numerous anecdotes of the same kind, related of him by his friends, show that some such difficulty prevented the completion of Washington's picture. It is really too much of a scandal to admit that Stuart engaged the offices of Mrs. Washington to press her husband to sit once

more to gratify *her*, designing at the time to use her as a tool for his own purposes, and thus subjected the illustrious lady to a humiliating mortification, and himself to the forfeiture of the esteem of the great and good Washington.

Stuart failed in his first picture, a circumstance most extraordinary for him. It is rarely a confident artist does himself full justice if his first impulse proves abortive. In art the first conception is the most natural and beautiful; hence a sketch often has more eloquence than an elaborate work. The greatest, or rather the most brilliant efforts of very many men of genius, have been realized by the first intention, as it is technically termed. Failure is extremely depressing to proud and sensitive spirits; so is disapprobation or persecution; and there is generally an ebullition of temper when either occur. Poets and painters especially suffer intense wretchedness when severely criticised or abused. Yet there are memorable instances of their outshining themselves when goaded by the merciless critic or aroused by the throes of ill fortune.

No hardships are more dispiriting to professional men of genius than submission to conventional opinion, and dictation of subject or style. Neither of these however need excite wrath, for a graceful manner may control without wounding the pride or the feelings. Yet the artist at once surrenders his own original conceptions, and becomes a mere illustrator of the ideas of another. This may probably apply to the case of Stuart when he was aspiring to the immortality of a happy association with the name of the great Washington.

When the artist beheld that noble face deprived of much of its grandeur and means of characteristic expression by the loss of teeth and the substitution for them of an artificial set, he was filled with painful regret; yet, loving nature more than art, he desired to portray that glorious face even in decay, and requested that the teeth should be removed; this was opposed by the family, and in such a way as to render the indomitable energies of Stuart evanescent. He painted a portrait and destroyed it; he began a second, and it is said, placed wads of cotton in the cheeks above the mechanical teeth to distend the muscles relaxed by destroying the natural teeth. These fabrications of an unskillful dentist were too short and too full for the mouth, and gave to the jaw a squareness perfectly unnatural, and deforming to the whole lower part of the face. The fine nervous lines of the lips were destroyed, the muscles of the cheeks and jaw were thrown out of play as by physical dotage, the firm yet curved lip was



flattened and no longer eloquent in its expression. The soul looked bright though tranquil through the deep, lustrous eyes, and the brow retained the features of majestic thought; but the mouth, that great organ of the mind, was deprived of its means of beautiful expression, if not of much of its articulate utterance.

The friends who opposed the removal of the artificial teeth were sensible of the loss to that grand face of an essential part of its speaking beauty; they vainly hoped to remedy the deficiency by trying to force the lips to their original lines with the substitute furnished by the bungling dentist. The great artist, full of awe and admiration of the illustrious patriot, necessarily felt that he had missed his hour; he also felt that his genius was high above all those who had enjoyed more auspicious opportunities; yet, that strong as was his will, faithful and masterly as was his hand, even the tyros of art would dispute his claims to an isolated greatness, on the ground that they had enjoyed the full advantage of nature in perfection, while he was required in order to be truthful to commemorate the defects of age; art, itself, being powerless to overcome an incidental defect.

The head in the Athenæum of Boston is the third and last attempt by Stuart, and is more carefully modelled than nearly all the copies he made of it. It has not so much of his bold, free handling; indeed the execution is rather close and less fleshy than his very best pictures, which are remarkable for brilliancy of color and effective manipulation.

The impression received by foreigners and disinterested connoisseurs is that Stuart's picture does not convey the idea of intellectual greatness, or moral vigor of character. The expression has the stolidity of mental drowsiness or old age, which is greatly owing to the too faithful representation of the artificial defects. The position of the head is very unfavorable to a true showing of the features, the left wall of the face and that side of the nose being in comparative shadow, which prevents the nice definition of parts so important to the expression of the whole. Instead of the light falling upon the mass of the head, which would display the facial lines of the features, it strikes upon the side averted; the shadow, therefore, obscures the nostril, the fine side lines of the nose, the seating of the brows and the inner corner of the eye. The orbit of the eye is remarkably large, which brings the cheek bone into great prominence; it is, therefore, fully described on the left side, but on the right is entirely flat. This strange inconsistency in the drawing argues a decided want of presence of mind, or that there was some unusual disturbance of it. The execution is very methodical. Still his

peculiar handling is not as perceptible as in the generality of his works. This head, though finely colored and dignified in air, is in effect far inferior to many of his best portraits. The want of spirit, the want of liveliness of hand, the strange drawing of the right cheek, the absence of the characteristic expression, together with the remarkable stress laid upon the artificial defects of the mouth and chin—the latter in particular—forcibly suggest that Stuart painted under circumstances greatly to his disadvantage. The distortion of the fine, firm, well-formed mouth was sufficient to excite despair, and it is clear he had no favorable opinion of the skill of his predecessors, or he might have remedied the evil by borrowing from them.

It is told of this great limner that he was never embarrassed in the presence of any man or society, but that when Washington entered the room to take his seat, it was with the greatest difficulty he could command sufficient presence of mind to begin his task. In addition to this drawback, he found it impossible to excite in the least the attention or interest of his sitter, the consequence of which was that he failed in his first picture, and destroyed it; and it was only toward the close of his final attempt that, after exhausting his fine colloquial resources, he recollected Washington's fondness for fine horses. Stuart was peculiarly eloquent on this topic, for he had indulged almost to excess in a Nimrod love of the chase while in England and Ireland. The General grew animated with the discussion, and the artist endeavored to convey the lively emotion to his canvas, but it was too late; the work was almost finished, and it was impossible to infuse in the completion that which should have been secured in the inception. The full-lengths by Stuart are rarely referred to as types of the original, for that of Trumbull, having the advantage in outline and proportion, is invariably selected. This accounts for its recommendation by Mr. Custis for the figure of the "national standard."

Stuart's professional education extended very little beyond heads; for, although his powerful mind and extraordinary facility of pencil could have carried him to higher walks, his larger pictures indicate no habit of complicated study. His compositions assimilated to the English versions of Vandyke, with their theatrical formulæ. For instance; in a full-length portrait there must be one or more columns, with a curtain waving around like a half-furled sail in a gale of wind, looped up with a cord pendant, with gold or silken tassels. This was the back or middle ground arrangement, which was generally broken up by a piece of dirty blue sky, crumbled over with inflamed clouds. In the fore-

ground was a table, covered by a richly worked cloth, gathered up at one corner into profuse folds which hung down by the figure of the portrait. On this table were scattered in picturesque confusion manuscript, pens and ink, books, and if at all consistent, a cocked hat. On the other side a carved chair, gilt or polished, the floor covered by a nondescript carpet; the whole forming a rich variety, both of objects and colors. This is pretty much the composition in Stuart's full-length portrait of Washington in civil costume. His picture in Fanueil Hall is an out-door scene, and represents an incident which occurred more than twenty years previous to the time of the sitting; yet there is very little, if any, variation in the age. The figure resembles that by Trumbull. The design is very curious, and suggests to the mind a show advertisement of a horse, with his tail where his head should be, as is literally the case in this picture; for in the foreground, and in advance of Washington, is the globular rump of a fat horse. The General has his left hand resting upon the saddle, and the head of the horse is in the middle ground. It is said that this expedient produced a fine breadth of light, which counterbalanced the gloom of the sky and distance, whilst the round lines of the hind parts of the brute were consistently repeated in the curling clouds behind. This refinement of art does not reconcile the untutored eye to the close proximity of the posteriors of a horse to the head and person of Washington. Besides, the position for an equestrian is very questionable, since he appears to give up his command of the charger to show himself to the limner or spectator, which is not characteristic of the great original, or consistent in a field of battle.

The statement has been ventured, perhaps not very publicly, that Stuart's great genius is less evinced in his portraits of Washington than in any of those he painted in his palmiest days. This is not difficult to comprehend, and it is purely a question of expediency whether to condemn them, or to permit them to retain their high position. One very strong provocation to elect a substitute is that they are easily caricatured, and as the mass of art duplication is of this description, it seems advisable to hold up to the world an image more just to the grand original, and more in accordance with the description given of his noble face and form.

Rembrandt Peale labored forty or fifty years at this idea, which took such possession of Mr. Custis. He painted a portrait in 1795, and from his own account he had three sittings of three hours each from life, which would appear to be sufficient for a small bust portrait. Yet he said he finished it without Washington being present, against which his father several times protested, saying that he had "better let well

alone." At this time Peale was little more than a youth. That he was not satisfied with his effort is shown by his working upon it so restlessly from memory, which would have been unnecessary had he been content with his work from the life. This argues inferiority of capacity, or a want of dexterity of hand, or both, for nine hours is an ample time in which to complete a portrait of that size. It is no more than rational to suppose that he could have worked with better success from the object than from his mere memory of it. If he could not, with his limited talents, describe the features in nine hours, it would be difficult to conceive that he could do any better in double that length of time, and certainly no better in the absence of his sitter. He frankly acknowledges his discontent at the effort he made; and subsequently not only changed the style, but altered the view and light and shade of the face to resemble the original picture, undoubtedly the juvenile effort of a frenzied eye, rather than that of a calm and disciplined perception. He could not, eagle-like, take note of objects invisible to the ordinary sense. His eye and hand were untaught, except so far as his father's meagre instructions assisted him. He says it was the dream of his boyhood to paint the portrait of the great man upon whose birthday he was born. He painted ten copies of his original, and they disappeared, like all bad pictures, until time and their name, as with old wine, brought them forth as providential relics, but he as industriously labored to supersede them as he endeavored to eclipse that by the immortal Stuart.

Peale's mania for reproducing Washington again broke forth about 1825, when, as he states, "he assembled in his painting-room every portrait, bust, medallion and print of Washington he could find, thus to excite and resuscitate his memory of the original. After vigils, intense studies and probings of memory, he succeeded in producing the picture now in the United States Senate Chamber. In 1825 or 1826 he took this picture to Boston, where he exhibited it, first in his own room, then in the Atheneum, in opposition to Stuart's Fanueil Hall full-length. Many no doubt gave Peale's the preference.

So it may be inferred, that in a medley of dyspeptic opinions he had a share of advocates, yet not as great a portion as when he had it in his own apartment, with the advantage of his enthusiastic interpretations; for, as in an oft-told tale the narrator changes places with his hero, Peale believed piously what he said, in reply to inquisitive interrogatories, that his extraordinary success could be accounted for in no other way than by "divine inspiration." He really believed this picture to be a *fac-simile* of Washington, as he saw him in his father's

painting-room. It would seem rather strange that with divine assistance he should have had need of the pictures, sculptures and engravings of every other artist by which to awaken his somnolent memory. Ordinary logic of an ungenerous nature would attribute Peale's picture to the congress of effigies which he assembled in his studio, rather than to the resuscitation of a forgotten image. That which memory recalls through an artificial medium is usually shaped and tinted by the speculum through which it is seen. This great original of Peale, in spite of the inspiration and severe travail which gave it birth, remained for many years in the artist's hands, when, after it had received the advantage of an European tour, and the support of various certificates, it was purchased at a cost of \$2,000 by Congress.

It is gravely recorded that there is a wonderful likeness of Washington on the side of a mountain rock at Harper's Ferry, which is instantly recognized when pointed out, and rendered very impressive by a singular superstition. Children often believe in the eyes, nose and mouth of the moon, and many have fancied they have seen the man there who was spirited up for picking sticks of a Sunday; and others who are more than children have, in looking through a telescope, seen so obediently as to distinguish the sheep or cattle browsing on the Luna mountains, when told by the showman they were surely there. No organ is so credulous as the eye, because the imagination is continually peering through it.

Rembrandt Peale's portrait is distinctly, by his own showing, a composite order of likeness, varying entirely from his real originals. A few years ago a correspondence took place respecting the discovery of a portrait of Washington, in the course of which the picture was identified as one of the three copies he made of his veritable original in Baltimore. Previous to ascertaining this fact, the possessing party sought to sell it to the Federal Government as a sacred treasure. Its ultimate fate is not recollected. Mr. Peale did not appear to interest himself in the affair, for his affections were doubtless entirely concentrated upon his new original.

The venerable artist gave continued evidence of professional assiduity, particularly in the promulgation of his labors upon the duplication of his Washington effigies. It was with many a subject of regret that he devoted his whole life to such an arduous pilgrimage, as the detraction from public confidence of works contemporary with his own, especially that by the great Stuart. There can be no doubt concerning the honesty of his motives; yet there are those who regard his efforts after

glory as selfish attempts to make fortune out of veneration or patriotism, although he may have been unconscious of the fact; but it is much more generous, and doubtless more just, to ascribe his singular ideas of originality to an unaccountable imagination, of which his history by himself affords presumptive evidence.

"Mrs. Peale," the artist says, "with tears upon her cheeks, implored me to let Washington alone, for the excitement would cause my death." In another instance, this lady heard shrieks and groans issuing from his studio, which created intense terror. She flew to the door, but found it locked. Her imploring calls to her husband being unheeded, she had the door broken open, and upon rushing in, found the artist panting and nearly breathless upon the floor! Upon recovering, he explained his condition to be the effect of his conception of a scene for a picture; that when he reached the exact moment his horror was uncontrollable. It was Virginius in the act of stabbing his daughter! This was not madness—it was simply a mind off its balance, or too great an excess of imagination. The singular feature of this eccentricity is that his imagination never aided his brush; for he had to quiet down before he could execute his work, and then he grappled his subject imitatively.

The painters already named are the most popular competitors for the honor of having supplied or contributed a national standard for the likeness of Washington, and it would be a loss of time, and an useless distraction of attention, to allude to the rest who have made efforts without enviable result. Pine and Sharpless are perhaps the only other artists deserving notice, but neither have contributed successfully to the great object in view. Indeed it was almost unnecessary to review the artists already named, but at the same time, as there has been but one side of the subject published to the world, and as the mass of society have no time or inclination perhaps to explore the ground, it is deemed expedient to call attention to the subject generally, so that the facts may be compared side by side. The only motive for thus taxing public patience is the firm belief that there is a true life-like image of Washington, and that it is due to posterity and the great Washington himself to establish the authenticity of this image, and therefore put an end to all further contest, speculation and imposition.

The most authentic likeness is a life-size statue by Houdon, made in 1785 from casts taken of the head and whole person of Washington. The obscurity in which this extraordinary relic has remained is owing to the fact that it was executed for his native State, and has been preserved

at a distance from any center of observation, and that the people of a new country have had little attention to bestow on art. At the close of the war a resolution was passed by Congress, ordering the erection of an equestrian statue in honor of General Washington, but no further steps were taken to carry it into effect. When the Legislature of Virginia convened, however, a resolution was passed to have his image made out of the finest marble, and by the most eminent sculptor of Europe, and an appropriation of one thousand guineas was voted. This was about one-half the amount of the value of such a work, and was made in ignorance of such matters, there being no guide except the known cost of a statue in Williamsburg of Lord Botetourt, which was about this amount, although a very ordinary specimen of sculpture. No doubt the great value of money, owing to the emptiness of the treasury, some idea of which can be formed by reading the following warrant of the first instalment, had something to do with this oversight :

"Warrant to Thomas Jefferson, Esq.

"Saturday, October 30, 1784.

"Out of the first money that shall arise under the law for recruiting the States quota of men to serve in the continental army, for the purpose of procuring a statue of General Washington.

"By order of the Executive, £550 Sterling."

Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were charged with the commission, and at once determined to offer it to Houdon, who was pronounced the greatest statuary of modern times. This sculptor studied in Rome, where he made two statues, one of St. John and one of St. Bruno, which were purchased at the instance of the Pope, and placed in juxtaposition with the genius of ancient Greece. He had discarded the conventional art of the day, and substituted for it truth of nature, and the Greek rules of classic beauty. He was an eminent anatomist, and made the famous anatomical statue which laid the foundation of the new school of Europe. When Jefferson reached Paris, Houdon was engaged upon works for nearly every court of Europe, and he gave considerable offence by yielding to Jefferson's solicitations to undertake the statue of Washington. The Empress of Russia, who had given him some very important orders, was exceedingly incensed when he made application to be released from the engagement, and expressed considerable indignation at the idea of his, as she said, "risking his life in crossing an ocean to make the statue of a colonial rebel."



The following is the resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia :

"The initiatory steps taken and final action of the legislature relative to the erection of the monument to Washington. Journal of the House, May 15th, 1784.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up an address to his excellency General Washington, expressive of the thanks and gratitude of the House of Delegates for his unremitted zeal and services in the cause of liberty, congratulating him on his return to his native country and the exalted pleasures of domestic life.

'Committee appointed, Messrs. Ronald, Mann, Page, Hubbard, Henry, Tazwell, Heath, Roan, Taylor of Caroline, Cary and Corbin.

"Ordered, That it be an instruction to the same Committee to consider and report what further measures may be necessary for perpetuating the gratitude and veneration of his country to General Washington. * * * *

"Resolved, That the Executive be requested to take measures for procuring a statue of General Washington, to be of the finest marble and best workmanship, with the following inscription on its pedestal, viz: 'The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected as a monument of affection and gratitude to George Washington who, uniting to the endowments of the hero the virtues of the patriot, and exerting both in establishing the liberties of his country, has rendered his name dear to his fellow citizens, and given to the world an immortal example of true glory."

The Executive caused to be sent a copy of the picture of Washington by C. W. Peale, which was designed as the material from which the statue should be made. No sooner did Houdon see this picture than he rejected all thought of relying upon any such work, and told Jefferson it would be absolutely necessary for him to see Washington himself. Both Franklin and Jefferson rejoiced over this unexpected sacrifice, although it involved additional expense. Jefferson wrote at once to the Governor to communicate this agreeable information, and was in return congratulated on having made so happy a negotiation. A difficulty arose, however, which rendered the enterprise somewhat doubtful. Houdon was entirely willing to sacrifice himself, but he required a given sum to be secured to his parents and sisters in case he should be lost at sea. Jefferson wrote to Adams on the subject to obtain insurance in London upon Houdon's life, to continue from month to month until his

return to France. This was happily effected, and Houdon sailed from England with Franklin. Jefferson had previously written to Washington the following letter :

To General Washington, from Jefferson, dated Paris, July 10th, 1785

"Dear Sir: Mr. Houdon would much sooner have had the honor of attending you, but for a spell of sickness, which long induced us to despair of his recovery, and from which he is but recently recovered. He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalship in it, being employed from all parts of Europe in whatever is capital. He has had a difficulty to withdraw himself from an order of the Empress of Russia; a difficulty, however, that arose from a desire to show her respect, but which never gave him a moments hesitation about his present voyage, which he considers as promising the brightest chapter of his history. I have spoken of him as an artist only; but I can assure you also that, as a man, he is disinterested, generous, candid, and panting after glory; in every circumstance meriting your good opinion. He will have need to see you much, while he shall have the honor of being with you, which you can the more freely admit, as his eminence and merit give him admission into genteel society here."

In writing to the Governor at the same time, he said Houdon had acceded to their terms, although he was confident he would be a considerable loser. Jefferson wrote also to the Virginia delegates in Congress, relying upon them to bring up the subject of the equestrian statue. He tells them of the glory it would be to have the work done by so great an artist; one who was entirely without rivalship.

When Franklin and Houdon arrived in Philadelphia, Washington wrote the following letter :

From General Washington to Benjamin Franklin.

"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"When it suits Mr. Houdon to come hither, I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able, and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can." * * * *

From Washington to Houdon.

"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"Sir: By a letter which I have lately had the honor to receive from Dr. Franklin at Philadelphia, I am informed of your arrival at that



place. Many letters from very respectable characters in France, as well as the Doctor's, inform me of the occasion for which, though the cause is not of my own seeking, I feel the most agreeable and grateful sensations. I wish the object of your mission had been more worthy of the masterly genius of the first statuary in Europe, for thus you are represented to me.

"It will give me pleasure, Sir, to welcome you to this seat of my retirement; and whatsoever I have or can procure, that is necessary to your purpose, or convenient to your wishes, you must freely command, as inclination to oblige you will be among the last things in which I shall be found deficient, either on your arrival or during your stay. With sentiments of esteem, I am, Sir," &c.

From Washington to Thomas Jefferson.

"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"I shall take great pleasure in showing Mr. Houdon every civility and attention in my power during his stay in this country, for I feel myself under personal obligations to you and Dr. Franklin (as the State of Virginia has done me the honor to direct a statue to be erected to my memory) for having placed the execution in the hands of so eminent an artist, and so worthy a character." * * *

Washington received Houdon at Mount Vernon with great cordiality and distinction. The artist no sooner beheld his subject than his admiration exceeded all anticipation. He said: "It is well that I went; for although I had conceived him to be an imposing personage, I had no idea of the grandeur and majesty of his form, features and presence." He solicited Washington to submit to having casts taken of his head and figure, which was at first refused with great repugnance, but so completely did Houdon win the regard of his illustrious host that he finally replied: "Do with me what you please; I can refuse you nothing." The scrupulously modest Washington did submit to be laid nude upon a table, and buried in plaster from head to foot. Houdon remarked after the operation: "I shall transfer him to marble just as he is, for he is too grand a subject to submit to the embellishments of fancy or art." In packing up his moulds he separated those of the *head*, and retained them in his own possession, intending to precede his assistants, which excited some surprise, and in reply to the question as to his motive, he said: "If they are lost in the ocean, I am determined to perish with them." Jefferson mentioned that Houdon built up his

statue perfectly nude, which is evident from the clearly defined characteristic anatomy, and to secure entire accuracy of the features he forced the clay into the mould of the head, thus insuring the exact reproduction of the original. He made a clay bust in the same way, which he presented to Washington as a memento of his gratitude. This bust is still at Mount Vernon, but it is by no means a correct representation of what it was when made, for it has been cast from, broken, and bunglingly repaired. Besides, in the drying, clay shrinks to a sharpness, both unpleasant to the eye and untruthful to the original.

When Jefferson first saw the statue in progress, it was entirely constructed, but perfectly nude, and he expressed infinite surprise at the individuality of the air, position and features, exclaiming: "I should recognize any single part if the rest were concealed. As for the attitude, it is perfect, and I have seen him assume it on all important occasions; indeed, it is as perfectly characteristic as though it were the man himself."

Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette: "I have now to thank you for your favors of the 9th and 11th of July; the first by Mr. Houdon, who staid no more than a fortnight with me, and to whom for his trouble and risk in crossing the seas (although I had no agency in the business) I feel myself under personal obligations."

When Lafayette last visited this country, his first request upon landing was to be shown some likeness of his illustrious friend. He was taken to see Stuart's, but he shook his head, for he had not seen in the original the inroads of age and deformity. He was then shown Trumbull's, and at once said: "That is his figure; I should recognize it anywhere readily." But when he arrived in Richmond, Virginia, he eagerly went to the capitol to confront Houdon's marble statue, and a large concourse of people accompanied him. He stood mutely before the statue a long time, and silence became sympathetic. He at last said—the tears falling down his cheeks: "*That is the man himself. I can almost realize he is going to move.*"

The facts connected with this priceless relic are incontrovertible history; there is no scope for opinion except in ignorance, malice, or envy. Criticism in a general point of view is futile, or should be so; for whatever may be said respecting the composition, it can be nothing against the great sculptor, or truthfulness of the likeness, for he had the choice of arranging only the accessories, which the commissioners thought essential to the expressing a sublime truth. They designed to commemorate the incident of Washington's tendering back his commission.

Houdon desired to illustrate this on the pedestal. Still the composition as it is forms a completeness and harmony very grateful to the artistic mind. The statue represents him the moment after performing this emphatic act. He had but just resigned his military commission, which the yet gloved hands indicate. The stick of the civilian tells that the act is performed. The insignia of office rest upon the emblem of union bound in peace. The plough in the rear speaks of his future pursuits in retirement. The position of the figure is that of dignified ease; the head is slightly elevated by the reverence of the heart, and the far-seeing wisdom of the mind: the whole air of the person and face are remarkable for quiet majesty and holy repose.

This noble statue is not a subject for fanatical prejudice; the critic is not required to dissect it for conventional comparison. Its truth to material nature is its merit, and its integrity to the incident it commemorates is its moral importance. If the dress appear strange to the eye trained to fashion or classic rule, it reminds the reflecting that it is from the identical dress worn on the impressive occasion the statue was designed to chronicle, and if this does not satisfy the critic, the fact that it was Washington's own choice must close all sceptical lips upon the point forever.

Freedom of act, speech and thought, together with the sanction of humbug, subject the most sacred subjects to detraction. It would be remarkable, then, should this glorious statue from the life escape factional censure. Indeed attempts have already been made to deprive it of its historical reputation for truth. Several articles have appeared in newspapers of this description. The Washington Star had one, which purported to be an account of an adventurous visit to the foundry of Mr. Clarke Mills. It says: "To Mr. Mills falls the singular good fortune of having it in his power to furnish what alone will give his work inestimable value." He continues: "But now comes out the most singular fact of all. Who has not felt a sense of dissatisfaction at the narrow, retreating forehead and perked up chin of the Houdon statue, all questioning being debarred by the assertion that the head was an exact copy from life? Such is not fact. Houdon, following the wretched taste of his time, must needs alter his divine model, and give to Washington the features and port of the effeminate, sensual royalty of that day, namely, the narrow forehead, wide, heavy jowls, and thrown up chin and nose. Providentially the original head from the cast, though overlooked, has been preserved intact, and is now in the hands of the artist, tremblingly alive to its priceless value as the only true representation of Washington

in existence." This writer professed to have his information from Mr. Mills' own lips. In another instance similar authority asserts that "Mr. Mills said he found, in an attic at Mount Vernon, the moulds that came off Washington's face." This is a more mischievous presumption than the former one, because it is barefacedly false in its facts. The most absurd feature in this assertion is that Houdon should have come to this distant country to obtain that which he left behind, and which he said he took in his own charge, that if it were lost he would perish with it.

Houdon was the most eminent anatomist of his day, and had no rival in his art. He was employed first at Rome, where the master sculptures of the world stood in proud beauty, and two of his works were placed in their midst. His statue of Voltaire, with which many Americans are familiar, is the most notoriously characteristic likeness in the world. He had commissions from every court of Europe. He left honors and munificent patronage to cross a stormy ocean to make a statue of a "colonial rebel," and for a compensation not equivalent to the time lost and the marble he had to purchase. He made casts of Washington's head, body and limbs, and reproduced the original by forcing his clay into the moulds. He made the Mount Vernon bust in this way, but he took the moulds, Jefferson says, in his own charge, not wishing to trust them even to the hands of his faithful assistants.

A few years ago a beautiful statue of a female was discovered in Paris, and its extraordinary grace and chasteness of taste created a vast excitement. After many vain efforts to discover the author, it was traced to Houdon, and is esteemed a type of the most beautiful art in Europe.

It may occur to many that some severity of criticism has been used in examining the likenesses by different artists; but it must be recollected that national art should have no weakness, and that it would be imbecile kindness to fasten upon the country and its art examples calculated to deprave taste, or at least to prevent that intellectual excitement positively essential to lofty and successful emulation.

The disinterested and the truly critical cannot but perceive and feel the extraordinary poverty of genius exhibited in our national art.

WILLIAM J. HUBARD

NOTE.—The foregoing essay was read before the New York Historical Society some years ago, and is now published for the first time.

EDITOR

ROBINSON'S HOUSE IN THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS

THE HEADQUARTERS OF WASHINGTON

Around the Beverley House, as it is called in the neighborhood in which it stands, centres the story of the treason of Benedict Arnold. In the beautiful old mansion, which now, with its Venetian awnings and brilliant parterres, forms such a bright picture nestled among its trees on the Garrison's road, was hatched the crowning details of the scheme that was to annihilate at one fell blow all hopes of the independence of the Colonies. From that house, when the scheme had failed, and death and dishonor stared the traitor in the face, he sped his wild flight to the enemy; and there, too, a few days later, was brought his unfortunate accomplice and victim, the man, whom nature and fortune combining to favor, was yet led by fate to an early and ignominious doom.

Beverley Robinson, the proprietor of this estate, has been well described as a gentleman of high standing. His father, the Hon. John Robinson, President of the Virginian colony on the retirement of Governor Gooch, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Burgesses, was a friend of Washington during the latter's earlier years, and is still remembered as complimenting him, from the chair, in brief but eloquent terms, on his mingled modesty and valor. The son, entering the army, resided in New York, where he married Susannah Philipse, the great grand-daughter of Frederick Philipse, the founder of the Sleepy Hollow church, and co-heiress with her sister of the immense estates possessed by that family on the Hudson. Among the lands acquired by Robinson through his marriage with Miss Philipse was a tract about four miles square, included within the boundaries of what now is Putnam County, bordering the river on one side, and here he built his house, sometime about the year 1750.¹

The old mansion, the last relic of its owner, whose name was once potent in the Highlands, and around whose roof-tree many remembrances cluster, stands about a mile below Garrison's Station on the east side of a road leading to Peekskill. The house, which is in full view from the highway, consists of three buildings joined together, extending east and west and fronting towards the south. Nearest to the road is that portion of it, one story high, which constituted the farm house.

Next to this are the main buildings, each two stories high, the one furthest towards the east being considerably higher than the others. A piazza surrounds this last structure on the north, east and south sides, extending along on the south side of the central building, in which the large dining room is located.

Chance and judicious care have united in preserving the interior of the old dwelling almost unchanged. The low ceilings; the heavy, uncovered joists; the fire-places without mantel shelves; the staircase with its short flights of steps and broad platforms, all carry the mind of the visitor back to former days. Nor are traces wanting of its Revolutionary occupants. In the wood-work of the chimney-piece in the room which was used by General Arnold as a bed chamber, is cut in large letters, "G. Wallis, Lieut. VI. Mass. Regt." About fifty rods north of the house, on the opposite side of the road, there formerly branched off another road which wound down in a southwesterly direction to the river, where a dock, some parts of which yet remain, served as a landing place for the estate.*

Here, in this secluded retreat, dispensing an elegant and generous hospitality, and the master of every comfort to be desired, Robinson dwelt in happiness during the years when the troubles between the colonies and the mother country were arising; and here he was living when the storm, which had been so long gathering, burst forth.

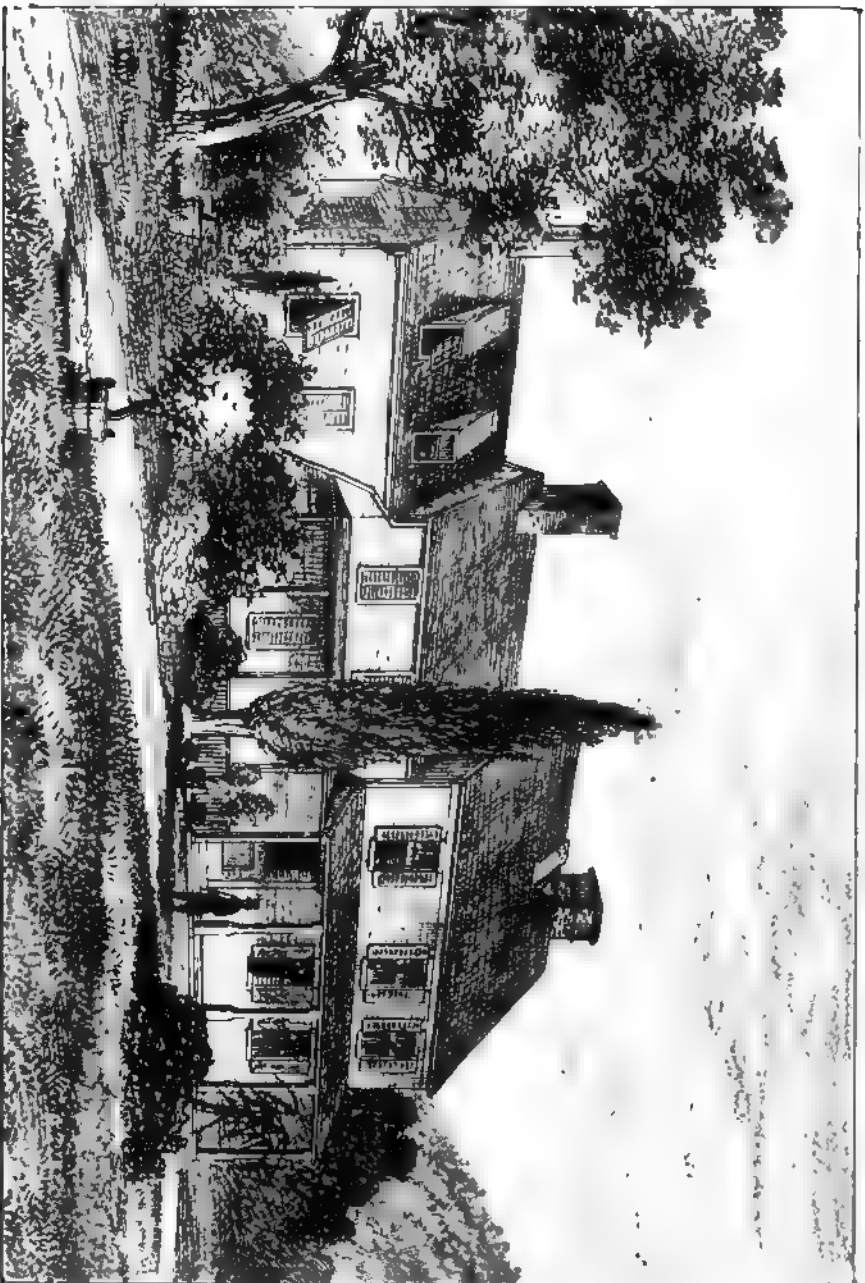
It has been said that Robinson was strongly disinclined to take any part in the contest. Though opposed to the idea of separation from Great Britain, he was also opposed to the measures of the Ministry. Either way he wished only to be allowed to remain in the enjoyment of his country home. That this was his inclination is certified to by the unimpeachable Whig testimony of Timothy Dwight, and it is further borne out by the traditions of Robinson's descendants. On the other hand the Minutes of the Committee appointed for "Enquiring into, Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies," held February 22, 1777,⁹ show how strongly his sympathies were with the Crown from the first. Previous to this date he had held some correspondence with the Committee of Safety in regard to the proposed erection of fortifications on Martelaer's Rock, in the river opposite West Point, and now, the time being come when he was required to take a decisive stand, he refused to subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the State. Soon after, with his family, he repaired to New York, leaving the Highland home in which he was destined to dwell no more, though, if tradition is to be believed, when the British moved up the Hudson after the fall of Forts Clinton

and Montgomery, he took the occasion to visit for the last time the house where he had passed so many years. Deserted by its owner, and that owner in arms for the enemy, the mansion came to be used as public property by our officers. Generals Putnam⁴ and Parsons made their headquarters there in 1778-79. Washington appears there on the 31st of July, 1780, and there, five days later, Arnold took up his abode, having been appointed by General Orders of August 3d to the command of the Post of West Point and its dependencies.

It has been stated on good authority that Arnold was in communication with Robinson before he came to West Point, and it has been supposed by a very accomplished historical scholar that a letter said by Marbois (*Complot d'Arnold et de Sir H. Clinton, &c.*) to have been found among Arnold's papers (which letter was the first overture received from an agent of Clinton) was written by Robinson. Be this as it may, it is certain that the first open negotiations with the British were conducted by Arnold through Robinson, ostensibly with regard to the confiscated estate of the latter, and it was the sagacity and prudence of Robinson as well as his local knowledge of the people and the country, that proved so useful to our foes in the affair, and led to his accompanying André in his expedition up the river in the *Vulture*.

Arnold went from the Robinson House, on the 21st of September, to Verplanck's Point, crossed to Haverstraw, and at midnight held his interview with André among the firs in the gloomy thicket at the foot of Long Clove Mountain. The next day he returned to his quarters, leaving André at Joshua Hett Smith's residence, the "White House" two miles and a half below Stony Point. André, attempting to make his way down on horseback through Westchester County, was captured about eleven o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 23d. Jameson's letter announcing the event reached Robinson's House early on the following Monday, and was delivered by Lieutenant Allen to Arnold while he was at breakfast with his aides. Astounding as the information must have been, Arnold's self-control did not forsake him. He had no time to lose. Washington had arrived at Fishkill on his way from Hartford, and was hourly, indeed, momentarily expected. Rising calmly from the table, he begged his guests to excuse him, saying that he was compelled to cross over to West Point, but would shortly return. Summoning James Larvey, the coxswain of his barge, he ordered a horse to be brought. "Any horse," he said—"even a wagon horse!" He then went up to his wife's room, and, in a few words, told her that his life depended upon instant flight. Overcome by this information, she





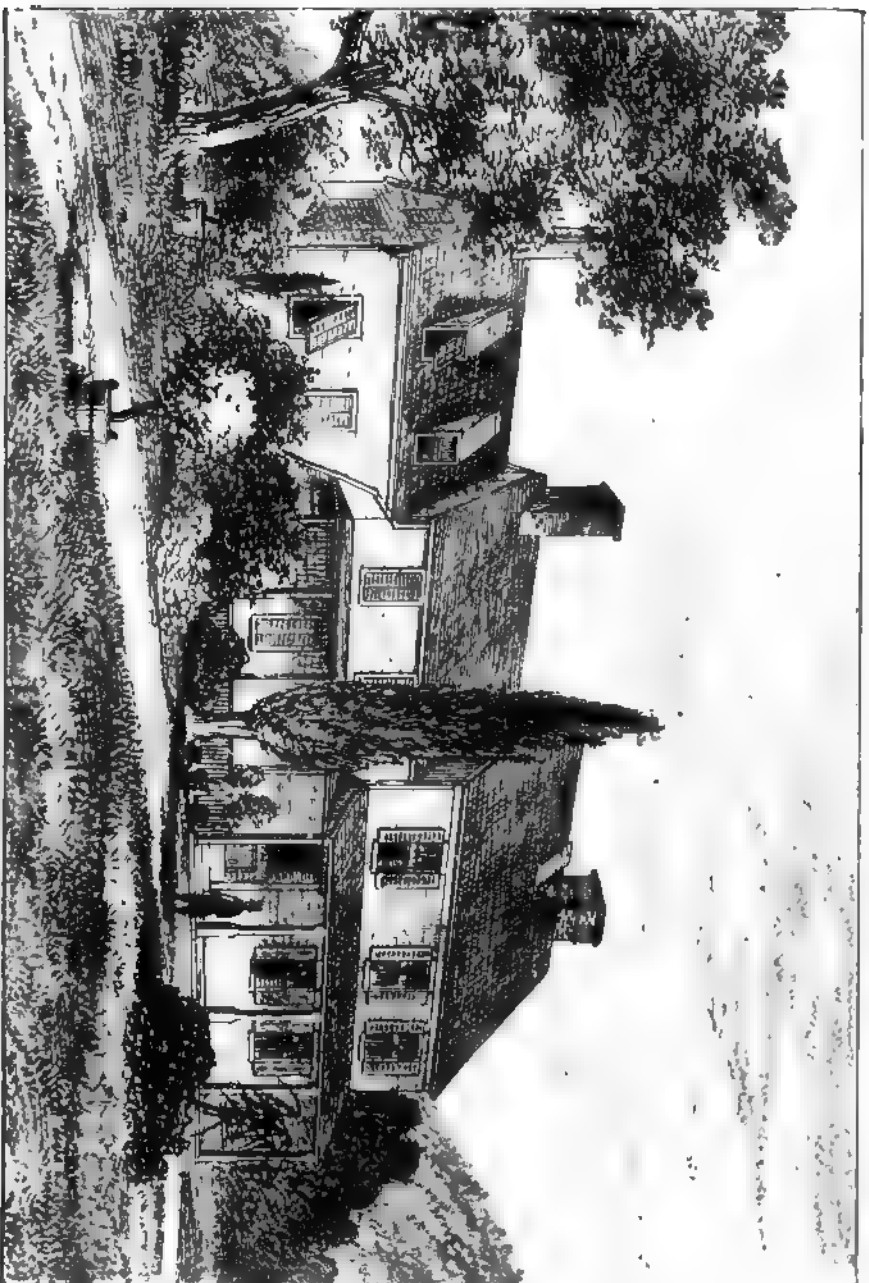
THE BEVERLEY ROBINSON HOUSE - GARRISON'S, N. Y. - WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

screamed loudly, and fell to the floor in an hysterical fit. Bidding the maid, whom the outcry had brought, to attend to her mistress, he left her, and stopping only to say in the breakfast room that his wife had been taken suddenly ill, he mounted the horse at the door and started for his boat, lying at the Robinson dock. The regular road to the river side, as has been said, led off from the main road some little distance above the house. To have taken this would have consumed time, besides rendering him liable to be met by Washington and his suite, who would approach the house by this way. He took a short cut instead. A former occupant of the house used many years ago, to point out the path the traitor took. A little south of the house was a gate leading into a cleared field. Through this Arnold dashed, and "crossing the field in the direction of the river, passed through a second gate on its west side, entering the woods on the brow of a very steep and abrupt descent. Plunging down it on a gallop, he came into the road to the water a few rods north of the dock." Springing into his six-oared barge, he told the men that he was bearing a flag to the Vulture, and that they must pull him to the vessel with the greatest haste, and two gallons of rum should be their reward. The oarsmen, said Washington, "were very clever fellows, some of the better class of the soldiery." They rowed hard, and it probably took but a little time to traverse the twelve miles or more between Beverley Dock and Teller's Point, and to place the fugitive in safety on the deck of the Vulture, under the protection of the British flag.

On Washington's arrival at the house, and discovery of the treason shortly after Arnold's flight, it was resolved if possible to intercept the traitor on the way, and his aids, Hamilton and McHenry started at once on horseback for Verplanck's Point, but Arnold had the start of his pursuers some six hours, and long before they left the house he must have been under cover of the Vulture's guns.

Mrs. Arnold, meanwhile, remained in her room in a state described as bordering on frenzy. "The General," wrote Hamilton to Miss Schuyler, "went up to see her, and she upbraided him with being in a plot to murder her child. One moment she raved, and another she melted into tears." "We have every reason to believe," continued Hamilton, "that she was entirely unacquainted with the plan; and that the first knowledge of it was when Arnold went to tell her that he must banish himself from his country and from her forever."

We have not the space here to enter into a discussion of the question



THE BEVERLEY ROBINSON HOUSE -GARRISON'S, N. Y.—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

1. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

1994年12月15日
 1995年1月15日

and the β parameter is the inverse of the variance of the error term. The β parameter is estimated by the following equation:

Journal of Management Education 30(6)p.789-804
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[illegible][illegible]

^a The number of subjects who were included in each group was 10.

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$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{\rho} \right) = - \frac{1}{\rho^2} \frac{d\rho}{dt}$



THE BEVERLEY ROBINSON HOUSE—GARRISON'S, N. Y.—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

of Mrs. Arnold's knowledge of her husband's schemes. The opinions of historians generally have acquitted her of being an accessory to the treasonous plot, despite the assertion of Burr that she told Mrs. Prevost "she was heartily sick of the theatricals she was exhibiting," and had, by "great persuasion and unceasing perseverance," brought the General into an arrangement to surrender West Point to the British. That she came of thoroughly Tory stock, and was the personal friend of Major André is undeniable, but it seems to be balanced by the evidence of Major Franks, of our army. Franks was one of Arnold's aides, and because he was charged with the duty of attending on Mrs. Arnold, was popularly known among his fellow officers as "the nurse." He states that Arnold could not have ventured to trust her, as she was subject to attacks of nervous indisposition, when she would give utterance to anything and everything that was in her mind. "This," said Franks, "was a fact well known to us of the General's family, so much so as to cause us to be scrupulous of what was told her, or said within her hearing." Other facts have been cited in her favor, which, carefully weighed, certainly go far to establish her innocence.'

On the morning of Tuesday, the 26th of September, 1780, Major John André was brought to Robinson's House, in pursuance to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. "That he may be less liable to be recaptured by the enemy," Washington wrote to Jameson, "who will no doubt make every effort to regain him, he had better be conducted to this place by some upper road, rather than by the route to Crumpond." This order, dispatched at seven o'clock in the evening of the 25th, was the second one issued. The bearer of the first reached the Gilbert farmhouse, at South Salem, where the prisoner was confined, about midnight. André was in bed, but at once arose, and hastily dressing himself, prepared to obey the summons. The night must have been a dismal one, indeed, for the unhappy captive. It was intensely dark, and the rain fell in torrents when he set forth with his escort. At North Salem meeting house they met the second messenger ordering the change of route. The party, accompanied by Major Benjamin Tallmadge, Captain Hoagland and Lieutenant King, rode through the night, making as few halts as possible, and wet and travel stained, arrived in the morning before the Robinson House door.

Joshua Hett Smith, who had been arrested by Colonel Gouvion at Fishkill the night before, was already brought there. If his account of his own reception on reaching the house is to be credited, he was "par-

aded before the front door under a guard," and Washington coming out on the piazza interrogated him with great sternness. Smith's fears suggested the poet's lines—

*" Si fractus illabitur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ."*

He pleaded in justification of himself that he had been only acting under the orders of General Arnold, and that, if anything was wrong, he was responsible. "Sir," answered Washington, "do you know that General Arnold has fled, and that Mr. Anderson, whom you have piloted through our lines, proves to be Major John André, the Adjutant-General of the British army, now our prisoner? I expect him here under a guard of one hundred horse, to meet his fate as a spy, and unless you confess who were your accomplices, I shall suspend you both on yonder tree!" pointing to a tree before the door. "He then," says Smith, "ordered the guards to take me away." About two hours after this Smith said he heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and, soon after, the voice of André mingling with those of Washington and others, but here Smith was altogether wrong. Washington saw Major Tallmadge, and asked him many questions, but he declined to see the British Adjutant-General, and Tallmadge always believed that, "incredible as it may appear," Washington and André never saw each other.

The most famous of Washington's biographers thinks that the reason why the General refused to see André was apparently from a strong idea of his moral obliquity, deduced from the nature of the very nefarious business in which he had been engaged, and the circumstances under which he was taken. But in truth this theory is hardly tenable, at least it is not reconcilable with the sentiments regarding André afterwards expressed by the American Commander. It is more reasonable to suppose that Washington's course in the matter was actuated by a nice sense of the etiquette of his position, rather than by any personal enmity to the man. The interview of James II. and the Duke of Monmouth has been cited by General Charles J. Biddle, in his elaborate review of André's case, as containing within itself what seems to be the real explanation.

That evening André and Smith were taken from the Robinson House across the river to West Point. On the evening of the 28th Washington left Robinson's for the camp at Tappan, whither the prisoners had been conveyed some hours before. On the 29th he issued from his headquarters at Tappan his instructions to the Board of Officers, and from the same place his evening orders of Sunday, October 1st:—

"Major André is to be executed to-morrow at twelve o'clock precisely ; a battalion of 80 file from each wing to attend."

The execution over he did not return to his Highland quarters, but moved southwards towards Paramus and the Passaic Falls.

Robinson accompanied the commissioners sent by Sir Henry Clinton to confer with General Greene at Dobbs' Ferry on the subject of André's sentence, and with the closing scenes of that story his name ceases to appear in connection with the war. At the peace he went to England with a portion of his family, where he lived in retirement. He received from the British government the sum of £17,000 sterling, which was considered only a "partial compensation" for his wife's share in the Philipse estates.

Beverley Robinson died at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, in 1792, aged about seventy years. His son of the same name, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of his father's regiment, and who is designated in the Confiscation Act as "Beverley Robinson the younger," died while on a visit to his relatives in New York in 1816. His grave stone in St. Paul's churchyard on Broadway bears the inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of Hon. Beverley Robinson, late of Fredericton in the Province of New Brunswick. Born 1754; died 1816." A son of this latter was the late Beverley Robinson of the New York Bar.

In a sketch of the history of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, the Rev. Beverley R. Betts, a descendant of Colonel Robinson describes the arms of Robinson, which he states was a Yorkshire family: ARMS, *Vert on a chevron between three roebucks trippant, or, as many trefoils slipped gules.* CREST, a roebuck trippant, or. Motto, Propere et Provide. The cut illustrative of this article is taken from a book plate which belonged to Beverley Robinson, a maternal ancestor of the Rev. Mr. Betts, to whose courtesy its reproduction is due.

Sir Frederick Philipse Robinson, the last surviving son of Colonel Beverley Robinson, died at Brighton, England, on the 1st of January, 1852, at the age of eighty-seven. He was an officer of the British army in the war of 1812, and at the close of hostilities he made a visit to the old house in the Highlands where he was born and where his early years were spent. A nephew relates that "he wept like a child as he saw and recollected the spots and objects once so familiar to him."

Robinson's House, confiscated by Act of the State of New York, was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, and at the present time forms part of the estate of the Hon. Hamilton Fish, whose own summer residence is in the vicinity. The house has had many occu-



pants. Lieutenant Thomas E. Arden of the United States army resided here for many years, and earlier in the century it was for a time the home of Henry Brevoort. It was while Mr. Brevoort was living in the house that he made the fishing excursion with the elaborate equipment alluded to by Irving in the "Angler" paper in the Sketch Book. A few miles above the house a mountain brook, flowing through the woods and falling at last over a pile of mossy rocks into a deep glassy pool in a dell near the road, forms the beautiful "Indian Falls" so well known in the country around. Thitherward did Mr. Brevoort betake himself from the Robinson House one morning bent on angling. "He was attired," said Irving, "cap-a-pie for the enterprise. He wore a broad-skirted fustian coat, perplexed with half a hundred pockets; a pair of stout shoes and leathern gaiters; a basket slung on one side for fish; a patent rod, a landing net and a score of other inconveniences only to be found in the true angler's armory. Thus harnessed for the field he was as great a matter of stare and wonderment among the country folks, who had never seen a regular angler, as was the steel-clad hero of La Mancha among the goat-herds of the Sierra Morena." But "after all," said Irving with sly humor, "he caught less fish than did a lubberly country urchin who came down from the hills with a rod made from the branch of a tree and a pin for a hook!"

The location of Robinson's House is in the very heart of the finest scenery of the Hudson, embosomed among the forest-clad hills and surrounded on all sides by objects which recall the contest for American independence. At the edge of the lawn rise abruptly the steep and rugged sides of Sugar Loaf Mountain, commemorated by President Dwight who ascended it in 1778, while stationed at West Point as chaplain to a Connecticut regiment. From the top the eye takes in a view described by Dwight as "majestic, solemn, wild and melancholy," but which, however, has undergone great change by the hand of cultivation since his time. Looking far northward the river is seen widening into broad Newburgh bay, beyond the peak of Storm King, on whose rounded summit beacon fires were wont to blaze of old. Nearer, outlined against Cro' Nest, is West Point, overlooked by Redoubt hill and the grey walls of Fort Putnam; whilst at their feet in the river are the woods of Constitution Island. Within these woods are the mouldering ruins of the fortifications projected at such a vast expense and with so little benefit by the engineer, Bernard Romans, whose folly in erecting a fort on a place lower down than any of the surrounding grounds was

severely commented on by the military men of his day. Part of the barracks of these useless works now serves as a kitchen to a pretty cottage which peeps from among the trees on the southern shore of the Island—the home of the accomplished authoress of the “Wide, Wide World.” Between Constitution Island and the Robinson House the



vision roams over a wide extent of woodlands, the estates of the Kembles, Philipses and Gouverneurs, grounds once familiar to the tread of the Continental soldiery. The picturesque little church of St. Philip's, built of late years on the site of one where Washington attended, is seen; and, skirting it, the pleasant river road winding in places between tall hedgerows and garden walls and under the shade of lofty trees. For mingled beauty of scenery and charm of historical association there is scarcely a fairer or more interesting spot to the eye of an American than the old Revolutionary quarters of Washington in the Highlands.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

¹ A diagram of Robinson's property in the Highlands is in Blake's History of Putnam County, N. Y., 12mo. 1849.

² I am indebted to Mr. Stevens for calling my attention, whilst engaged in writing this article,

to an interesting account of a visit made to the Robinson House by one of the West Point Board in 1840, which appeared in the Knickerbocker Magazine for September of that year.

³ The Minutes of this Committee are preserved in the headquarters at Newburgh.

⁴ Thompson's Long Island says that General Putnam's wife died in the Highlands in 1777, and "was interred in Beverley Robinson's tomb."

⁵ Major Franks, according to J. Francis Fisher (Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. for 1869-70) was a son of David Franks, a very rich Philadelphia Jew, one of whose daughters married a De Lancey and another General Sir Henry Johnston. The late Gouverneur Kemble, in a letter dated at Cold Spring in 1873, says that Lady Johnston was the authoress of the Loyalist poem, "The Times." An anecdote recorded of her by General Scott shows her Tory proclivities. At a ball given by M. Girard in honor of the alliance between the United States and Louis XVI. she caused the token of alliance (a black and white cockade) to be tied to a dog, and, by a bribe to a servant, had the animal thus decorated turned into the ball room. Franks' testimony concerning Mrs. Arnold is in the privately printed preface to the Shippen papers. In considering his evidence his Tory connections should be taken into account.

THE SAINT-MÉMIN WASHINGTON

This engraving now presented is from a crayon drawing of the head of Washington in profile belonging to Mr. James Carson Brevoort of Brooklyn, Long Island. It was drawn by Mons. Jules Fèvres de Saint-Mémin, a French refugee, who, during his residence in the United States, between the years 1796 and 1810 supported his family by drawing and engraving small profile likenesses, which were highly prized for their minute accuracy. He engraved upwards of eight hundred such portraits of gentlemen and ladies in our chief cities, from Boston to New Orleans.

While residing in Philadelphia in 1798 he must have seen Washington, who was there for a short time in November of that year. There is no evidence proving the portrait to have been taken at an appointed sitting, but the peculiar talent of Saint-Mémin in seizing a correct profile likeness was no doubt exercised on this occasion.

These facts lend a singular interest to this sketch, which was purchased from the late James B. Robertson, an English printseller, who had visited Dijon, France, expressly to purchase the collections left by Mons. de Saint-Mémin, who died there, aged eighty-two, on the 23d of June, 1852.

The original sketch is half-life size, in black crayon on reddish paper, the material used by this artist. Saint-Mémin no doubt intended to engrave it, but the only engraving of Washington in his collection was very small, oval in form, hardly half an inch in height, and differing from this. The following letter from Mr. Robertson to Mr. Brevoort, who purchased the portrait, authenticates its genuineness:

NEW YORK, November 27, 1860.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your note of the 24th instant, referring to the Crayon Profile Portrait of Washington in military dress, drawn by M. de Saint-Mémin, now in your possession, I can only state that I obtained it in November, 1859, at Dijon, in France, from M. de Juigné, the heir and nephew of the artist. At the same time I acquired the complete collection of his engraved portraits, 818 in number, as mentioned in M. Guignard's memoir, among which is one engraved from the above mentioned drawing. M. de Juigné informed me that he had heard his uncle remark that Mr. Jefferson considered it one of the most accurate likenesses that had ever been executed.

I remain, yours, most respectfully,

JAMES B. ROBERTSON.

J. Carson Brevoort, Esq.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.



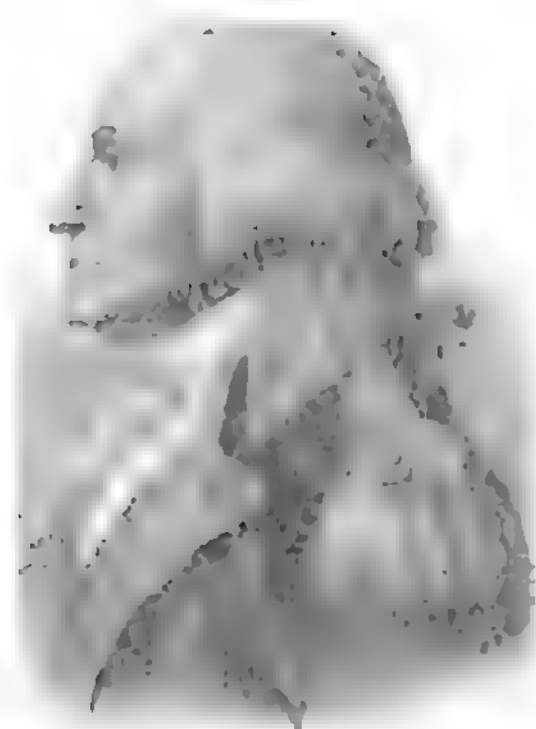
The plan of de Saint-Mémin was novel. The portraits were first drawn by what the French call the *physionotrace*, and then engraved. This process was invented in 1786, and had great success at Paris, but was unknown in America until introduced by Saint-Mémin. The construction of the *physionotrace* was simple, that of the *pantograph* by which the outline was reduced offered but little difficulty. The real trouble was the engraving process. The industry and genius of Saint-Mémin finally simplified even this difficulty, and he was able to sell the original drawing, of life-size, in black crayon on red paper, framed, the reduction on copper, and twelve proofs, for the sum of thirty-three dollars.

The entire collection of engraved plates, from which the heads were struck by Saint-Mémin, was purchased by Elias Dexter, and an edition printed from them in New York. The profile now reproduced was also engraved by him in 1866. In addition, an excellent photograph was taken, of which a few copies were distributed by Mr. Brevoort to his friends, with an explanatory memorandum, from which the above account has been chiefly taken by the kind permission of this distinguished and liberal gentleman.

A pleasing memoir of Saint-Mémin,* by M. Ph. Guignard, Librarian of the City of Dijon, was published in that city in 1853, a copy of which Mr. Brevoort also possesses in his invaluable collection.

EDITOR

* Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Févret de Saint-Mémin par Ph. Guignard, Bibliothécaire de la Ville de Dijon, correspondant du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, 8vo, pp. 22. Imprimerie Loireau-Feuchot. Dijon, 1853.





LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

THIRTY

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME
PUBLISHED

1781

XC

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

(Circular)

Head Quarters, New Windsor
Janry 23d 1781

Dear Sir

I have received the disagreeable intelligence that a part of the Jersey Line had followed the example of that of Pennsylvania and when the advices came away it was expected the revolt would be general—The precise intention of the Mutineers was not known; but their complaints and demands were similar to those of the Pennsylvanians.

Persuaded without some decisive effort at all hazards to suppress this dangerous spirit, it would speedily infect the whole Army, I have ordered as large a Detachment as we could spare from these Posts to march under Major General Howe, to compel the Mutineers to unconditional submission, to listen to no terms while they were in a state of resistance and on their reduction to execute instantly a few of the most active, and most incendiary Leaders—I am not certain what part the Troops detached for this purpose, will act, but I flatter myself they will do their duty—I prefer any extremity to which the Jersey Troops may be driven, to a compromise.—

The weakness of the Garrison, but still more its embarrassing distress for want of Provisions, made it impossible to prosecute such measures with the Pennsylvanians, as the nature of the case demanded—and while we were making arrangements as far as practicable to supply these defects an accommodation took place, which will not only subvert the Pennsylvania Line, but have a very pernicious influence on the whole Army—I mean however by these remarks, only to give an idea of the miserable state we are in, not to blame a measure which perhaps in our circumstances, was the best that could have been adopted.—The same embarrassments operate against coercion at this moment, but not in so great a degree. The Jersey Troops not being from their numbers so formidable as the Pennsylvanians were.—

I dare not detail the risks we run from the present scantiness of supplies—With flour we are only fed from day to day—We have received few or no Cattle for some time past, nor do we know of any shortly to be expected. The salted meat we ought to have reserved in the Garrison is now nearly exhausted—I cannot but renew my solicitations with your State to exert every expedient for contributing to our immediate relief.

With perfect respect

I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys

Most Obt. H'ble Servant,

G. WASHINGTON

His Excellency,
Governor Nash

XCI

From the Clinton MSS. in the New York State
Library, at Albany

Head Quarters,
New Windsor, Feb'y 8th 1781

Dear Sir

I have been duly honored with your Excellency's favor of the 31st of January—I have also conversed with your Brother on the temper and disposition of the Troops of New York ; and from his representation am led to expect, the discontents among them, which were so happily suppressed will not revive again.—

With respect to the mode your Excellency recommends for employing the Invalids of the New York line, I have the honor to observe—that altho, the forming these men into a Company under supernumerary Officers, Might be attended with some good consequences, Yet I conceive (besides being contrary to the spirit of the late Establishment of the Army, by which all Independent Corps are reduced) it would not, on every consideration, be an eligible measure.

If the men are proper subjects for the Corps of Invalids, they are not to be discharged on any pretext whatever. If they are so entirely useless as to be discharged, and are reinlisted by any Recruiting Officer—by the printed orders on that subject, he will inevitably incur the loss of all the expence and bounty paid to such Recruits.

I will only add that from long experience, I have almost invariably found Independent Corps to be such an imposition upon, and moth to the Public,

that I cannot consent to give any countenance to the revival of them.

I have the honor to be

With great esteem & respect
Your Most Obed. Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency Gov. Clinton

XCII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters
New Windsor Feb 13 1781

Dear Sir

I have received your letters of the 15th of December and 4th of February.

I have been for some time past expecting the Commissary of Prisoners at Head Quarters ; but he only arrived yesterday. I shall speak to him on the subject of your Excellency's letter, and shall do every thing in my power to have justice done to the State. 'Tis no doubt reasonable it should be informed of the steps taken with regard to its prisoners, and I shall endeavor to settle a plan for this purpose.

With respect to the Militia taken in arms they have at all times had the same privileges of exchange with the Continental troops—the invariable rule of which has been priority of capture. This being the case, it is just that all persons taken by the Militia in arms also, should fall into a common stock to be disposed of by the same rule : For without this, there would be an evident disadvantage to the Continental troops, as the captures made by them go equally to the relief of the Militia as of themselves, while the captures made by the

Militia would be confined to their own exclusive benefit.

With respect to those not taken in arms—mere citizens—on both sides, it is certainly just and agreeable to rule that those belonging to each State should have an absolute preference in the exchange of those captured by that State, to all others. With the greatest respect & esteem I have the honor to be

Your Excellys

Most obed servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency William Livingston

Governor of New Jersey

I have recd yours of 28 Jan'y

XCIII

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters

New Windsor 1 March 1781

Dear Sir,

Having been informed by Major General Dickenson that he was vested with power, during the recess of the Legislature, to order out the Militia of the State, I have thought it expedient to desire him, at this juncture, to order the whole to be in readiness, and to direct the Beacons and other signals of alarm to be put in condition to afford the speediest communication to the Country of an incursion of the enemy. My reason for doing this—is not from intelligence that the enemy mean anything offensive, but having lately been under the necessity of making a very considerable temporary detachment from the Army in this vicinity and from the Jersey Line, I think it not improbable that the enemy may endeavor to take advan-

tage of our weakness and enterpose something against these posts in Jersey. It is therefore necessary to be in readiness to receive them. I assure myself of every assistance from the countenance and advice of your Excellency should there be occasion.

With Very great Respect

I have the honor to be

Yr Excellency's most obed servt

GO WASHINGTON

Yr Excellency favor of the 24th inst is just come to hand.

His Excellency

Govr Livingston

XCIV

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Duplicate

Head Quarters New Windsor

March 23 1781

Dear Sir,

I was honored on my return from Rhode Island with your Excellency's Letter of the 1st inst together with the enclosures.

Altho the discharging a single man from the service is a very inconsiderable diminution of our force; Yet when the innumerable applications on this subject are taken into consideration, the unavoidable decrease of our Army if discharges are granted, the amazing difficulty of procuring men for the war, and the heavy expence attending the recruiting service:—it cannot certainly be considered as a hardship, to retain them in service, who were fairly inlisted, and with a large bounty—unless able bodied substitutes are procured in their room. Under this condition, I would

consent to the dismissal of Robert Skekit: otherwise it would be opening a door of uneasiness to others, and doing an essential injury to the Public.

If the presence of Skekit is so necessary with his Tribe, upon providing a substitute for the War: the Commanding officer of the Regt may make the exchange.

I have the honor to be

With great regard and esteem

Your Excellency's most

obed & humble servt

GO WASHINGTON

N. B. The original is supposed to have miscarried in the last mail.

His Excellency Govr Livingston

XCV

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

New Windsor Mar 24th 1781

Dear Sir

On my return from Newport 4 days since I found your favors of the 21st & 27th ulto at my Quarters

I do not see that it is in my power to give any immediate relief to Doctr Lewis. If he is considered as a prisoner of War (and the circumstances of the case only, which are unknown to me can determine this) you must be sensible that a resolve of Congress and the invariable practice of the Army are opposed to his being exchanged out of turn— If on the other hand he is viewed in the light of a Passenger and Citizen. I know not at this time (but will enquire of the Comy of Prisoners) if any character in our possession, who will apply in his Exchange, even if priority of Capture, in this case also

should not be opposed to it— Upon a full view of the circumstances as far as I have knowledge of them, it appears to be one of those cases which come more properly before the State of Virginia than the United States, till the whole business of Exchange goes through one channel; which is far from being the case at present, as the States individually give up no advantages they obtain by captures to the United States, though they are very frequently applying for them,—especially in difficult cases.

It is a much easier matter for Congress, conformably to the wishes of the distressed States to call upon me to afford them aid, than to furnish me with the means of doing it— The report of the Com'ee alluded to in your letter of the 21st—may be adduced in proof of it. I had however previous to the receipt of the resolve of Congress (consequent of Col. Harrison's representations of matters to the Southward or knowledge of his being at Philadelphia) adopted the temporary relief which is now in operation— But—

(It is a misfortune which seems to attend all our measures to do things unseasonably or rather to neglect the critical moment to do them.— Had the French commanders at Rhode Island complied (in the first instance) with my request to send the whole Fleet, and a detachment from their land force to Virginia the destruction of Arnold's Corps must inevitably have been compleated during the debilitated state of the British Fleet.— The enterprise now is bold & precarious— rendered more so by an unfortunate & to me unaccountable delay of

Private.

Private

twenty-four hours in their quitting Newport after it was said they were ready to Sail.— The wind & weather being as favorable to them & as adverse to the enemy in Gardner's bay, as the powers of the Air could devise, —but it ought to be our policy to make the most of their assistance without disgusting them by our censures or reminding them of their mistakes.—for this reason it is I inform you in confidence that upon the first certain advice of the injury sustained by the British Fleet, I proposed the expedition to Portsmouth, to consist of the whole fleet and a detachment of Land forces from both Armies; assuring them that nothing could be done to effect without a co-operation by Land and Water— accordingly, that no time might be lost in waiting their Answer I set about the formation of my own detachment & had marched it off before I knew that a Ship & two *frigates only* without Land Troops had left Rhode Island, and which had it not been for the accidental meeting of the Romulus & the Vessels under its convoy, wd have returned as they went—

The critical situation of affairs in Virginia, and North Carolina, produce anxious moments; and we wait impatiently for decisive accts— God grant they may be favorable to us—but the face of things is much changed since my first proposing the Expedition to Portsmouth: at that time the French were decidedly superior in their Navy—now they are unquestionably inferior — &

should they get first into the Capes & be able to maintain a position in Hampton Road they will not have it in their power to prevent succours landing at Lynhaven bay—or Willoughbys point: If Clinton can afford such a detachment as will be able (with the cooperation of Arnold to force its way from thence to Norfolk in spite of the opposition which can be given by the French Troops and Militia) for their Frigates will stop at water transportation in the bay consequently fix the Marquis' detachmt at Annapolis or compel them to a long & tedious Land march.—

I was very glad to hear of Mr Morris' appointment & wish he may accept it; but cannot by any reasoning I am Master of acct. for the postponing the choice of the Minister of War: which in my opinion is of all others the most essential; & ought least to be delayed.

I was much pleased to hear that Virginia had given up her Claim to the Land West of Ohio—that the confederation was completed—and that the State seemd disposed to grant more competent powers to Congress—without a controuling power in that body, for all the purposes of war, it will be impossible to carry on the War— the reasons are many & conclusive—but the want of room will not allow me to enumerate them, at this time — The most important are obvious—the noncompliance with the recomns of Congress in some States the unseasonable compliance in time and manner by others—the heavy expence accumulated thereby to no purpose—the injury to come, & the jealousy of all the States proceeding from these causes with the consequent dissatisfac-



tion in people of every class from the prolongation of the War, are alone sufficient to prove the necessity of a controlling power— Without it & speedily we shall be thirteen distinct States; each pursuing its local interests, till they are all annihilated in a general crash of them. The Fable of the bunch of Rods or sticks may well be applied to us.—

I am Sir Affecty Yrs

G. WASHINGTON

The Honble Jos'h Jones Esqr.

XCVI

From the original MSS. of William A. Fitzhugh
in the New York Historical Society

New Windsor March 25. 1781

Dear Sir

A few days ago brought me the honour of your favor of the 7th inst from Marlboro. Your other letter of Jan the 20th came duly to hand; for both I thank you; without offering an apology for suffering the latter to remain unacknowledged till this time—because I am satisfied you will attribute my silence to any cause rather than disrespect and to none sooner than the true one—viz—the load of business which continually presses upon me.

It was with sincere concern I heard of the injury you had sustained in your property at the Mouth of the Patuxent but it is only adding another specimen to the catalogue of British clemency and boasted generosity.

The accession of Maryland to the confederation & the relinquishment of the claim of Virg. to the Lands West of Ohio are events which are exceedingly pleasing to me, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the powers of

civil government, under the present Constitutions of the several States, to determine how far they are able to obtain men for the war, or for three years by coercion—nor am I enough acquainted with the abilities of them, to declare what sums they ought to have given to soldiers under this description in preference to a draft of men for a short term. This however is the most expensive and least effectual mode that ever was devised to carry on a War which is like to become a War of finance.—and that no funds within our reach can support it long—I speak upon the best ground when I assert this, because no day nor hour arrives without bringing with it some evidence in support of the truth of the observation.—To this cause also the prolongation of the war—the wretched state of our finances—and every capital misfortune that has befallen us may be traced.

I as little scruple to add that, unless the powers of Congress are made competent to all the purposes of war we are doing no more than wasting our time & spending our treasure to very little purpose; for it is impossible to apply the strength and resources of this country while one State complies with—another rejects—and the majority of them changes or mutilates the requisitions of that Body. Hence the willing States are capitally injured if not ruined. Hence proceed distrust, jealousy, and dissatisfaction; and the impossibility of either projecting or executing (with certainty) any plan whatsoever—Hence proceed all the delays, which to the people at a distance and unacquainted with circumstances, are altogether unaccount-

able—and hence it is we incur useless expence—because we do not bring our force &c into operation at the same time—some being exhausted before others are obtained.

We wait with much solicitude for advices from the Southern army—our last accts from that quarter were less gloomy than the former, but not less equivocal and distressing—I have heard nothing from General Greene since the 28th of Feby nor of him (with precision) since the 2d Inst—Matters were so critically circumstanced at that time as to add pain to impatience—Equally ignorant and equally anxious am I with respect to the French Fleet under the Command of the Chevalier Des Touches—No accts of them have I received (but vague ones through the Channel of Rivington's paper) since he left Newport—at Yorktown in Virginia there was no intelligence of him on the 15th—

It is to be lamented and greatly lamented that the French Commanders at Newport did not adopt the measure of sending the Fleet & a detachment of their land force to Chesapeake bay when I first proposed it to them (in the moment I received the first certain information of the damage done to the British Fleet at Gardner's bay) had the Expedition been undertaken at that time, nothing could have saved Arnold's corps during the weakened state of the British ships from destruction. Instead of this a small detachment only was sent with the fleet which as I foretold would have returned as they went had it not been for the accidental meeting of the Romulus and the Vessels under her convoy.—But as there is no rectifying past errors

—and as it our true policy to stand well with friends on whom we so much depend I relate this in confidence.

I have heard nothing from General Thompson since his release from captivity & his joining the army will depend on his promotion & his promotion in Congress, the time of it is uncertain; but that your son may be relieved from his present anxiety—suspense—and all possible censure I will with much pleasure receive him into my family as an extra aid until Thompson arrives—In the meanwhile his rank may be ascertained & his Commission procured—Mrs Washington makes a tender of her compliments to Mrs Fitzhugh to which you will please to add those of

Dr Sir Yr most obedt & most

Hble servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble

Wm Fitzhugh

XCVII

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood

Private

Head Quarters New Windsor

April 8th 1781

Dr Sir

I have received your Letter of the 6th Inst—

The success of the Enterprize propos'd must depend, on the absence of the British Fleet, the secrecy of the attempt, and a knowledge of the exact situation of the Enemy.—If after you have been at the Westward, the circumstances from your intelligence shall appear favorable; you will be at liberty, to be the bearer of the enclosed Letter to His Excellency the Count De Roch-



ambeau—to whose determination I have referred the matter ; as any co-operation on our part, by moving Troops towards the Sound, would give such indications of the design as would effectually frustrate the success.

Should you not proceed to the Count you may destroy that Letter—if on the contrary, you should go to New Port by keeping an account of the expences they will be repaid by the Public

In the mean time, I wish you to be as particular as possible, in obtaining from your friend, an accurate account of the Enemy's strength on York, Long, and Staten Islands, specifying the several Corps and their distributions.—This I think from the Enemy's present weak State, may be procured with more facility & accuracy than at any former Period

I am Sir

Your most obedient servant

GO WASHINGTON

P. S. I wish to know also, the strength of the last Detachment from New York, and of what Troops it was composed,

I need scarcely suggest, if you should go Eastward that it will be expedient to do it in such a manner as not to create suspicion.—Indeed you know, secrecy is absolutely necessary in the whole affair—

As the Count de Rochambeau does not understand English, it may be well to communicate your business to the Chevalier De Chattelus in the first instance & thro him to the Count, lest it should get abroad

To Major Tallmadge
Weathersfield

XCVIII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor
8th April 1781

Dear Sir,

Intelligence has been sent me by a Gentleman living near the enemy's lines, and who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among them that four parties had been sent out with orders to *take or assassinate* Your Excellency—Governor Clinton—me and a fourth person, name not known.

I cannot say that I am under apprehension on account of the latter, but I have no doubt they would execute the former could they find an opportunity. I shall take such precautions on the occasion as appear to me necessary, and I have thought it proper to advise your Excellency of what has come to my knowledge that you may do the same.

That they may fail of success if they have any such plan in contemplation, is the earnest wish of

Dear Sir

Yr most obt & very hble Servt
GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr Livingston
at Trenton

XCIX

From the Clinton MSS. in the New York State
Library, Albany

Head Quarters New Windsor,
15 April 1781

Dear Sir

The Bearer Mr. Fish of Saratoga district came to me this morning, with the

intelligence of which the inclosed is a Copy. How he obtained it from one Harris he will inform your Excellency. Harris whose Character perhaps your Excellency may be acquainted with, is to meet the party under the command of Ensign Smith the 20th of this month—is to convey a packet to Albany and to carry another back to them. He proposed to Fish to seize him at a place to be agreed upon and to take the letters from him. But I think a better way would be to let him carry the letters and answers in the first instance to Genl Schuyler, who might contrive means of opening them without breaking the seals—take Copies of the contents, and then let them go on. By these means we should become Masters of the whole plot—whereas, were we to seize Harris upon his first tour, we should break up the chain of communication, which seems so providentially thrown into our hands. Should your Excellency approve of the measure which I have suggested, you will be pleased to write to Genl Schuyler upon the subject, and desire him, should business call him from Albany, to leave the conduct of the Affair in proper hands in his absence. I have promised Fish that both he and Harris shall be handsomely rewarded if they execute the Business with fidelity.

I have recd your Excellency's favor of the 30th ulto and 8th Inst. Every thing shall be done to keep up the supply of provision to the Northward, but our great difficulty now lies in getting it from the Magazines in the neighbouring States. The Quarter Master is Money-

less and the people refuse to work longer upon Certificates.

With the Highest Respect and

Esteem I am

Yr Excellency'

Most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr Clinton [at Poughkeepsie]

C

Communicated by Isaac Craig

Head Quarters New Windsor

April 25th 1781

Sir

I have received your favor of the 15th The present State of Col. Proctors Regiment does not admit of your Company being made up to its full complement, but I have by this conveyance, desired General St Clair to let you have as many men as will put you on a level with the others. This is all that can be done— I have already desired the Board of War to send six Artificers to Fort Pitt, you may wait upon them yourself with this letter, and ask three or four more if they can be spared.

I would wish the enclosed for Genl Clarke & Col. Brodhead to reach them as speedily as possible, you will be pleased to take charge of them yourself, if you do not meet with a good opportunity previous to the time you intend Setting out.

I am Sir

Your Humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

To Capt Craig

of the 4th Regt of Artillery
to the Care of the Board of War
Philadelphia



CI

Communicated by John Austin Stevens

Head Quarters 2d May 1781

Sir

You will be pleased immediately to order out a party of fifteen or twenty picked men and a proper officer to go with Major Logan lately of the York Line, to endeavour to apprehend a gang of notorious Villains in this neighbourhood. Major Logan will guide the party and point out the objects. Let them take three days provisions if possible. The party will march as speedily as possible as one of the Gang is already taken up, and it is feared the others will gain intelligence of it. I have directed the order to you in the first instance as I know General Knox is not at home.

I am Sir

Yr most obdt Servt

Go WASHINGTON

Lt Col Stevens

or commanding officer

Park of Artillery

CII

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

Head Quarters, New Windsor
May 7th 1781

Dear Sir

I had the honor to receive, last night, your Excellency's Letter of the same date.

In consequence of Brigadr General Clinton's information of the 30th Ulto. I instantly ordered 50 Barrels of flour & 34 of Meat (being every Barrel of the latter we had on hand) to be sent to Albany, for a partial relief of the Garrison of Fort Schuyler. I know it was very inadequate, but it was our all,—since

which not a Barrel of salted Provision has arrived.

I have now directed 100 Barrels of flour (out of 131 which is our whole Magazine) to be immediately transported to Albany— This supply shall be followed by another of Meat, if any quantity should come in from the Eastward— In the mean time I have written, some days since, to General Clinton to draw (by Military coercion if necessary) whatever supplies have been collected for the Continent; from all Counties of Massachusetts most contiguous to him; I have also empowered him to procure Fish by exchanging salt for them.— Whatever more within the limit of my ability, can be suggested or done for the security of Fort Schuyler, and the protection of the frontier, shall be most seriously attended to, and strenuously attempted by

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient, and

Very Humble Servant

Go WASHINGTON

P. S.

I shall be extremely happy to see you, in order to converse freely on the subject of the Troops & Frontiers of this State.

His Excellency

Gov. Clinton

[Poughkeepsie]

CIII

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor
27th May 1781

Sir

Last night I returned from Weathers-

field where I have had an interview with His Excellency the Count De Rochambeau; in consequence of which, the French army will commence its march, to form a junction with ours on the North River as soon as circumstances will admit

The accomplishment of the object which we have in contemplation, is of the utmost importance to America, and will in all probability be obtained, unless there should be a failure on our part, in the number of men which will be required for the operation, or the enemy should draw a considerable part of their force from the Southward— It is in our power by proper exertions, to prevent the first—and should the latter take place, we shall be amply repaid our expences by liberating the Southern States, where we have found by experience we are only vulnerable.—

Upon the calculation that I have been able to form, in concert with some of the more experienced French and American Officers. The operation in view will require, in addition to the French Army, all the Continental Battalions from New Hampshire to New Jersey inclusive to be compleated to their full establishment. Your Excellency must be sensible that the measures in consequence of the last requisition of Congress have been very far from answering the end; as, notwithstanding the advanced season, few recruits (comparatively speaking) have yet joined your Regiments. It must also be taken into consideration that a number of those men who were returned when the requisition was made, have since been *taken off* by the various casualties

incident to an army, besides such as have been discharged in consequence of the investigation made into the terms of enlistment by the Committee appointed by Your Excellency for that purpose— By this diminution and the want of success in recruiting: I find from the last return there are 455 men wanting to compleat the two Regiments of your State.

From what has been promised, you will perceive, without my urging further reasons, the necessity I am under of calling upon you, in the most earnest manner, to devise means to send into the field, without delay, the number of men now actually wanting to compleat your Battalions— The term of three years, or for the war would undoubtedly be preferable to any shorter period, but if they cannot be obtained on these conditions, necessity must oblige us to take them for the Campaign only, which might be reckoned to the last of December.

On so great an occasion I should hope that the estimate would be made sufficiently large, and that the exertions in the several Counties would be so very vigorous and energetic as to give us every man we stand in need of by the first of July at furthest Arguments surely cannot be wanting to impress the Legislature with a due sense of the obligation which we are under of furnishing the means now called for— The Enemy counting upon our want of ability, or upon our want of energy, have, by repeated Detachments to the Southward reduced themselves in New York to a situation which invites us to take advantage of it and should the

lucky moment be lost it is to be feared, that they will, after subduing the Southern States, raise a force in them sufficient to hold them, and return again to the Northward with such a number of men as will render New York secure against any force which we can at this time of day, raise or maintain.

Our allies in this Country expect and depend upon being supported by us in the attempt which we are about to make, and those in Europe will be astonished should we neglect the favorable opportunity which is now offered.

As it is probable that some Militia in addition to the full complement of Continental Troops may be necessary to support communications and for other purposes, you will be pleased to direct 500 men to be held in readiness to march within one week after I shall call for them, to serve three months after they shall have joined the army and I shall take the liberty of requesting that the *Executive* may be vested with full powers during the recess of the Assembly to comply with any further requisition, I may make for *more provisions*, or for the means of *transportation* which last may be most essential in the course of our operations, should it become necessary to bring Provisions or Stores from a distance.

I shall be glad to be favored with an answer as soon as possible, with an assurance of which I may depend upon, that if I do not clearly see a prospect of being supported, I may turn my views to a defensive instead of an offensive plan, and save the States and our allies the expence which would be needlessly

incurred by any but an ample and effectual preparation

I have the honor to be

With great esteem and respect

Yr Excellency's

Most obedt Servant

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston

CIV

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor

June 9 1781

Dear Sir

I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 1st Instant. Upon examining the State of Ammunition with reference to the proposed operations it is found impossible to furnish more than fifteen thousand Musket Cartridges for the use of the State of New Jersey:—especially at a time, when, we are obliged to solicit a loan of Powder from the Eastern States, and when, the supply of lead in possession of the Public, is very incompetent to our wants.

It is unnecessary to mention to your Excellency that the strictest economy should be enforced in the distribution and expenditure of so essential an article

With great respect & esteem

I am your Excellencys

Most obedt Hble servt

GO WASHINGTON

P. S. An order for the Cartridges is enclosed

His Excellency

Governor Livingston

CV

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor

15 June 1781

Sir

I flatter myself that proper measures have been taken before this Time to procure the Number of men for Continental & Militia service requested by my Letter of the 27 of May—In the Calculation which had been made at Weathersfield of the Aid of Militia which would be necessary to support the operation which we have in View, I included sixteen hundred from Pennsylvania: but that State having been twice called upon to embody and march 2400 men immediately to the assistance of Virginia, I am obliged to add the number I shall be disappointed in from Pennsylvania, to the quotas required from the other States—Your proportion of them will be 250—which with the Requisition of the 27th of May, will make in the whole 750.

From circumstances I have Reason to expect that our operation will commence somewhat earlier than I at first expected—Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to order the Militia to march in such Time that they may join the army punctually by the 15th of July next—The officer commanding may give me notice when he is ready to march from his Place of Rendezvous that I may halt him upon the West Side of the Hudson or order him over, as the situation of affairs may require.

I am convinced that I need not enter into a repetition of the arguments which were made use of in my Letter of the 27th

of May, to induce the most strenuous Exertions to fill up the Continental Battalions— I will only say that our Success will depend upon that being done Without it, there is not a chance, & with it we have the fairest Prospects—these Men must be sent forward as fast as they are raised

Of all the difficulties which surround me I fear none more than a Want of Subsistence for the number of men which will be shortly drawn together.— My whole Dependence is upon the Supplies demanded from the several States and if they fail in a regular and sufficient compliance—we must disband—our immense Expence of Preparation must be a dead Loss—& the consequence, in a political View will be of a most serious & alarming nature.— The State of N. Jersey having been for the several late Campaigns in a manner the Theatre of the War has been under the necessity of furnishing very great Supplies to the Army, altho they have not been exactly in the articles specifically required by Congress, & as that will probably be the case in the Present, I have made my principal Requisitions for Flour and meat upon Pennsylvania and the Eastern States— But as I still am very apprehensive of a Deficiency I must entreat your Excellency to endeavour to prevail upon the Legislature to make Provision for procuring as much as they possibly can of their Quota of these Articles— Nothing in Nature can be more repugnant to my Inclination than to be obliged to have recourse to Military Coercion for Subsistence; it being not only highly disgusting & oppressive to the Inhabitants, but ruinous

of the Discipline of the army—the more therefore that can be regularly obtained the less Occasion will there be for Measures of a disagreeable kind—

I have the the Honor to be
with very great Respect & Esteem
Your Excellency's

Most obedient Servant

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston

CVI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Qrs near Dobbs Ferry

10th July 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 20th ulto by Post, came to my hands the evening before I marched for this part of the country— The attention necessary to these kind of movements occupy all ones time, and must plead my excuse for not answering your favor sooner. I question now, whether I shall be able to write so satisfactorily as *I* could wish, or as *you* may expect.— I thank you for the promise of writing Col. R. H. Lee—and if your letter to him should not have been dispatched you would add to the obligation by doing it fully, as it will not be in my power to write so much in detail as I could wish, Shortly,— You must be much unacquainted with the true state of Sheldons Regiment and the Maris Chausi Corps when you apply to have them sent to the Southward— The first is yet to raise, and the last is about to disband, and besides, is very deficient in Horses—without a State to adopt them,—or the means of purchasing them— Sheldon has but 60 horses in all, and

only 25 of these accoutered— To the State of Connecticut he looks up for the rest— These Horses are to perform the duties of Expresses—Patrols—and the ordinary duties of the Field, while the Maris Chausi Corps consists of no more than abt 40 men and half the no. of Horses 12 of which are with me—and from the smallness of the number are continually on duty,—carrying orders to one part and another of the Camp— Judge you therefore of the impracticability of deriving succour from either of these corps.— Why Maylons Dragoons are withheld from that service, you must be better informed of than I am— The complaints against the Baron de Steuben are not more distressing than unexpected for I always viewed him in the light of a good officer—If he has formed a junction with the Marquis, he will be no longer master of his own conduct, of course the clamours against him will cease with his command—from General Green's Letters I had little doubt but that he would have been in Virginia ere this—powerfull causes may have detained him, but I am persuaded he will be there as soon as possible, as it is within his command, and now the principal theatre of action—In the meanwhile I am afraid to give any order in that quarter lest it should clash with his views, and produce confusion—I shall however write fully to him in the course of a few days upon the several matters contained in your letter—and till his arrival it is my opinion the command of the Troops in that State cannot be in better hands than the Marquis's. He possesses uncommon Military talents—is of a quiet and sound judgement, persevering and enterprising

without rashness—and besides these, he is of a very conciliatory temper, and perfectly sober. Which are qualities which rarely combine in the same person & were I to add that some men will gain as much experience in the course of three or 4 years as some others will in ten or a dozen, You cannot deny the fact and attack me upon that ground,—To relate facts, will be a sufficient expression of my Mortified situation. A third of July is passed! My former letters gave Congress a return of all the Recruits who had joined the army by the first of June—My present letter to them shows the number which have come in since—The Q. Masters and Commissary departments must be supplied from there or their business must stand. No militia are yet come in though some were pressing called for to strengthen West-point & our Northern front, that I might draw my Continental forces as much as possible to a point; and other things drag on like a Cart without wheels, but as far as my exertions can go the operations of the Campaign shall be hastened— My friends will make allowances — My enemies will censure—and I shall have the consolation of knowing that my whole time & attention is devoted to the public service, however short I may fall of its expectation. I have just received a letter from Col. Laurens (at the Court of Versailles) with the enclosed intercepted letters from the Minister (Lord Germain) I persuade myself copies are transmitted to Congress, but as there is a possibility of miscarriage, I transmit mine to be made use of as occasion requires—A publication of them with

proper comments, would, undoubtedly answer very valuable purposes—As the Minister's Sentiments respecting our Government &c &c are too obvious to be mistaken & must be alarming to those who are panting for the old Constitutions, to be explained away or relished. For a considerable time past I have had strong suspicions & uneasy moments on acct. of the People of Vermont. I have at different times been on the point of communicating them to Congress—but motives of delicacy have restrained me—convinced I am that these people wd. become a formidable barrier if they were made a separate State—equally convinced I am that Neutrality is the most we have to expect from them if they are not—I do not enter into the justice of their claim, because I am unacquainted with the merits of it—tis to the expediency & policy only I speak—at present that State give protection & is an asylum to all deserters—to every person who wishes to avoid taxation &c, by which means their strength is augmented in proportion to our loss—and the manner in which they mean to apply it is very equivocal. I have not since I have viewed the affairs of these people in the light here described, missed any opportunity of expressing my apprehensions to individual members of Congress who have passed through the army, and this I thought was as far as I could with propriety go. I do not now believe that the people, as a body, have any evil intention, but I firmly believe that some of their leaders have and that they will prevent us from deriving aid, though they may not be able to turn the arms of their Countrymen against us—I have



this instant received your favor of the 3d inclosing my old friend Cary's narrative of the transactions in Virginia. I am happy to find such a spirit prevailing in the Country and thank you for the perusal of his letters, as they contain the fullest & most authentic acct. I have had from that quarter. I am with much truth

Dr Sir

Yr Most Obedt & Affct.

Servt

G. WASHINGTON

To the Honble Joseph Jones

P. S. I need not say that this letter is written in haste—the marks of it are too evident to require such a declaration

CVII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry
13th July 1781

Dear Sir

I am just now honored with your Excellency's Favor of the 8th Instant, informing me of the offer of a number of Volunteer Horsemen from your State.

I applaud Sir! this spirit, which gives me much Satisfaction in its contemplation—The Gentlemen deserve my best Thanks for their Tenders of Service; which I beg leave to present to them thro' the Hands of your Excellency—

We are at present so much superior in Cavalry by the arrival of the Legion of Lauzun and a very good Corps under Colo Sheldon, that I have not need of any more Troops of that Establishment. It being also probable that the Gentlemen in the course of our operations, may be very usefull by joining a Body

of Troops, which it may be found expedient to form in your State: I think it not best to Draw them on this side of the River—but hope they will be so good as to reserve themselves for any operations which may be commenced on your side—

I will be obliged if Your Excellency will be pleased to inform me the Progress that is made under your late Law for filling your Continental Battalions—I am anxious on this Head, as I view it as an object of the greatest Importance, an object which if compleated would in great manner prevent the neces ity of calling for other assistance

I have the Honor to be

With great Esteem & Consideration

Your Excellency's

Most obedient & most humble servt

GO WASHINGTON

Governor Livingston
Trenton

CVIII

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry
30th July 1781

Dear Sir

Yesterday I was honored by the Receipt of your Excellency's Favor of the 28th inst.—Sensible of the Importance of supporting the Northern and Western Frontier of your State, Measures were taken for that Purpose, by calling for the Militia of the State of Massachusetts, as early as the Resolution for drawing down the Regular Troops was adopted—and my Letter of the 25th of June, requesting Governor Hancock to order 600 Militia from the Western Counties

of that State to march to Albany, was forwarded to him without Delay—this Requisition I had Reason to suppose had been early complied with, untill your Favor informed the contrary—In confidence however that the orders have before this time been given—but that no further Delay may happen I have this Day addressed Govr. Hancock on the subject, requesting that my Requisition may be fully and punctually complied with.—

I am happy in being well assured of your Excellency's Zeal and Activity in forwarding the Levies of this State for Public Service—and trust they will be in Readiness by the Time you mention—You will assure yourself Sir! a most hearty Welcome on my Part, whenever your Convenience will admit your paying a visit to Camp.

I have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of Respect & Regard

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient

humble Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Govr Clinton

CIX

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library
Albany

Head Quarters Dobbs Ferry
5th Augst 1781

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 1st inst. inclosing the Letter from Gen. Schuyler & others, is this moment come to hand.—

It is not a little distressing to find that the States will not or cannot fill their Continental Battalions, or afford the Aids of Militia required from them—but

that instead thereof they are expecting from me the few operating Troops which I have to depend on—the Consequence of this Conduct is too obvious to need any Coment—instead of offensive measures a defensive Plan must be adopted—instead of an active and decisive Campaign which I had hoped to have made—we must end our Operations in Languor and Disgrace—& perhaps protract the War, to the Hazzard of our final Ruin.

In Consequence of your Excellency's former Letter, I dispatched an Express to Govr Hancock, with a reiterated Request that he would order on the Militia of Berkshire & other Western Counties immediately to Albany—and have also addressed the Commandg Officer of the Militia raising in those Counties, begging him to march forward without Delay, to the Orders of Genl Clinton—what effect these Requisitions will have, it is impossible for me to say—in the Mean Time, I will leave the Remains of Courtlandt's Regs at Albany, trusting that the State will by its own Exertions, enable me to call them down when necessary, by substituting 9 months men, if those for three years cannot be obtained.

In Hopes that no further Delay of the Militia, from the Western parts of Massa'ts may happen for Want of any Exertions on my Part, I have desired Maj. Genl Lincoln, an officer of that State, to proceed to the County of Berkshire, for the Express Purpose of hastening them on—however little effect my written Applications have had—I hope his personal Attendance will produce the Aid we expect from those Counties.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Esteem & Respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt & humle Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Govr Clinton

CX

Communicated by J. H. Osborne

Auburn, N. Y.

Dobbs Ferry 8th Aug 1781

Dear Sir

This letter will probably be delivered to you by Mr Fitzhugh third son to Colo Fitzhugh of Maryland—who is desirous of obtaining an appointment in Baylor's Dragoons

Mr Fitzhugh is a stranger to me, but is spoken of as a promissing young man, just from his studies—such characters is an acquisition to any Corps. I shall be obliged to you for introducing him to my namesake as a fit person to receive a Commission in the Regiment he commands if there is a vacancy in it, and for any civilities you may shew him—With much Truth and sincere affection

I am Dr Sir

Your obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major General Nathanael Greene

Commander in Chief of the
Southern Army]

CXI

From the original MSS. Gift of William A.
Fitzhugh in New York Historical Society

Camp near Dobbs' ferry

8th Augt 1781

Dear Sir

I stand indebted to you for two letters—dated the 26th of April and 29th of

May—the reason why I did not immediately answer so much of the first as related to your son William, was the hourly expectation I was in of seeing his Brother the Captain, from whom I expected to know what Corps would be preferred—Not doing this till the middle of June, my answer was protracted till I was informed that he had changed his views, and was about to enter the suite of General Smallwood—This rendering an answer to that part of the letter in some degree unnecessary—the moving state of the army, and the junction which was formed with the auxiliary Troops immediately after, has been the occasion of my silence till I was informed by the Captain that his Brother had revived his first intention of getting an appointment in the Cavalry which has induced me to write to both Govr Nelson & Genl Greene recommending him to a Commission in Baylors Cavalry—I have no doubt of his succeeding if there is a vacancy in the Regiment—

There is scarce a stage of the Campaign, or an occurrence that happens in it, that does not exhibit some proof of the fatal policy of short enlistments, and of the immense expence we are involved in by them—The enemy never fail to take advantage in some quarter or another of the weak state of our army, whilst we, if an opening presents itself, have men to raise (by enormous bounties) before advantage can be taken of it, which occasions such lapse of time that the favorable moment is passed, & the enemy is prepared for us by a transport of their Troops.

The force called for and which I ought to have had by the first of Janry is not

yet arrived, nor do I know when to expect it—the Season is rapidly advancing, and the enemy if reports and appearances do not deceive us, is in hourly expectation of a reinforcement from Virginia at New York—thus it is we are always labouring—always accumulating expense and always disappointed of our object.

It is much to be feared that the campaign will waste away as the last did in a fruitless attempt to get men, who are procured in such a manner, and for such short period, that the first who come into the field are about leaving it as the last arrive—by which means an enormous expence is incurred and no benefit derived, as we never have a sufficient force at any period to answer our purposes

I am clearly in sentiment with you, that all emissions of Paper Money ought to be subject to a supreme direction to give it a proper Stamina & universal credit and that good & sure funds should be appropriated for the redemption of it—but in this as in most other matters, the States individually have acted so independantly of each other as to become a mere rope of sand, and to loiter upon the brink of ruin at a time when the independency of them, if the resources which have been drawn forth, had been applied to great objects by one common head, would have been as unshaken as Mount Atlas, and as regardless of the efforts of Great Britain to destroy it, as she is of the unheeded tempests that pass over her.

It was with much concern I heard you had received loss by the Pirates of the Bay—and of the Insults Mrs. Fitzhugh

and yourself had received from them—My complements attend her—and with very great esteem and regard

I am—Dear Sir

Yr Most obdt & affectnt

Servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble William Fitzhugh Esq

CXII

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Dobbs Ferry

20 Aug 1781

Sir

I regret being obliged to inform your Excellency, that I find myself at this late period, very little stronger than I was when the army first moved out of their Quarters. Of the Militia which were required of the State of New Jersey, and which were to have joined me by the 15th of July, never have come in. I am informed that the first party which rendezvoused at Morris Town returned home for want of subsistence. Of the Levies for the Continental Battalions only three men have joined in the course of last month.

The reinforcements from the other States have been very inconsiderable.

I leave your Excellency to judge of the delicate and embarrassed situation in which I stand at this moment. Unable to advance with prudence beyond my present position, while perhaps in the general opinion my force is equal to the commencement of operations against New York, my conduct must appear, if not blameable, highly mysterious at least. Our allies with whom a junction has been formed upwards of three weeks, and

who were made to expect from the engagements which I entered into with them at Weathersfield in May last, a very considerable augmentation of our force by this time, instead of seeing a prospect of advancing, must conjecture, upon good grounds, that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away. I shall just remark that it will be no small degree of triumph to our Enemies, and will have a very [fatal] influence upon our Friends in Europe [if] they find such a failure of resource, or such a want of energy to draw it out, that our wasted and expensive preparations end only in idle parade.

I cannot yet but persuade myself, and I do not discontinue to encourage our Allies with a hope that our force will be still be sufficient to carry our intended operation into effect, or if we cannot fully accomplish that, to oblige the Enemy to withdraw part of their force from the Southward to support New York, and which, as I informed your Excellency in my letter of the 27th of May, was part of our plan.

You must be sensible, sir, that the fulfilment of my engagements must depend upon the degree of vigor with which the Executives of the Several States exercise the powers with which they have been vested, and enforce the laws lately passed for filling up and supplying the Army. In full confidence that the means which have been voted will be obtained, I shall continue my preparations. But I must take the liberty of informing you, that it is essentially necessary I should be made acquainted, immediately on the receipt of this, with the number of Continental Levies and Militia which have been

forwarded, and what are the prospects of obtaining the remainder

I will further add, that it will be equally necessary to see that the specific requisitions are regularly complied with

I have the honor to be
with great Respect and Esteem
Your Excellency's
most obt and hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

By a letter just recd from Colo Seely I find that only 157 Militia had collected at Morris Town, and that the account of their returning home was premature. I have ordered them on to the army

His Excellency
Govr Livingston

CXIII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Kings Ferry
21st Aug 1781

Sir

I feel myself unhappy in being obliged to inform your Excellency that the circumstances in which I find myself at this late Period, have induced me to make an alteration of the main object which was at first adopted and has hitherto been held in view for the operations of this Campaign—It gives me pain to say that the delay in the Several States to comply with my requisitions of the 24th of May last, on which in a great measure depended the hopes of our success in that attempt has been one great and operative reason to lead to this alteration—other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this determination, and it may in the course of events

prove happy to the States that this deviation from our main design has been adopted—

The Fleet of the Count de Grasse with a body of French Troops on board will make its first appearance in the Chesapeak, which should the time of the Fleets arrival prove favorable and should the Enemy under Lord Cornwallis hold their present position in Virginia will give us the fairest opportunity to reduce the whole British force in the South & to ruin their boasted expectations in that Quarter—to effect this desirable object, it has been judged expedient, taking into consideration our own present circumstances with the situation of the Enemy in New York & at the Southward, to abandon the siege of the former, and to march a body of Troops, consisting of a detachment from the American Army with the whole of the French Troops immediately to Virginia—With this detachment which will be very considerable, I have determined to march myself. The American Troops are already on the West Side the Hudson and the French Army will arrive at Kings Ferry this day—when the whole are crossed our march will be continued with as much dispatch as circumstances will admit.

The American Army which will remain in this Department, excepting two light companies and some few detachments consists of the two New Hampshire Regiments—Ten Massachusetts and five of Connecticut Infantry with Sheldons Legion, Cranes Artillery, the State Troops and Militia, which with proper exertion of the States will it is expected be sufficient to hold the Enemy

in Check in New York and prevent their ravages on the Frontiers. The command during my absence is given to Major-General Heath, who will have the honor to communicate with the States on every occasion which may require their attention. As the Enemys Force in New York has been for some time past very considerable, and it is reported with a good degree of certainty that they have lately received a very respectable reinforcement of German recruits from Europe, it will be necessary still to send forward a great part if not the whole of the Militia requested from your State, in the same manner as tho' no alteration had taken Place in our Measures—You will therefore continue to send on at least 500 Men from your State to the orders of Genl Heath with as much dispatch as possible unless you should be informed from him that this Number need not be completed.

On this occasion, I cannot omit to repeat to your Excellency my opinion of the absolute importance of filling your Continental Battalions to their compleat Number for the War or three Years. Not only our past experience for a course of years, but our present situation should strongly inforce the necessity of this Measure. Every Campaign teaches us in the increasing difficulty and expence of procuring short termed Levies, and their decreasing utility in the field. The large reinforcements which the Enemy have this campaign sent to America strongly indicate their expectations of the continuance of the War—Should that be the Case the best way to meet them is certainly with a permanent Force—but should the War

be drawing towards a close a permanent and respectable Army will give us the happiest prospect of a favorable Peace—In every view a Permanent Army should be the great object of the States to obtain as they regard sound Policy, Prudence or Economy

I have the honor to be

With great regard & respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston

CXIV

Communicated by Pierre C. Van Wyck

Sir

You will take charge of the Cloathing the Boats Intrenching Tools—and such other Stores as shall be committed to your care by the Quarter Masr. General, with these you are to proceed (in the order they are mentioned) to Springfield by the way of Sufferans—Pompton—the two Bridges and Chatham.

When you arrive at Springfield you will put yourself under the order of Major Genl. Lincoln or any other your superior officer commanding at that place You will also if occasion should require it alter the above route agreeably to orders from either Maj'r Genl. Lincoln or the Qr Mr. General

You will be particularly careful to collect all your men that are in a proper condition to march and will use your best endeavours to prevent desertion.

Given at Kings Ferry this

25 day of Augt. 1781—

GO WASHINGTON

To Colonel Cortland

CXV

From the Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser

Baltimore 8th September 1781

With the warmest sense of gratitude and affection, I accept your kind congratulations on my arrival in this town.

Permit me, gentlemen, to assure you, that from the pleasure which I feel in having this opportunity to pay my respects to the worthy inhabitants of the town of Baltimore, I participate in your sensations of joy

If during the long and trying period in which my services, as a soldier, have been employed for the interests of the United States of America, and for the establishment of their rights, I have acquitted myself to the acceptance of my fellow citizens; if my various fortunes; if my attention to the civil powers of the States have subserved the general good of the public; in these things I feel myself happy—and in these considerations I rejoice in your felicity.

The happy and eventful successes of our troops in the Southern States, as they reflect glory on the American arms, and particular honour on the gallant officers and men immediately concerned in that department fill my heart with pleasure and delight—the active and generous part our allies are taking in our cause, with the late arrival of their formidable fleet in the bay of Chesapeake, call for our utmost gratitude; and with the smiles of heaven on our combined operations, give us the happiest presage of the most pleasing events—events which in their issue may lead to an honourable and permanent peace.

I thank you, most cordially, for your prayers and good wishes for my prosperity. May the author of all blessings aid our united exertions in the cause of liberty and universal peace; and may the particular blessing of heaven rest on you and the worthy citizens of this flourishing town of Baltimore

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant

GO WASHINGTON

William Smith, Samuel Purviance Jr.,
John Moale, John Dorsey, James
Calhoun,
Committee of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Town of Baltimore

CXVI

Communicated by Benson J. Lossing

Head Quarters near York
Octr 27th 1781

Dear Sir

As the Assembly of your State is now sitting, I cannot omit so favorable an occasion to suggest to you some measures which I conceive our present circumstances and prospects require should be immediately adopted.

To recruit the Regiments, assigned as a quota of this State, to their full establishment and put them on a respectable footing, is, in my opinion, the first great object, which demands the attention of your Legislature—The Arguments which have formerly been so frequently urged to enforce the expediency of this measure, must I presume, have carried conviction with them—but unhappily for us, the situation of affairs, especially in the States which were the immediate seat of War, was so perplexed—and the embarrassments of Government were so numerous

& great, that there could be hitherto, but a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress on this subject—Many of these difficulties are now removed, and the present moment which is certainly very favorable to the recruiting service, ought to be eagerly embraced for the purpose.

I will candidly confess to you that my only apprehension (which I wish may be groundless) is lest the late important success, instead of exciting our exertions, as it ought to do, should produce such a relaxation in the prosecution of the War, as will prolong the calamities of it—while, on the other hand, it appears to me to be our only sound policy (let that of the Enemy be what it will) to keep a well-appointed formidable Army in the field, as long as the War shall continue—For should the British Cabinet still persevere in their hostile designs, and the Powers of Europe interpose in their behalf, this is a measure of absolute necessity—Or should a negotiation soon take place, the small expence which will be incurred by raising & keeping up a respectable force, for a short time, will be more than compensated, by the advantages to be derived from it at the pacification.

Since this State, is at present, entirely liberated from the Ravages of War, I must take the liberty of recommending in the most earnest manner, that every possible aid, and assistance may be given by it to the Southern States which are yet invaded and that General Green may, meet with that effectual support from its resources, which he will now have right to expect.

Had I not considered the present



period too precious to be suffered to pass unimproved for the public good, and that vigorous & decisive efforts ought to be made without a moments loss of time, for augmenting our force, and reducing the power of the Enemy in the Southern States, I should rather have delayed this address until the sentiments of Congress could have been communicated to you but the importance of the occasion, will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient apology to them, for the liberty I am now taking.

I have the honor to be

With great respect & esteem

Most Obedt & Humble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

[His Excellency Thomas Jefferson

Governor of the State of Virginia.]

CXVII

Communicated by Benson J. Lossing

Head Quarters near York

Novr 4 1781

Sir

I have to inform you that it is concluded to form a deposit, of all the arms & ammunition for Musquetry brought with me from the Northward, and taken from the enemy, at Westham in this State, or in its neighborhood, from whence supplies may be forwarded for the Southern Army, or issued to the State in case of another invasion;—If proper depossits for establishing this Magazine can be found at the place mentioned, I beg you will have them provided, taking particular care to avoid the Salt Houses, which will be detrimental to our purpose.

If Westham will not afford the proper accommodation, Richmond may be des-

tinued for the reception of the Stores for the present.

A Guard of twenty four men will be necessary for the security of this Magazine,—They may be formed from the State Troops or Recruits, and will be put under the orders of Capt. Singleton of Colo. Harrisons Regt. of Artillery, who is to take the general charge of the Stores.—

A Laboratory is also to be established at the deposit of the Stores—Capt. Irish with his Company of Laboratory men & Artificers will stand in need of assistance to remove them to the place fixed upon —You will be pleased to order them the means of transportation—

In case of Danger from the Enemy, or any other exigence, I must beg you to give every needfull assistance for the security or removal of the stores, that may be brought proper, the expences of which will be refunded by the United States—

The importance of this Deposit to this and the United States, will impress itself so deeply on your mind, that it will be needless for me to urge, that every measure may be taken by the Legislature of your State, for its perfect security & preservation—

Colo. Carrington will deliver this, and will have the honor to confer with you on the necessary Arrangements to be made to fulfill my intentions

I have the honor to be, with esteem,

Your Moste

Obedient Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

[His Excellency Thomas Jefferson

Governor of the State of Virginia]

CXVIII

Communicated by T. J. Weaver

His Excelency General Washington,
Commander in Chief of the Allied
Army

SEAL

To all Commanders of Ships of War,
and private armed Vessels, belonging to
the United States, and their Allies,
cruizing on the high Seas,

These are to certify that the Schooner
Hunter of 60 Tonns burthen Captain
Miller, Commander, navigated by Eight
Seamen transporting Fourteen Officers,
& Seventeen Soldiers, Prisoners of War
to the United States of America under
a Flag of Truce hath permission to pass
from York Town in Virginia, to New
York, and from thence to Rhode
Island.

That the usages of War, relative to
Flags being observed on the part of
said Vessel she is to pass without inter-
ruption as aforementioned

Given at Head Quarters near York
Town, this 5th day of November 1781.

GO WASHINGTON

CXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Mount Vernon 15th Novemr 1781

Dear Sir—

I have the honor to thank you most
sincerely for your Congratulations con-
veyed in your Favor of the 27th ulto—

That our Success against the Enemy
in the State of Virginia, has been so
happily effected, & with so little Loss—
and that it promises such favorable

Consequences (if properly improved) to
the Welfare & Independence of the
United States—is matter of very pleas-
ing Reflection.

I beg you to be assured that I am
with perfect Regard & Esteem

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient and
most humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

Honr Joseph Reed Esq

NOTES.

THE ANDREWS COLLECTION OF EN-
GRAVED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—The
following are in the possession of Mr.
William L. Andrews, New York City :

- 1 General Washington, Late President
of the American Congress.

Painted by P. Wright, of Philadelphia. P.
Dawe, sculp., London. Published by D.
Gally, No. 263 High Holborn, Jan. 8,
1801. *Desc.*: Three-quarter length in
military costume. Battle scene in back-
ground. Printed in colors. Size 14x19½
inches.

- 2 Washington.

Drawn and engraved by Chas. Buxton,
M. D. Teibout, sculp. *Desc.*: Full
length, in military dress. Standing on a
pedestal, and holding in right hand a
scroll bearing his farewell address. In
background a view of the Bowling Green,
Fort George and bay. In foreground an
urn, with the inscription, "Sacred to
Patriotism," on the pedestal. Size,
10½x16½ inches.

- 3 Washington, Généralissime des Etats-
Unis de l'Amérique.

Dessiné par Borneau, d'après un tableau
fourni par M. le Marquis de la Fayette.
Gravé par Chevillet. *Desc.*: Three-
quarters length, in military dress. Oval in
square engraved frame. Size, 10x13½
inches.

- 4 His Excellency George Washington, Esq., Captain General of all the American Forces.

J. Norman, sculp. *Desc.*: Full length, in Continental army military dress. Left arm leaning on the mouth of a cannon. The right extended. Tents in the background. Forms the frontispiece to "An Impartial History of the War in America," printed in Boston, 1781. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

- 5 General Washington.

J. Trenchard, sculp. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress. Oval in square frame. Frontispiece *Columbian Mag.*, 1787. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

- 6 George Washington.

H. Pinhas, sculp. *Desc.*: On horseback, under a palm tree. Size, 4×6 inches.

- 7 G. Washington.

J. Trumbull, pinx., J. Le Roy, sculp. *Desc.*: Full length, military dress. Negro servant holding his horse. In engraved frame. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches.

- 8 S. E. George Washington, Général des Armées des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.

Le Beau, sculp. A Paris chez Mondhart, rue St. Jacques. *Desc.*: Oval in military dress (half length). In highly decorated engraved border of flags, cannon, etc., wreath of laurel, oak and palm. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 9 Georg. Washington, General und Commandeur en Chef bey der Provincial-Armee in America.

Desc.: Three-quarter length, military dress, Military action in background. Very coarsely engraved. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 10 Gen'l George Washington.

Half length, military dress. Oval in square. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 11 Le General Washington, Commandant en Chef des Armées Américaines.

Gravé d'après le Tableau de N. Piehle, peint d'après nature à Philadelphie en 1783. A Basle chez Chr. de Mechel. *Desc.*: Half length, oval in square. Below a representation of the surrender of Cornwallis, with the inscription, "Journée mé-

morable du 19 Octobre 1781, à York en Virginie." Size, $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The foregoing is in an illustrated copy of Everett's Washington.

- 12 George Washington, Commander in Chief of ye Armies of ye United States of America.

Engraved by W. Sharp from an original picture Half length, military dress. Oval in frame. Coiled snake and liberty cap on top, with the legend, "Dont tread on me." Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 13 George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States.

From the original picture, painted at the request of the Corporation of the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Published, June 24, 1793, by E. Savage, No. 84 Newman St. E. Savage, pinx. and sculpsit. *Desc.*: Three-quarter length, Citizen's dress. Seated at table holding a paper. Size, 10×18 inches.

- 14 The Washington Family. George Washington, his Lady and her two grandchildren by the name of Custis. (This Title repeated in French.)

Philadelphia. Published, March 10, 1798, by E. Savage and Robt. Wilkinson, No. 58 Cornhill, London. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. *Desc.*: Gen. Washington (in military dress) and Mrs. Washington, seated one on each side of a table, on which rests a map of Mount Vernon, to a point on which Mrs. Washington directs the General's attention. Mrs. Washington's granddaughter stands beside her and the grandson beside Washington; a negro servant standing behind Mrs. Washington's chair. The window of the apartment opens upon a view of the Potomac. Size, $18 \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 15 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.

From the original Picture painted, in 1790, for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. Published Feb. 7, 1792, by E. Savage, No. 29 Charles Street, Middx Hospital. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress, head uncovered. Oval in plain engraved square. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.

- 16 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.
From the original Picture painted, in 1790, for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage, London. Published for the Proprietor, Aug. 10th, 1793, by E. Jefferey, No. 11 Pall Mall. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress, head uncovered. Oval, printed in sepia. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5$.
- 17 George Washington, Esq., Général en chef de l'Armée Anglo-Américaine, nommé Dictateur par le Congrès en Février 1777.
A Paris chez Esnauts et Rapilly, rue St. Jacques, à la Ville de Coutances. A. P. D. R. *Desc.*: half length, military dress, with cocked hat. Oval, in a border ornamented with military emblems. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.
- 18—19 The comparatively modern portraits, viz.:
The half length by Marshall, and equestrian figure, Washington at Princeton.
- J. ANDREWS.
-
- THE MOREAU COLLECTION OF WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—The following are in the possession of Mr. J. B. Moreau, New York City:
- GILBERT STUART.
- 1 George Washington, Esq., late President of the United States of America.
From an original Picture in the possession of J. Sebn. De França, Esq., of Devonshire Place, to whom this Plate is Dedicated by his obliged humble Servt., Robert Cribb. Engraved by W. Nutter. Size, $9 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Stipple).
- 2 George Washington, First President of the United States of America.
From the original picture, painted by G. Stuart, in the possession of the Most Noble the Marquis de Lansdowne. Engraved by Jas. Fitler. Size, $4 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).
- 3 George Washington.
Trott, del., after Stuart. Engraved by Wright. Size 2×3 in. (Line).
- 4 George Washington.
From a Picture painted by Mr. Stuart in 1795, in the possession of Samuel Vaughan, Esqr., published in 1796. Engraved by T. Holloway. Size, 8×9 in. (Line).
- 5 George Washington.
From an original picture in the possession of Samuel Vaughan, Esq. Engraved by W. Ridley. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. (Stipple).
- 6 George Washington.
Né en Virginie, le 11 Février 1732. Gravé d'après le Camée par Madame de Bréhan à New York 1789. Size, 6×4 in.
- 7 George Washington.
The English artist has followed the lines of the Print in the French original after a picture by Piehle on account of the remarks of Mr. Lavater. Published by T. Holloway and the other Proprietors, May 21, 1794. The Portrait is an oval, $5 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., with a representation of the "Event of the 19th of October, 1781, at Yorktown in Virginia." Engraved by Holloway. Size, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 8 George Washington.
Marckl, del. In Military uniform—(vignette). Engraved by Bertonnier. Size, $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).
- 9 George Washington.
Medallion Head, by Pentagraph. Engraved by Ormsby. Size, 8×7 in.
- 10 George Washington.
Guenied, del. Full length, with palm tree in background. Engraved by E. Monnin. Size, 6×5 in.
- 11 George Washington.
Painted by J. Wright, son of Mrs. Patience Wright. Engraved by J. Collyer. Size, 3×2 in.
- 12 George Washington.
From an original miniature by Wm. Birch, in the possession of Chas. G. Barney, Esq., (Private Plate). Engraved by H. B. Hall. Size, 3 in. Vignette (Line).
- 13 George Washington.
Dessiné par Condu—Gravé par Blanchard.—Dédié à S. E. le Général Jakson, Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Par son très-respectueux admirateur. Le typographe, N. Bettoni. Size, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).

14 George Washington.

Généralissime des Américains, Libérateur des Etats-Unis, contemporain et ami du Général Lafayette. Dessiné par Bonnier d'après un tableau fourni par M. le Marquis de la Fayette. Engraved by Chevillet. Size, 13½x10 in. (Line).

15 George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of ye Armies of ye United States of America.

Oval, with motto, "Don't tread on me." Size, 4½x6 in.

PEALE.

16 S. E. George Washington, Général-en-Chef des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.

Le BB., pinxit. J. L., sculp. Size, 10½x7 in. (Line).

17 George Washington.

Oval. T. Cooke, del. et sculp. Size, 3x4 in. (Line)

18 George Washington.

Peint par L. le Paon, Peintre de Bataille de S. A. S. Mgr. le Prince de Condé. Gravé par N. Le Mire, des Académies Impériales et Royales et de celle des Sciences et Arts de Rouen. Full length, with colored servant and horse in background. Size, 12½x16½ in. (Line).

TRUMBULL.

19 George Washington.

Engraved by Geoffroy. Size, 3½x4 in. (Line and Stipple).

20 George Washington.

Full length, with servant and horse in the background. Engraved by T. A. Le Roy. Size, 6½x4 in. (Line).

SAVAGE.

21 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.

From the original picture painted in 1790 for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. Size, 7½x5 in. (Stipple).

HOUDON.

22 George Washington.

Dessiné et Gravé d'après Houdon par Alexandre Tardieu. Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nationale le 9 Vendémiaire An. 9. Size, 3 in. diam. (Line).

23 George Washington.

Drawn by J. Wood from Houdon's Bust. Published by Joseph Delaplaine, 1814. Engraved by Leney. Size, 4x5 in.

CHANTREY.

24 George Washington.

Drawn by H. Corbould. From a Statue by F. Chantrey, London. Published Jan. 1, 1827, Colnagi & Son, Pall Mall, East. Engraved by J. Thompson. Size, 12x4 in. (Stipple).

GREENOUGH.

25 George Washington.

Horatio Greenough, sculptor. Engraved by Jacopi Bernardi. Size, 9x12 in. (Line).

J. B. MOREAU.

THE PIERREPONT-STUART.—Account of the full-length portrait of Washington in the possession of Henry E. Pierrepont of Brooklyn, L. I.

The grandfather of Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. William Constable of New York, was having his portrait painted by Stuart in 1796, while Stuart was engaged painting the full-length portrait of Washington for Mr. Bingham, which was presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Mr. Constable was in the army and aid to General Lafayette, and was intimate with General Washington. He induced Mr. Stuart to paint for him a portrait of Washington similar to that which he was then painting, and also a half-length portrait, which he presented to his friend, General Alexander Hamilton, for which two portraits Stuart was to charge his own price, which appears by Stuart's bill, as he inserted in his own handwriting the prices of the full-length and also the half length, while Mr. Constable by his agent inserted his own price for the portrait agreed upon.

Owing to friendly relation between Mr.

Stuart and Constable and Mr. Daniel McCormick, who was a mutual friend of both parties, Stuart finished the details of his full length for Mr. Constable with unusual care. He purchased a Turkey rug, which he copied carefully, giving richness to the picture, owing to some badinage had with Mr. McCormick when he bought it.

This fine picture is in perfect preservation, the colors being as fresh as when painted. As it was painted at the same time Stuart was at work on the Lansdowne portrait, for which Washington was giving sittings, and by tradition it has been transmitted that Stuart painted on both portraits alternately, both have been claimed to be originals.

In the full-length Washington is represented as delivering his farewell address; in the half-length, presented to General Hamilton, he appears seated, with the copy of the address in his hand.

The Lansdowne portrait of Washington is sometimes called Stuart's first original, and the Athenæum portrait his second original; but Stuart's letter of 9th March, 1823, corrects this. He writes of the Lansdowne portrait "as the only original painting I ever made of Washington, except the one I own myself. *I painted a third but rubbed it out.*"

This portrait which he writes he owns himself, is the Athenæum head which he afterwards sold. The third referred to, which he writes he destroyed, was in fact his first portrait painted in 1795, which was unsatisfactory to him. Before destroying it he made some copies, one of which called the Gibbs' Portrait, is in the possession of Dr. W. F. Chaning, of Providence, R. I. EDITOR.

THE BIRCH MINIATURE.—This portrait was obtained from the artist by my grandfather, James McHenry, who was appointed by Washington Secretary of War in 1796, and tradition in my family says that my grandfather selected from among several this specimen as that which presented the best likeness of the original, although the plate on which it had been painted was cracked.

The following is a memorandum of remarks made to me by Mr. Rembrandt Peale, when on a visit to Baltimore in 1858, with reference to a miniature portrait in enamel of Washington, by Birch, owned by me.

Mr. Birch came to Philadelphia, bringing with him a beautiful enamel miniature portrait of Lord Mansfield, which he had copied from an oil painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and partly to encourage him, and partly to have the first enamel painting executed in America, Mr. Peale, Senior (C. W. P., R. P.'s father), sat to him for his portrait, which, however, did not give satisfaction. Mr. Birch himself found that he could not paint enamel portraits immediately from life, and he therefore turned his attention to the copying of oil paintings, and later in life he bought a little property in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and occupied himself with the production of enamel bracelets, brooches and similar personal ornaments, with which he was very successful. Mr. Birch was anxious to paint a portrait of Washington from life, but the President being tired of sitting to applicants for similar favors, would only grant permission to Mr. B. to remain in his cabinet whilst he was engaged with his papers or other

business, and thus Mr. Birch was able to make a crayon sketch, embodying the general characteristics of Washington's countenance. This sketch aided Mr. B. in his further work, the *enamel* portrait, which Mr. Peale regards as copied from one of Stuart's copies of his (Stuart's) so-called first portrait of Washington. Mr. R. Peale and Stuart painted Washington at about the same time. Mr. P. had obtained one sitting of some three hours, and on a following day, on returning for a second sitting, was told by Mrs. Washington that the President was then engaged giving a sitting to a young American recently returned from studying his art abroad. This was Stuart. Between the first sitting given to Mr. P. and that given to Mr. Stuart, Washington had received from a Philadelphia dentist a new set of artificial teeth, very clumsily made, and had inserted them in his mouth; the consequence of which was the disfigurement of the lower part of his face, which looked, said Mr. Bushrod Washington to Mr. Peale, as if he had filled his mouth full of water and was in the act of rinsing it. As he thus appeared Stuart painted him, and from that painting made several copies, which he called copies of his first portrait. Stuart was very jealous with regard to this original portrait, and it is therefore highly improbable that he would have allowed Birch to copy it; but Birch must have obtained access to one of the copies made by Stuart, and from that copy, with the assistance of his pencil sketch, executed his enamel. Mr. Peale recognizes this as particularly taken from Stuart's first portrait of 1795, from which

Stuart's portrait of 1796, now at Boston, differs in some respects, as in the position of the head, the shadow, etc. Mr. Peale thinks, however, that in the enamel Birch modified somewhat the disfigurement of the lower part of Washington's face honestly portrayed by Stuart, whilst he considers the coloring and the upper features (above the mouth) as very excellent in resemblance to the original. Stuart professed to have rubbed out his first portrait, but Mr. P. thinks that he sold it to Mr. Wistanley of London. Stuart had observed, but never knew the cause of the disfigurement of the mouth and cheeks of Washington.

J. HOWARD MCHENRY

Baltimore.

HOUDON AND STUART.—I have compared carefully the Houdon bust with the photogram from the original study of Washington by Stuart, now in the Boston Museum of Art. A close comparison proves the fidelity of both these likenesses. In all the characteristic markings they correspond. The subtle shades of modeling agree in them. In the Stuart head there is a little more breadth across the lower part of the face, the mouth slightly longer, and the chin more pronounced—but the differences are slight, and in those very differences are found points of resemblance. They prove each other's truth.

New York.

D. HUNTINGTON

FIRST EXHIBITION OF STUART'S WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK.

General Washington. To be seen every day at the New City Tavern, Broadway.

A full length Portrait of General Wash-

ington (large as life), represented in the position of addressing Congress the last time, before his retirement from public life. This Picture was painted by the much celebrated American Artist, Mr. *G. Stewart* (who is now at Philadelphia). Mr. Stewart is justly celebrated as the greatest painter of the age, and Washington is his hobby horse. Those who have not had the pleasure of seeing our illustrious Washington now have the opportunity of gratifying themselves, and those who have seen him will here again realize all his noble dignity and triumphs, bestowing his good advice to his countrymen. He is surrounded with allegorical emblems of his public life in the service of his country, which are highly illustrative of the great and tremendous storms which have frequently prevailed. These storms have abated, and the appearance of the rainbow is introduced in the back ground as a sign. (Mr. Cumberland of this city will be entitled to much credit for the richness and elegance of the frame). Admittance, two shillings; and those who will pay one dollar will have a ticket to visit as long as the painting is to be seen in this city.


It will be exhibited for one month, after which it will be removed to one other of our principal cities, for it is intended that it shall make a tour of the United States.

N. B. There is for sale in the same room the magnificent Musical Clock, which was at the Panorama, price, 1750 dollars. Also ten original full length paintings, taken from life, just arrived from France, of the following celebrated personages, viz. :

Marquis de la Fayette, Robespierre, Petiou, Rabaut St. Etienne, Thomas Paine, Clermont Tonnerre, Mirabeau, Brissot, Gensonne, Camille Desmoulins.

The above paintings will be sold, the whole together or separately. They are all very excellent likenesses.

G. BAKER.

 Hours of admittance from 10 to 2 o'clock, and from 3 to 5 in the afternoon. February 5.—*The Time Piece*, February 7, 1798.

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THE EARL OF BUCHAN'S GIFT TO WASHINGTON.—Sparks' publications, the Writings of Washington and Letters to Washington, contain part of a correspondence between the President and the Earl of Buchan which extended over several years. Some other parts of these manuscripts are in the possession of General C. W. Darling, of Utica, New York State, to whose courtesy the following contribution is due :

In the year 1792 the following paragraphs appeared in the newspapers of the United States :

"Philadelphia, Jan. 4th. On Friday morning was presented to the president of the United States (then general Washington) a box, elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated Oak Tree that sheltered the Washington of Scotland, the brave and patriotic Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Edward 1st. This magnificent and truly characteristic present, is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hand of Mr Archibald Robertson, a Scots gentleman, and portrait painter, who arrived in America some months

ago. The box was presented to lord Buchan by the Goldsmith's company at Edinburgh; from whom his lordship requested, and obtained leave to make it over to a man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and the only man in the world to whom he thought it justly due. We hear farther, that lord Buchan has, by letter, requested of the president, that on the event of his decease, he will consign the box to that man, in this country, who shall appear, in his judgment, to merit it best, upon the same considerations that induced him to send it to the present possessor. "The inscription, upon a silver plate, on the inside of the lid, is as follows:—Presented by the goldsmiths of Edinburgh, to David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the freedom of their corporation, by their deacon:—A D 1790."

The following letter, which accompanied the box that was presented to General George Washington by Mr. Archibald Robertson, from Lord Buchan, does not appear in Sparks' Letters to Washington, in which the first letter printed from Lord Buchan is of date 15 Sept., 1791:

"Dryburg-Abbey, June 28th, 1791.
"Sir,

"I had the honor to receive your excellency's letter relating to the advertisement of Dr. Anderson's periodical publication, in the Gazette of the United States; which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly, and return you my grateful acknowledgments. In the 21st No of that Literary Miscellany, I inserted a monitory paper respecting America, which I flatter myself, may, if attended to on the other side of the Atlantic, be productive of good consequences. To use your own emphatic

words, 'may the Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect,' consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the American people, a government instituted by themselves for public and private security, upon the basis of law and equal administration of justice, preserving to every individual as much civil and political freedom as is consistent with the safety of the nation; and may He be pleased to continue your life and strength as long as you can be in any way useful to your country. I have entrusted this sheet enclosed in a box made of the oak that sheltered our great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, to Mr. Robertson of Aberdeen, a painter, with the hope of his having the honor of delivering it into your hands; recommending him as an able artist, seeking for fortune and fame in the New World. This box was presented to me by the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, to whom, feeling my own unworthiness to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested and obtained leave to make it over to the man to whom I thought it most justly due; into your hands I commit it; requesting of you to pass it, in the event of your decease, to the man in your own country, who shall appear to your judgment to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced me to send it to your Excellency.

I am, with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obed't

And obliged humble servant

General Washington

BUCHAN

President of the United States of

America

Washington's letter of acknowledgment, dated Philadelphia, May 1, 1792, was printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington, X. 229, and his will, also, recommitting the Box made from the Wallace Oak, has been repeatedly published.

EDITOR.

HISTORICAL ANECDOTE OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.—The original manuscript, of which the following is a translation, is in the handwriting of the celebrated St. John de Crèveœur, and was recently placed in the hands of Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo by the present Count de Crèveœur, grandson of the author.

Immediately upon the recognition by England of the independence of her ancient colonies General Washington made haste to resign his command (toward the close of 1783), and to return to Mount Vernon, where, in the same manner as before the revolution, he divided his time between reading, the cultivation of his beautiful seat and the society of his neighbors and numerous friends. He built a country house after the plans of Arthur Young. He raised a fine flock with the sheep and the dams which the King of Spain had sent to him. He planted a vineyard of several acres and a large nursery of fruit trees brought from Europe. Such were his quiet pursuits when in 1789 the public voice called him to the administration of the new federal government. It was at this period that the inhabitants of the Northern States, a large number of whom had served under his orders, and entertained the greatest veneration for his virtues, entreated him to pass some months among them. Long detained

by business of the Government, he could not undertake the journey until 1791. Accompanied by his Secretary, he left New York. The eagerness of the public to supply him with horses made up for the want of relays, which were not then known. His passage across the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire was one series of festivities, joy and pleasure for all classes of citizens, who again looked with deep feeling upon him whom they had formerly called their hero and their friend. He entered the towns of Boston, accompanied by a numerous escort of troops, old soldiers and inhabitants, who had come out to meet him as far as Watertown. The next day he received the congratulations of the Government, addresses from the municipality, the courts, the clergy, and tributes of gratitude and tender affection from other classes of society. The sailors, no less eager to show their homage and devotion, decorated their vessels with flags, elected an orator and came to express the joy they felt at seeing him in their town. All business and trade were suspended, forgotten for three days. Never before had the inhabitants of this capital of Massachusetts experienced a more perfect delight. The astonishment of General Washington seemed equal to the pleasure he enjoyed at observing wherever he went that all traces of the injuries and long sufferings which this town had undergone during the war had entirely disappeared; that a large number of houses and public buildings had been built, the wharves had been repaired, the two fine bridges of Charlestown and Cambridge constructed, and

several large factories established, a very different spectacle from that this same town presented when he forced the English army and squadron to evacuate it and set sail for Nova Scotia. He was not less astonished nor pleased to see the flourishing agricultural condition of neighboring fields, in the midst of which he had been compelled to set his camp, now covered with crops, vines and elegant houses, in many of which he was received and feasted by his old companions in arms, who, like himself, had helped to establish the independence of their country, and were now become good farmers.

But the time that General Washington had allowed himself being spent, he left for New Hampshire, whose Governor, at the head of several squadrons of cavalry, awaited him with impatience on the frontier of this State. The General had just separated from the numerous escort which accompanied him beyond Newburyport, when a violent storm threatening, he ordered his courier, who had not found any lodgings at the inn near by, to stop at the first habitation. He was taking tea with the proprietor and his family when he was informed that one of the residents of the place earnestly desired to speak to him. "I have just experienced a great misfortune; you alone, General, can repair it." "I do not understand you. What do you mean?" "A man on horseback came to my house to ask if I could lodge the President. Supposing that he meant the head of some College or other corporate Society to whom law and custom give this title, I replied— 'My house is full,' which was in fact the case; and

when I saw my mistake you were already far distant. Ah! how much I regret, General, not to have known it was of you he spoke. What could have been the motive of Congress to designate by a name so common with us the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Armies, summoned by the affection and the gratitude of his fellow countrymen to the first magistracy of this country? Fatal mistake, which deprived me of the happiness of receiving you! If I dared to hope that you would deign to honor my house with your presence on your return to Boston, I should feel consoled for my misfortune! Do not think, I conjure you, that it is as the inn keeper I thus address you. It is as a member of the great family which you had the glory of emancipating from the British yoke after seven long years of labor, anxieties and dangers. It is as an honest farmer who, like yourself, carefully cultivates his fields. General, grant me the favor I ask of you, and this day and that on which I shall have the honor to receive you in my house will be the happiest of my life." After kindly replying to the farmer, General Washington granted his request, and on his return from New Hampshire did not forget his promise.

This anecdote is quite in the style of *de Crèveœur*, as those familiar with the French edition of his *Lettres d'un Cultivateur*, which is much more elaborate than that which he published in English, will readily recognize. EDITOR.

— — —
WASHINGTON AT SARATOGA.—It is well known that General Washington visited the military posts and battle-

fields of northern New York in 1783, while waiting for a final settlement of the treaty of peace. It may not be uninteresting to recall the fact of his visit to Saratoga Springs, a place that was then a wild forest of pines, sloping into a marshy, dreary valley.

The Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Colonel Hamilton and Governor Clinton, came by boat from Newburg to Albany. At this place they were joined by General Philip Schuyler, and together they continued the journey on horseback to Stillwater, where they spent the night at the house of Harmonus Schuyler. The family were all away from home except one daughter. We can imagine the flutter of anxiety and responsibility she felt in entertaining, unassisted, these distinguished guests. In that day, it is true, hospitality was so general a virtue that all women performed its duties with a natural grace and ease that are rare at the present time, but the glory of Washington's achievement was then at its height, and a young girl who had grown up in the Schuyler family, where patriotic sentiments and devotion to the great commander were synonymous, must have felt a certain awe tempering her pleasure in receiving the man whose name was so honored.

The gallant Generals appreciated the attentions of their young hostess, and when parting from her on the following morning General Washington raised her hand to his lips in the chivalric manner of that time. Long years after, when an old lady and on her death-bed, her youngest nephew called to see her, and on taking leave, she put out her hand to

him, saying: "Not my lips, George, but kiss the hand that long ago was consecrated by the kiss of Washington."

Leaving Stillwater the traveling party rode to the Saratoga battle-ground, and galloped over the heights where but a short time before the American and British camps looked defiance at each other across the intervening ravine. They rode on to the place of surrender, and we see Schuyler, to whom the ground was so familiar, pointing out each spot where the momentous contest was continued and finally settled.

Proceeding on their journey they took boats at Lake George, inspected the fortifications at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and on their return stopped at the High Rock Spring, where the village of Saratoga Springs now stands. Here they lingered long enough for General Washington to be strongly impressed, not only with the value of the water, but with the importance that would eventually be attached to the surrounding land. Early in the same year General Schuyler had cut a road through the forest from his place at old Saratoga, now Schuylerville, to the spring, and he kept a tent pitched at the latter place during the summer months. General Washington and Governor Clinton now determined to unite in purchasing the spring and a large tract of land around it, if the necessary arrangements could be effected with the holders of the old patent. This is evident from a letter of Washington to Clinton later in the same summer. Clinton found, however, that some members of the Livingston family had already secured the purchase. This was a subject of regret to Washington,

for in a letter to Governor Clinton, dated November 25th, 1784, he says: "I am sorry we have been disappointed in our expectation of the mineral spring at Saratoga, and of the purchase of that part of the Oriskany tract upon which Fort Schuyler stands." He and Governor Clinton afterwards became joint owners of six thousand acres adjoining the latter, which General Washington says they got amazingly cheap.

General Otho H. Williams in a letter to General Washington, dated Baltimore, July 12th, 1784, says, in referring to a journey up the North River: "One reason I had in extending my tour so far that course was to visit the spring in the vicinity of Saratoga which I recollected you once recommended to me as a remedy for the rheumatism. Colonel Armstrong and myself spent a week there which was equal to a little campaign, for the accommodations were wretched, and provisions exceedingly scarce; we were forced to send to the borders of the Hudson for what was necessary for our subsistence." He then proceeds to give his correspondent something like an analysis of the water, having made numerous experiments in evaporating and bottling it.

In his quick apprehension of the value of the spring, of its advantageous location, and probable popularity, Washington evinced the comprehensive, receptive and practical qualities of mind which were conducive to his success in more important affairs. One feels inclined to speculate on the possible effect Washington's ownership, if it had been accomplished, would have had on the spring, which then stood like a sentinel

at the door of a laboratory, whose treasures—many health-giving springs—have since been exposed to view.

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH.

Saratoga Springs.

MAJOR BAZALEEL HOWE OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD. — Major Bazaleel Howe of the New Hampshire line of the Continental army, and for a period of six months an Auxiliary Lieutenant in General Washington's Life Guard, entered the army at the very commencement of the war. Boston Harbor was to be defended; men were being gathered in from the surrounding country. New Hampshire and Massachusetts contributed of their choicest sons. The morning came for the men to march. Young Howe, of New Hampshire, was but a youth. As the men fell into line his eye rested on a middle-aged man whose wife and daughters stood near him. As the time of marching drew near the wife threw her arms about his neck, the daughters were bathed in tears, while the man himself was deeply affected. Young Howe's heart was touched, and stepping forward he said: "Give me your old gun and I'll go for you, and if the government ever gets able to furnish me with a gun I'll send the old thing back to you." The offer was at once accepted. He fell into line, and in a brief period, to the music of the drum and fife, the men marched away, young Howe to return to his home no more till the close of the war, and then only on a brief visit to his mother.

He served throughout the entire war, entering the army as a private. He was subsequently commissioned as a Lieu-

tenant, Captain and Major, and after the close of the war served with General Wayne in the Indian war for three years. He subsequently remained in the army for six years, making sixteen years in the regular army. He was one of the original members of the Cincinnati Society, and settled shortly after his retirement from the army in the city of New York, where he resided up to the period of his death in 1825.

He remarked that he never was in the presence of General Washington but that he felt deeply impressed with a sense of his being in the presence of a man of great superiority.

He was at the battle of Long Island. An old man who had been one of his soldiers, after his death said: "The Captain was a coward and ran away. Lieutenant Howe took command of the company; we fought all day, and then ran many miles at night." He was a marksman of no ordinary ability. He served for a period with Colonel A. Hamilton's regiment, and was one of his picked men. Being surprised by the enemy he ran to the barn, mounted Hamilton's war horse bare-backed, and in a full run under a heavy fire, escaped.

In a fort in the intensest cold weather they were in hourly expectation of being attacked. They tore up all their blankets to make cartridges; but there was no attack. Their sufferings were greatly enhanced by the severity of the weather while their coverings were all destroyed. Could the incidents of the war, as talked over by him and some of his comrades within the hearing of the writer in his boyhood, be recalled, they would be read with deep interest.

Passaic.

J. M. HOWE.

Copy of a letter given Major Bazaleel Howe by General Washington :

"I do hereby certify and make known to all whom these presents shall come that Mr — Howe late a Lieut in the New Hampshire line of the continental army was an officer of a fair and respectable character, that he served some part of the last year of the war as an Auxiliary Lieutenant with my own guard, that he commanded the escort which came with my baggage and papers to Mount Vernon at the close of the war, and that in all my acquaintance with him I had great reason to be satisfied with his integrity, intelligence and good disposition

Given under my hand this 12th day of May
1788 G WASHINGTON

Dr. J. B. Howe, of Passaic, New Jersey, the son of the worthy soldier whose services are above described, is the present owner of the Dey House at Preakness, once famous as Washington's Headquarters. He has kindly communicated numerous details concerning his father's personal intercourse with General Washington, and some interesting letters and orders from him, which will appear in their course in the series of Washington's Letters. EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S ENTRANCE TO NEW YORK, 25 NOV. 1783.—The following account is taken from a leaf inserted in an almanac which belonged to Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt—"Bickensleth's Boston Almanac, 1783."

"N. B.—I went from Peekskill Tuesday the 18th of Novr In company with his Excellency Govr Clinton, Coll Benson and Coll Campbell, lodge that night with Genl Cortlandt at Croton River proceeded & lodged Wednesday night at Edeo Covenhovens where we met his Excellency Genl Washington & his aid; the next night lodged with Fredrk V Cortlandt at the Yonkers after having dwelt with Genl Lewis Morris. Friday morning we rode in company with the

Commander in Chief as far as the Widow Days at Harlem where we held a council, Saturday I wrote down to Mr Stuyvesant: stayd there untill Tuesday then rode triumphants into the City next the Commander." C. E. V. C.

Momer House, Croton Landing.

WASHINGTON AN ABOLITIONIST. — *Thursday, May 26, 1785.* Mr. Asbury [Francis Asbury Bishop, of the M. E. Church] and I set off for General Washington's. We were engaged to dine there the day before. The General's seat is very elegant; built upon the great river Potomawk; for the improvement of the navigation of which, he is carrying on jointly with the State some amazing Plans. He received us very politely, and was very open to access. He is quite the plain, Country-Gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the Negroes, and entreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State; that he did not see it proper to sign the petition, but if the Assembly took it into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the Assembly by a letter. He asked us to spend the evening and lodge at his house, but our engagement at Annapolis the following day would not admit of it. We returned that evening to Alexandria. *Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

WASHINGTON'S CINCINNATUS. — To Washington as "a Cincinnatus" was given an antique cameo mounted in a ring 30 millimeters broad, 25 high, representing two personages, in which it is difficult to find the Farmer Dictator. Nevertheless the American hero gave this ring as a souvenir of the Cincinnati to Kosciuszko, who had served as his aid-de-camp in the war of independence. Kosciuszko in turn presented it to Baron de Girardot, who served in the Polish Chevaux-légers of the National guard, who left it to his son. *Cadre américain de Cincinnatus en France, by Baron de Girardot* (1860.)

EDITOR.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.— ADDITIONS.—(III., 152.) In the Itinerary of General Washington there is a gap from June 23d to the 4th of August, 1783, a part of which might be filled as follows:

July 17. Left Newburg to visit the northern and western parts of the State, in company with Governor Clinton, Alexander Hamilton and Colonels Fish and Humphrey; passed Albany, Old Saratoga, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and returned by way of Ballston and Schenectady; thence up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix, and over to Wood Creek; thence down across to Otsego Lake, and over the portage to the Mohawk.

August 4. At Albany, after above trip of 700 miles in eighteen days, mostly on horseback.

Troy, N. Y.

JAS. FORSYTH.

— *Addition.* — (III., 152, 1783.) "I have lately made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain as far as Crown Point; thence returning to Schenectady I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler formerly Fort Stanwix and crossed over to Wood Creek which empties into the Oneida Lake and affords water communication with Ontario— I thus traversed the country to the head of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah and viewed the Lake Otsego, another portage between that Lake and the Mohawk river at Canajoharie." Washington to the Marquis de Chastellux, letter dated 12 October, 1783, Sparks' Writings of Washington, VIII., 488.

EDITOR.

— *Correction.* — (III., 152, 1783.) In the very useful Itinerary of General Washington in the Magazine of February, 1879, it is stated that he departed from Philadelphia June 21st, 1775. All the biographers of Washington give this date, I presume, because Washington, in a letter of June 20, tells his brother that he expects to set out for Boston next day. The actual date was June 23 as appears by a newspaper extract in Moore's Diary of the Revolution, and also by a letter of John Adams to his wife, which letter is dated June 23, and begins, "I have this morning been out of town to accompany our generals, Washington, Lee and Schuyler, a little way on their journey," etc. It is a matter of justice to Mr. Bancroft to mention that he gives the true date. I believe no one else does.

F. BURDGE.

— *Correction.* — (III., 157.) In the Washington number, Washington is placed at Newburg, November 4, 1783, and (III., 160) it is stated that it was at Newburg he issued the proclamation disbanding the army November 4, 1783. We have no local record of his occupation of Headquarters here after August 12, and have presumed that his Farewell Orders were issued at Rocky Hill, N. J. That he went from thence to Princeton, and from thence to West Point, where he remained November 14, 1783.

Newburg. E. M. RUTTENBER.

Mr. Ruttenber is correct. The order is dated at Rocky Hill, Nov. 2, 1783. See Sparks [VIII, 491]. The error in the Itinerary was repeated in the description of the Newburg Headquarters.

EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Yellow Cottage, Pompton, N. J.— General Washington never lived in Pompton, but only stopped as a traveler on his way to New Windsor and Newburg, and at such times was accommodated with rest and refreshment at the Yellow House (now known as the Old Yellow Cottage). Judge Ryerson had purchased and lived there at the first of the war, but being so frequently called on to entertain the officers and others connected with the army, rented the house to a Mr. Curtis, who kept it as a tavern or house of public entertainment until the close of the war, Mr. Ryerson taking his family home to his father's house on the road to the Ponds. This Mr. Curtis was a man of jovial sport and humor. On his sign he had



the picture of a horse, a fish and a bird, with this *poetry* underneath :

This is the Horse that never ran.

This is the Fish that never swam.

This is the Bird that never flew.

After the close of the war Mr. Ryerson again took possession of this house, and there his children were born. When he left the Yellow Cottage to enter into the new house (now the dwelling of Mr. C. W. Mills), Jacob M. Ryerson came to occupy the old one.

Pompton retained its Dutch characteristics until a very recent period. Its changes have been owing to the influence of the sons of the old residents, who, after education in more stirring neighborhoods, returned to vivify and modernize their own Pompton.

L. T. R.

—
The Yellow Cottage, Pompton, N. J.—
From a biographical sketch of William Colfax, read before the New Jersey Historical Society by William Nelson, Jan. 10, 1876, occurs the following reference to the Old Yellow House :

"While the army was at Pompton Plains the citizens showed the officers various courtesies. About a quarter of a mile above the Pompton Steel Works the road to Wanaque and Ringwood leaves the old Hamburg turnpike, and at the southeast corner of these roads stands an ancient yellow frame house, two stories high in front, with roof sloping almost to the ground in the rear ; a covered verandah in front, quaint half-doors, and various other unmistakable evidence of belonging to a past age. This was the residence, during the Revolution, of Caspar as (Dutch for Jasper)

Schuyler (b. 10 Dec. 1735), grandson of Frank Schuyler. His house was the scene of many a festive gathering a century ago, in which Washington and his suite participated. The young officers found here a great attraction in the charming daughter Hester (who in accordance with a custom of Dutch families, was named after her grandmother Hester, daughter of Isaac Kingsland), and the valiant young Colfax, brave as he was in battle, surrendered at discretion before the flash of her bright eyes. Soon after the war he took up his residence at Pompton and married Hester Schuyler, 27 August, 1783."

These particulars were received by Mr. Nelson from the late Dr. Colfax, the son of the General Colfax mentioned, who was during the revolution the Captain of Washington's Body Guard.

J. A. J.

—*The Dey House at Preakness, N. J.*
From tradition and presumptive evidence we believe that this house was built by Derick Dey, the father of Col. Thennis Dey, in 1720. The children of the latter were all born there, as well as those of his eldest son, Richard Dey, my grandfather, Anthony Dey, being his eldest child, and recording the fact in his family Bible.

At the death of Richard Dey in 1811, his widow and family, with the exception of his eldest son, my grandfather, Anthony Dey, who resided in this city, removed to Seneca—not Onondaga—County, as Mr. Nelson says (Mag. III., 495,) in his sketch of the headquarters.

J. WARREN S. DEY.

New York.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

MARCH 1880

No 3

THE SCOTCH AND SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA

THERE is, perhaps, no country in the world where every race and nation of the human family are so fully represented as in the United States of America. Here the descendants of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth—the red, black and white men, meet face to face. The remotest branches of these three great divisions from every nation under the sun here unite to form one great Commonwealth. Hence in no country should the science of genealogy be of such interest and value as in ours, and yet in none is it more neglected or by common consent ignored. It is rare to find a biography that goes behind the second or third generation. In neither biographical dictionary or Encyclopædia can the man be traced beyond his American ancestry. The sound of the name is often the only clue to his European nationality. Perhaps an exception should be here entered in the case of the man whose ancestors came over in the May Flower; then the fact, sometimes the fiction, is always stated.

In our republican enthusiasm to get rid of a titled nobility or hereditary ruling class, we may have gone to the other extreme and pride ourselves on raising "Nature's nobility" somewhat as "Topsy" was raised. But "blood will tell." And, "whatever stress we may lay upon the influence of circumstance and culture, it is yet true that we make small progress in the knowledge of human nature, unless we take large account of *race*." It is of one of the races that constitute from a one-fourth to a one-fifth of the entire population of the United States that I am about to write—namely the Scotch and Scotch-Irish.

There are no such people as Scotch-Irish, say some of the daily newspapers issued in cities whose progress and power are due largely to this very people. "If Scotch, they cannot be Irish, and if Irish, they cannot be Scotch." So the Editor-in-chief, with one stroke of his mighty pen, annihilates several millions of the best population of the land. I say *best* deliberately, for I am prepared to show that the Scotch-Irish,



together with their Scotch ancestry, of which they are justly proud, have had a large share in the founding and rearing of this great Republic in all its truest, best elements. In our usual hurry and indiscriminate modes of speech we are accustomed to lump things. Dutch means Dutch in a heap. No matter from what part of Germany a man comes, he is a Dutchman. So Irish means Irish in a lump. It was an Athenian, I believe, who exhibited a brick as a specimen of the house he wished to sell. We have seen many descriptions of Ireland after this fashion; have listened to long lectures on Ireland—the whole of Ireland, which spoke exclusively of the people of the South and West of Ireland. These are the Celts—a very ancient people from the East and among the first known to history in Europe. They are still found in the Province of Connaught, Ireland; in the Highlands of Scotland; in Wales and Cornwall, England, and are met with all over the world, easily distinguished by their Celtic features and peculiar brogue.

The Scots were of this race, and our earliest knowledge of them is in Ireland, from which they migrated to Scotland, and from these very people Scotland takes its name. The Lowlanders of Scotland are an entirely different race of people. They are Norman and Saxon with a slight infusion of Danish blood. They readily passed over from the north of England into the south of Scotland and were called by the Highlanders Sassenach or Southrons. Macaulay says: "The population of Scotland, with the exception of the Celtic tribes, which were thinly scattered over the Hebrides and over the northern parts of the mountainous shires, was of the same blood with the population of England, and spoke a tongue which did not differ from the purest English more than the dialects of Somersetshire and Lancashire differ from each other. In Ireland, on the contrary, the population, with the exception of the small English Colony near the coast, was Celtic and still kept the Celtic speech and manners."


The Scottish people, the Lowlanders, are, therefore, of the same race as the English. It was this people that migrated to the north of Ireland during the reigns of James I and Elizabeth, and from them the people called the Scotch-Irish are descended. Hence their similarity of character—hatred of tyranny, stern integrity, high sense of duty, devotion to God found in the New England Puritan and the Scotch Covenanter. This explains the reason why the Scotch-Irish do not like to be called Irish or Celts, a people differing from them in race, religion, language and history as far as possible. Yet nothing is more common than to find writers and persons supposed to be intelligent, continually con-

founding the two races and thereby giving the most erroneous impressions in regard to them. The Scotch-Irish were originally Scotch people who settled in Ireland about A. D. 1609-12, on lands forfeited to the Crown by the repeated rebellions of the Irish people. More than half a million of acres were thus distributed by James I. to Scotch and English settlers, principally Scotch. These lands were often given as a reward of distinguished military service, and were therefore occupied by some of the Scotch nobility. The north and east of the province were settled by the Scotch, the south and west by the English, but in friendly co-operation.

The Scotch from time immemorial have been noted for their clannish affinities, and hence they occupied the adjoining counties of Down and Antrim, where their descendants are still found, retaining the customs, manners, language, religion and family names of their early ancestors. The Grahams, Stewarts, Montgomeries, Shaws, Hamiltons, Boyds, Keiths, Maxwells, Moores, Barclays, Baylays, etc., are still leading family names in these two counties.

In a township near Ballymena, in Antrim County, the Calderwoods have intermarried until the family names no longer suffice to distinguish them one from another. Hence they speak of "John on the Rock;" "Jamie's Davy;" "Sam's Matthew;" "Wee Alik," etc. And it is related that when one of their brethren was praying for a sick member of the clan he said, "Gaed Lord, for fear o' mistakes I mean Lang Jone in the Bushes."

Ireland is divided into four provinces. In ancient times each province had its own king. The seat of the O'Neils was Ulster, in the North. It contains 5,879,384 statute acres, and is therefore about the size of the State of New Jersey. In 1871 the population of this province was 1,830,398, of which 935,923 were Protestants—the Presbyterians numbering 484,425. The power for good which this little province has exercised in the history of the United States is seldom appreciated by the American people. The largest part of what follows relates chiefly to the people of this province, who have from time to time settled in this country. I am not going to speak of them to the disparagement of other nationalities which have contributed their share to our Commonwealth. I do not purpose to give the readers of this Magazine a stereoscopic view which requires all the lights in the room to be extinguished before you can see the small picture in the one bright spot in the room after it has been magnified a hundred diameters. All honor to the noble sons of Germany, of France, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who have become worthy citizens of a free



country. All honor to the Puritans of Old England, who, since the day they first knelt on Plymouth Rock to thank God for their safety from the perils of the sea, have done so much for the liberties, power and progress of this great nation ; and all honor to their sons who never fail to keep green in memory the noble deeds of their worthy sires. In associations, at annual dinners, poet, painter, orator and historian have never failed to conserve the patriotism and piety of these excellent people. While it may be a tribute to the modesty of the Scotch-Irish, it is not to be recommended that their many virtues and noble deeds have been unrecorded by the historian and unsung by the poet. Their failings have not escaped notice.

The Scotch have always been a hard, plucky race, and the persecutions, perils and bloody battles through which they passed in Ireland, intensified these characteristics. The metal which in Scotland was iron, became, by the process of persecution, steel in Ireland. They were well inured, therefore, to hardship in the Old Country, and so were fully prepared to encounter it in the New—which they did on the frontiers with a persistence and heroism unsurpassed in the annals of history. They were also a very prolific race, and to-day their descendants are to be found in every State, territory, town and city of the Union. Their early settlements in the country are easily traced by the names of counties, cities, and towns in America called after the places they left in Ireland. Thus, Ulster County, in New York State ; Londonderry, in New Hampshire ; Bangor and Belfast, in Maine. There are some eight or ten Belfasts in as many different States. Hon. J. C. Purdy says : " It is a fact not generally known that in the year 1638, soon after the establishment in Ulster, some of these emigrants projected a settlement in New England. They are spoken of by Cotton Mather as a Scotch Colony. In the month of September of that year the Eaglewing sailed from Loch Fergus, for the Merrimack River, with 140 passengers, including the celebrated preachers, Robert Blair, John Livingstone, James Hamilton, and John McLelland. The vessel was driven back by stress of weather, and the next year these returned to Scotland, where they affiliated with the more famous Johnston, of Warreston, and Alexander Henderson, and became prominent in the commotions, civil and religious, which led to the subversion of the English throne and the execution of its treacherous occupant. Two-thirds of a century later, in consequence of persecution from a government, which, in some sense, owed its existence to the heroism shown at the terrible siege of Londonderry and the crowning victory of the Boyne, the emigration from Ulster to this

country began in earnest, and from about the year 1720, swarm followed swarm from the great hive, some of the emigrants stopping in New England and New York, but the greater part passing into upper regions of Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas.

Wherever these people have settled and formed communities, these communities have been uniformly characterized by law, order, industry, integrity, education and piety. They have been, without exception, among the most sober, thoughtful, intelligent, moral, self-respecting, independent people of the country. Of all the nationalities composing the American nation none have fewer representatives among the pauper and criminal classes of the country than the race of which I write. Judge Sutherland of this city recently stated—as reported in the N. Y. Tribune—that during his long service as a criminal Judge, only one Scotchman was brought before him accused of crime, and he was acquitted. On the other hand, since their first settlement in America, they have been among the pioneers of liberty and the pillars of the nation.

They did not imbibe the spirit of freedom in their adopted country; it was inborn, and they brought it with them and first inspired this nation with it. It was their hatred of tyranny and their native love of liberty that forced them to break the strong ties of home and kindred, and cross the sea to a strange land. The Scotchman is domestic in his nature. His love of home and country is the ruling passion of his life.

Bancroft says, "The first public voice in America for dissolving all connection with Great Britain, came, not from the Puritans of New England, the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." Bancroft has reference to the famous Declaration of Meclenburg adopted May 30, 1775, at Charlotte, North Carolina. There can be no doubt but this bold and courageous act prepared the way for the Declaration, a year later, at Philadelphia. This first Declaration was the work of the Scotch-Irish, who, Bancroft says, "brought to the New World the creed, the courage and the independence of the Covenanters." It was Lord Mountjoy who said, in 1784, that America was lost by the Irish emigrants.

In the work of the Continental Congress this people bore an honorable part. The Declaration of Independence had six of its signers and most efficient supporters from the Scotch-Irish. This heroic and patriotic people are never figure-heads in office, but forces in opposing wrong and pushing forward right; men to be feared, for they will conquer on whichever side they take their stand. Hence the well



known prayer, "Grant, O Lord, that the Scotchman may be right; for, if wrong, he is eternally wrong." Space fails me to speak of the services rendered to the cause of freedom by these illustrious men, of which brief mention only will be made. Matthew Thornton was, by profession, a physician; by appointment by Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, a Colonel of Militia; a Justice of the Peace, and on the abdication of Wentworth was elected President of the Provisional Government, and in 1776 a delegate to the Continental Congress. He was a man greatly beloved by all who knew him, a zealous and consistent Christian to the close of a long, useful and honored life.

James Smith was born in Ireland, but while quite young was brought by his father to Pennsylvania. James was one of a numerous family of children. He studied under Rev. Dr. Allison, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, became a lawyer and one of the boldest advocates of independence. He succeeded to one of the seats in Congress vacated by those who refused to vote for independence. He was a member of the Convention of Pennsylvania convened to form a Constitution for that State after the Declaration was issued. He was also a member of the Committee given almost unlimited power to aid Washington in opposing the progress of General Howe's army. In conversation Smith was vivacious, humorous, witty and genial; in religious matters, grave; in duty, unflinching; in courage, heroic.

George Taylor was also born in Ireland. He was the son of a clergyman, and engaged in the iron business in Pennsylvania; was elected a member of the Colonial Assembly, and was appointed on its most important committees. He was a man of great energy, stern integrity and devoted patriotism, and in every relation proved himself to be the worthy son of a worthy sire, a true Scotch-Irishman. Taylor, like many other of the signers, was a pupil of Rev. Dr. Allison, and was admitted to the Bar at the age of nineteen. In 1754, he settled in New Castle, Delaware. At the age of twenty-nine he succeeded John Ross as Attorney General of Kent, Sussex and New Castle Counties. In 1774, he was elected to the Continental Congress, was elected eleven consecutive times to the General Assembly of Delaware. In national and state affairs he occupied some of the most important positions until his death, at the age of 64, while Chief Justice of his own State. George Read was born in Maryland. His grandfather was a wealthy resident of Dublin, his native city, and his father emigrated from Ireland to Maryland about 1726.

Thomas M'Kean was born in Pennsylvania, but his father was from

Ireland. He was pupil with George Read under Rev. Dr. Allison. M'Kean rose steadily in his profession of law, through nearly every grade of office, from Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, until he sat on its Bench as Judge. In 1776, he commanded a regiment, in New Jersey under Washington, and was chosen a member of a Convention in Delaware to frame a State Constitution for that State. That instrument was the work of his pen, and adopted by a unanimous vote with but few alterations. In 1777, he was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania and President of Delaware; also Speaker of the Delaware Assembly and delegate to the Continental Congress. He died in 1817, aged 84 years.

The sixth of these noble men was Edward Rutledge. He was the son of an Irish physician who emigrated to America in 1735, and settled at Charleston, South Carolina. Young Rutledge adopted the profession of law, in which he rose rapidly to eminence. He early espoused the cause of independence, and fearlessly voted for the Declaration, though large numbers of his constituents were opposed to it. He was appointed on committees of greatest importance together with Richard Henry Lee, John Adams and Dr. Franklin. He took up arms in defence of the country, was captured, and lay in prison for nearly one year in St. Augustine, Florida. In 1794, he was United States Senator; in 1798, he was chosen Governor of his native State. He died in 1800, aged 60 years.

Of the nineteen Presidents of the United States, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish race has furnished about one-half; Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk and James Buchanan being direct descendants of the latter branch of the family. Of the Vice-Presidents it gave to the nation were George Clinton and John C. Calhoun. Among its candidates for the Presidency were Samuel Houston, Stephen A. Douglas, De Witt Clinton and Horace Greeley. Pennsylvania is indebted to it for many of her best Governors and also the Judges of her Supreme and other Courts. George Chambers wrote, in 1856: The Scotch-Irish have furnished a majority of the United States Senators since the organization of the Federal Government.

From this people have come many of the best families and most eminent men of the country, among which we may mention the Clinton family, at first settled in Ulster County, N. Y.; the Livingston, Montgomery, Stirling, Stewart and Brown families.

Some races are poor in genius and excel in only one direction, but this race is rich in blood and brain; so that in every department of

life, in peace and in war, in science, art, industry and literature, everywhere its representatives are found in the highest ranks. Among the proudest names that adorn the annals of American history none are more illustrious in oratory, than that of Patrick, Calhoun, M'Duff; in war, than that of Montgomery, Mercer, Morgan, Knox and Jackson. In statesmanship, the names of Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton head a long list. In invention, Robert Fulton surely leads the van.

The most prominent characteristic of this race is will-power, force, determination, capacity to do. The combative element is strong in them. You may kill, but you cannot conquer them. "Resist the devil and he will flee from you," says St. James; but resist a Scotch-Irishman and he will flee at you, and keep at you until you yield. "Fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," is the key-note of their contest. There is a wonderful vitality in this Scotch blood. If you have got it in your veins even from remote ancestry—from father, mother, grand or great-grandsire, it beats as true and patriotic, and in combat as warm and fierce as on the field of Bannockburn five hundred years ago. It was from this source that Daniel Webster got his overwhelming power in debate; Thomas Jefferson, the capacity that penned the immortal Declaration of Independence; General Scott, his prowess in war; Joe Johnson and Stonewall Jackson, their contempt of danger and daring; General Grant, his unyielding courage that nothing can break down; Henry Ward Beecher, his conquering eloquence; Ex-Secretary Hugh McCulloch, his financial ability; General McLelland, his engineering skill and power of government; President Hayes, his honesty, independence and determination to stand by the right though the heavens should fall.

Pennsylvania, one of the thirteen original States, now the second in population, and called the Keystone of the Union arch, as much from its importance as from its position, is second to no State in the Union for the power it has exerted in laying the foundation and moulding the character of the Commonwealth. It has furnished many of the noblest patriots, statesmen, jurists, theologians and philanthropists of the country. Its people have been noted for their intelligence, integrity, thrift and every virtue that conduces to the peace and prosperity of a community. This State was settled largely by the Scotch and Scotch-Irish, who fused together as did the gold, silver and brass statue-gods of Corinth, when that city was burned, forming the peculiar and much prized Corinthian brass. Out of such metal were many of the strongest pillars of this great State formed. They brought to their

adopted country their Bible, their conscience and their catechism; their catechism, the very first question of which is, "Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever," and of which good Dr. Murray said, at a public breakfast given to him and George H. Stewart in the North of Ireland, "You people teach this to your sons early, this ennobling idea of man's high destiny, they come out to America, and we find them men from the Canadas to the Mississippi."

The Bible they held to be the one great charter of human liberty. You cannot enslave the people who read it. They held that it was the right, privilege and duty of every man to read it, judge and decide for himself. In order to do this they have always been the advocates and promoters of education for the people, the whole people.

"Sixty years before the landing of the May Flower," said a writer in the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, 1860, "and eighty-two years before the first public school law of Massachusetts was adopted, the first Book of Discipline in the Scotch Church required that a school should be established in every parish for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar and the Latin tongue. In America, before the cabins disappeared from the roadside, and the stumps from the fields, these men founded a log college at Nashaminy, in Eastern Pennsylvania, where some of the most eminent men of the last century were educated. And when they, first of all, opened the gates to the Valley of the Mississippi on a bright day, with no meaner canopy over their heads than the blue arch of Heaven, under the shade of a sassafras tree, two Scotch-Irish ministers inaugurated Jefferson College by solemn prayer, and the hearing of a Latin recitation. Half a century later another Scotch-Irish minister, with two of his ministerial brethren, went out, and kneeling down in the snow, with nothing to separate them from God but the wintry sky, dedicated the ground on which Wabash College now stands to God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost."

While the people were impoverished and heavily taxed by the war for Independence, this same heroic people established Dickenson College at Carlisle, obtaining their charter in 1783; and though they have been frequently slandered as being sectarian and bigoted, many years after they gave up charter, property and all into the hands of another denomination, namely, the M. E. Church, virtually reversing the Calvinistic doctrine—the Presbyterians falling from grace while the Methods showed the perseverance of the saints.

The log College was the seed from which sprang Princeton College,

which has given to the nation so many great statesmen, profound theologians, distinguished scholars, eminent jurists and men of mark in all the higher walks of life. The constant stream of cultivated, conservative, consecrated intellect which has flowed from this institution for more than a hundred and thirty years cannot be measured in its benign influence upon the nation. Her graduates have gone into the army and navy; into the profession of the law and the practice of medicine; into the halls of legislation, State and national; into the sacred calling of the ministry; and it is sufficient to say they have, with few exceptions, proved themselves worthy sons of their noble Alma Mater. The original source of this stream is to be traced to the "Log College," founded by the Rev. William Tennent, an emigrant from the North of Ireland. Nor was this the only fruit borne by the Log College. Its scholars imbibed the spirit of its founders. Many other schools and academies were established by them which did noble service in the early days of the colonies. Chambers says, "It is difficult to measure or estimate the advantage to society from the establishment of the academies and schools of the Tenents, Blairs, Finley, Smith and Allison in Eastern Pennsylvania." The Alexanders, who emigrated from Londonderry about 1736, and who, in the capacity of professors at Princeton as well as in the pulpit and through the press, have stamped their character upon the ministry and the Presbyterian Church of the country, contributing largely to make the church what it is to-day—a church noted for its learning, stability, piety and purity from ritualism and notions.

In the financial and commercial interests of the country this people stand unrivaled for integrity, energy, fidelity and enterprise. A. T. Stewart was one of the greatest business men of this century, and his business perhaps the most extensive in the world. The Stuart Brothers, bankers, have ever been great pillars of strength in the country. The Brown Brothers, bankers, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, London and Liverpool, stand without superiors in Europe or America for financial integrity and honor. Through all the money panics on both sides of the Atlantic, for more than half a century, this firm has never once wavered. The American nation has no stronger pillars in its financial edifice, or more illustrious names in its large philanthropy than this modest, quiet family supplies, nor has the British Parliament on its roll any names more honorable or distinguished than those of Sir William, James Clifton and Alexander Hargrave Brown, M. P., grandsons of the late James Brown, of New York City.

In journalism it is sufficient to mention the New York Herald, Tribune,

Times and Ledger. In Arctic exploration Dr. Elisha K. Kane was among the earliest and most noted. In literature, gentle, genial and mirth-exciting, the author of *Rip Van Winkle* must ever stand alone. As a historian the author of the *Dutch Republic* has no superior on either side of the Atlantic. Washington Irving and John Motley are claimed by the world of letters. The list of distinguished names in every department of life might be indefinitely extended. Perhaps the most condensed view of the grandeur of their character may be seen in the church which they founded and fostered in the New World. They were nearly all Presbyterians, and wherever they settled in America the church and school-house were the first buildings erected after their own log huts. To this church they point with pride to-day, to her pulpit and pew, her schools and colleges, her history and her literature, her loyalty to just government—the promoter of law, order, sobriety, morality, piety and every virtue that makes a nation powerful and her people prosperous. This church is the champion of equal rights, religious freedom and civil liberty; the dread of tyrants and mother of republicanism, for “Calvinism,” says Bancroft, “is gradual republicanism.”

The similarity of principle and structure between the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, in their gradation of higher and lower courts, as well in the mode of administration, has often been noted and commented upon. Bishop Hughes, of New York, said of the Presbyterian General Assembly: “Its structure is little inferior to that of Congress itself. It acts on the principle of a radiating center and is without an equal or a rival among the other denominations of the country.”

It is the appropriate honor of this church to have been represented by the only clergyman that was a member of the Continental Congress, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, a lineal descendant of John Knox. The success of that Congress was due in no small measure to the force of character, sound judgment, earnest piety and burning patriotism of this great and good man. He served on nearly every important committee of that Congress, strongly advocated the union of the colonies, and urged on, at a most critical moment, the signing of the Declaration. Mr. Chambers says, “Dr. Witherspoon was a member of Congress when the Declaration of Independence was reported, and was before the House for the signatures of its members. Some seemed to waver, and a deep and solemn silence reigned throughout the hall. This venerable man, casting on the assembly a look of interest, and unconquerable



determination, remarked: 'That noble instrument on your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in the House. He who will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy the name of a freeman. Although these gray hairs must descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hand of the public executioner, than desert, at this crisis, the sacred cause of my country.' The patriarch sat down and forthwith the Declaration was signed by every member present" (Rev. S. S. Templeton).

Rev. Francis Allison was another fine representative of a Scotch-Irishman, and a most useful and influential man of his day. He was born in the North of Ireland in 1705. Thirty years later he came to America and began his ministry as pastor of the Presbyterian church at New London, Pa. Here he opened a school. "There was at this time scarcely a particle of learning in the Middle States, and he generously instructed all that came to him without fee or reward." A number of the signers were educated by this man, who bore in after life the stamp of his pure and exalted character. He was elected Vice Provost of the College of Philadelphia. "To his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge Pennsylvania owes much of that taste for solid learning and classical literature for which many of her principal characters have been distinguished." He was frank and candid in disposition, affectionate and faithful in friendship, catholic in sentiment, the advocate of liberty, civil and religious, the warm and sympathizing friend of the poor, often assisting them from his own purse.

The Rev. Samuel B. Wylie, of Philadelphia, in later days was another such great and good man, now worthily succeeded in the ministry by his son, the present Dr. T. W. J. Wylie.

Nor has the race deteriorated. Saxon blood and Norman brain resist bravely the influences that effeminate a less vigorous people. Where can you point to a more quiet, useful, potent, blessed life than that of the late Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton? Who can measure the impress on the ministry, and through it on the church and country, of his fifty years faithful, patient, earnest teaching? His work on Theology has not a rival if it has an equal in Christendom to-day. Where is there a more profound thinker and fearless preacher than the pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle? Where can you find more solid learning, wisdom and piety than in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian pulpit, or a higher type of Christian character than in its pews?

In the highest domain of human thought is not the palm of two continents awarded to the President of Princeton College? Who organized and presided over our Royal Academy of Science, the Smithsonian Institute, for nearly a third of a century, giving it a place and a reputation among the oldest scientific institutions of Europe, making it a mighty instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among mankind," for aiding the progress and development of our country, adding to the world's wealth of scientific discovery and invention? Was it not Joseph Henry, the son of a Scotch Presbyterian, "The Nestor of American Science," as he was justly styled, and we add the devout Christian, the highly cultured philosopher, the refined scholar, the polished gentleman, the true-blue Presbyterian, to whom the Smithsonian Institute owes more than to any other man save its founder?

These are a few samples, and only a few of the people from whom many Americans are descended, and they have just reason to be proud of their honorable ancestry. In public and in private life, in church and State, law and literature, press and pulpit, at the plough and anvil, they have exhibited virtues that their descendants may well emulate.

Let them teach their children patriotism—a much needed lesson of the times—tell them that their ancestors issued the first Declaration of Independence, urged on and signed the second Declaration, inaugurated the first President of the United States, constituted the first Cabinet, every member of it, laid down their lives at Bunker Hill, Princeton, Valley Forge, and on every battle-field to maintain this country free and independent; that it was one of their blood who saved the Union, and is to-day one of the most honored citizens of the world, that another fills the Executive Chair, and that still another presides in the Chief Justice seat of the nation.

Well did Washington know the men to place in his first Cabinet, and associate with himself in the most trying circumstances of his eventful life. The country prostrated and distracted, the soldiers unpaid and mutinous, a Republic to be built out of shattered fragments, and not a standing model in the whole world to pattern by. It is recorded of Washington, when after crossing river after river with his broken army, some one asked him how far he meant to retreat; he replied, that if forced to cross every river and mountain to the confines of civilization, he would make his last stand with the Scotch-Irishmen of the frontiers, then plant his banner and still fight for freedom.

GEORGE H. SMYTH



THE MOUND-BUILDERS OF AMERICA

In order to fully appreciate the suggestions contained in this memoir in regard to the origin of that mysterious race which once inhabited so large a portion of North America, and have left so many of those vestiges of their presence which have given the name by which we know them ; those mounds and earth works which are the silent monuments of a race now vanished from earth, leaving no other record of its existence, it will be necessary to bear in mind some of the physical features of that portion of the country where those remains are the most numerous, the great Valley of the Mississippi, including the lesser valleys of its tributaries, which is the basin of drainage through which flow waters draining a territory out of which the Empires of the Old World might almost be carved.

According to Professor Foster, the Mississippi Valley comprises an area of 2,455,000 square miles, extending through thirty degrees of longitude and twenty-three degrees of latitude. (Foster's Mississippi Valley, Chicago, 1869, p. 3.)

Of this area, the Ohio River drains 214,000 square miles, the largest area of any of the tributaries of the Mississippi, except the Missouri, having its source in the Alleghanies and the vicinity of Lake Erie and meandering towards the Southwest until it reaches the Father of Waters. The Ohio passes through a delightful region, and one who floats upon its waters cannot but be impressed with the ever changing panorama of mountain and valley, of open champaign and woodland, which the voyage brings before his vision. Every variety of soil to tempt the agriculturist, is found in the Valley of the Ohio, and it is no wonder that the wandering tribes of Ancient America peopled that region with busy villagers in such numbers that their remains are found throughout all that area, and they no doubt found it, as the wandering tribes of old found theirs, "A land flowing with milk and honey."

As you pass down the Mississippi, all along its alluvial bottoms, the mounds are ever recurring, singly or in groups, some of great altitude and dimensions, others but a few feet above the surface, but all bearing the traces of the same builders, and the same general plan, and all yielding, when opened, the treasure of the past; the household Gods, the

household utensils, the weapons of war and the chase, the ornaments for the person, the badges of office, or totems of tribes, and the playthings used in their games—all records of the past life with which these valleys once teemed, but none of them records which can now be deciphered so as to give us more than a dim conception of the mysterious people who have passed away and left no name behind. Leaving the mouth of the great river and passing along the Gulf coast, we come to a country where a race has erected to its memory structures of stone with carvings and sculptures, indicating a comparatively high state of civilization; but of the builders we know no more than of the mound-builders of the valleys we have left. The remains of Central America have excited the wonders of the world, but their history too is lost.

I am impressed with the idea that the race which built the once magnificent temples of Central America, is the parent stock of the race known to the Mississippi Valley as the Mound-builder, and that the mound remains of the valley are a part of the system of religion which influenced and governed pre-historic man from Yucatan to the Northern lakes. Let us glance at the geographical distribution of the mounds, their characteristics, and the remains they cover, and see whether there are any grounds for this belief. Some few evidences of the migration of the race exist outside of the area of the Mississippi Valley, but they are very few as compared with the numerous temple mounds and tumuli of the valley, and the relics of the stone age turned up by the plow over nearly every acre of its soil, so that we may justly conclude that the habitat of the mound-builder was the basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries. Thence colonies went North to work the mines of native copper on the shores of Lake Superior, and some outlying settlements occupied the fertile prairies and valleys of the smaller streams which flow into the Northern lakes, while the seat of empire was the fertile, alluvial bottoms of the Mississippi and the undulating hills and valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries.

In Central America we find the temples erected on great mounds; in the valley we find the mound without the temple. If we ask why, does not a reason suggest itself? Do we not see in the history of older nations that the large centers of civilization had their structures and temples of stone, while the frontier towns and rural villages had theirs of more perishable materials? Do we not see the same fact more vividly in America to-day, where our cities are of stone and brick, while the towns of the west and our rural villages are largely

built of wood? Let our civilization be erased, and in a few hundred years at most the archæologist would find little more traces of the vast population with which our country now teems than we find of those gone before, except where the plow or spade might turn up our less destructible implements and works of art. Another reason. Many portions of the valley are wholly destitute, and many nearly so, of building stone. Considering the fact that new colonies build first with wood, and that vast tracts occupied by the mound-builders were heavily timbered and destitute of stone, is it not reasonable to suppose that the mound-building colonist, who carried with him the religion, habits and customs of the parent race, should erect similar mounds, crown them with wooden temples, which crumbled to dust when the hand which built them was no longer there to repair, while the same mound temples of their fathers, built with imperishable stone, have endured to give us a better view of an unknown past? Look at the objects of mimetic art, and we find in the pipes from the mounds of Northern Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and other localities far from the Gulf of Mexico, faithful representations of birds, reptiles and animals known only to its vicinity and waters, or to regions still farther north, and some bearing a strong resemblance to those found in the ruins of Central America.

Stronger yet is the evidence offered by the representations of the man himself, and by the skulls of the individuals found buried at the base of the tumuli of the valley. I have examined a number exhumed by myself, and believe I do not err in stating that the prevailing type of this race is the low, flat and quickly receding forehead, not flattened by pressure, but by a law of nature. We find it not only in the bones of the dead, but in the carved head of the mound pipe or idol, showing very clearly the marked type of the race, as recognized and portrayed by the race itself. Where else do we look for the same race-type? Go again to the sculptured temples and palaces of Central America, and you find, clearly cut upon the imperishable stone, whether in bas-relief or statue, the same race-type, the pre-historic man of America, sculptured by the pre-historic man himself. Whether it be God or man they carved, the same low, flat and quickly receding forehead is the marked feature, just as it is in the sculptured pipes and in the skulls of the northern mound.

As to their antiquity, who can speak? All tradition is lost. Perhaps ages have elapsed since the colonists swarmed from the then overcrowded hive of Central America, pushed upward their slowly advanc-

ing settlements along the Mississippi, through the valley of the Ohio and its tributaries, until checked by a climate to which the race was unaccustomed, or perhaps by a sturdier and more warlike race coming down from the north, their frontiers a scene of constant wars, like our own to-day, and with the same savage race, which seems incapable of civilization, until at last, forced back by their enemies, the colony moves towards the south, towards its old cradle, and is overwhelmed.

We can form some conception of their antiquity, however, from the fact that many of the mounds and earthworks of this strange race are covered with ancient forests of huge living trees, while the stumps of an older growth show that monarchs of the forest of many centuries' growth had lived and died upon their surface since the disappearance of the men who erected them. But stronger evidence still of their hoary antiquity is the fact that the red Indian, full of reverence for the graves of his ancestors, has no tradition of, or care for, these tombs of the past. They are neglected and uncared for until the eye of the savant detects their character, and uncovers the secrets hidden at their base. And when these moldering remains are exposed, they crumble to dust, and we are unable to preserve them except in a fragmentary condition. Compare these remains with those found in the mounds and barrows of Great Britain. There complete skeletons are found of men buried before the Christian era, and the skulls can be measured by all the tests applied to the modern skull. Here rarely more than the outlines can be seen, when, as the careful observer attempts with his fingers to loosen the bones from the compact surrounding earth, the fragment of poor humanity eludes his grasp, vanishes as it were from his eager gaze, and is literally dust to dust. Some allowance may necessarily be made on account of chemical agencies in the soil, but after all due allowance is made, is it not evident that ages have passed since these crumbling skeletons were instinct with life, and wielded a brief authority over the tribes which reared above their remains such a monument as the prehistoric burial mound?

These mute monuments and remains are the only records of the mysterious men who built them. No written records exist, and tradition even is silent. Whence they came, when they lived, and how, and whither they have gone is left entirely to conjecture, and their history and fate can never be known with certainty. The race lived, but has vanished utterly. But we cannot believe the mound-builder was utterly destroyed. More likely the race or its remnants were incorporated into and amalgamated with the conquering race, so that the race-

type was lost by absorption, though occasionally it is found in individuals of the various Indian tribes which roam our western plains, and is yet practiced by the Flathead Indians, by the painful operation of artificial compression during infancy.

As to their works, the limits of such a memoir as this will hardly allow more than a passing mention. Their mounds, earthworks and enclosures are found in nearly every part of the great valley, while their implements, weapons and ornaments, are revealed by the plow or spade wherever civilized man has tilled its surface. The sites of our large cities are generally the sites they chose for their villages. The forms of their works are too well known through the accounts and illustrations of their discoveries to need further description here, and these works give us all we know of the extent of their civilization. The art of working in metals and reducing ores seems almost if not wholly unknown to the Mound-builders. Some weapons and implements, with apparent marks of casting, have occasionally been found, but there is no certainty that they were manufactured by them, for if they had the art of reducing ores and casting them into the shape required, why the long journeys to the shores of Lake Superior, to procure the native copper found there, which was mined with stone mauls and wedges of wood or copper, from the same matrix? Why so laboriously hammer the lump, when obtained, into the desired form, with a stone hammer, if they knew how to reduce it by fire? Had they advanced to the knowledge of smelting ores, they must have advanced further in civilization, for a race which could fashion such beautiful ornaments, chip with such precision and beauty the flint javelin, spear or arrow head; could patiently work out with pebbles the fine specimens of stone hatchets and axes, which of themselves are works of art; could so beautifully sculpture their pipes and ornaments of stone with faithful and life-like representations of men, and other natural objects around them, and adorn their pottery with fanciful, æsthetic copies of natural objects, designs, or geometrical patterns, could not have lost, but must have advanced in such an art as the working in metals. I am inclined to the belief that if cast metals are traced to their possession, they came through barter or exchange with others more advanced than they. It may not be entirely out of place to remark that the student of American archæology, who studies the American pre-historic man through his works in stone, is entirely lost when he attempts to draw the line between stone implements of the Mound-builder and those of the modern Indian, except, perhaps, in the pipes, in the race-types of which, I think there is a

marked difference; the pipe of the Mound-builder being of two kinds, the one a small pipe with the bowl upon a curved platform which constitutes the mouth-piece, the other the animal form, like the frog, and other animal representations, heavy, and standing on a base, with a hole for the insertion of a stem, and of a form to be carried about the person; while the Indian pipe is almost invariably made for an inserted stem.

This difficulty in drawing the line, however, is not to be wondered at, if we reflect that a conquering race, which knew little or nothing of the works and weapons of the Mound-builder, would naturally adopt whatever they found was superior to their own, and if they could not themselves manufacture them, the conquered and amalgamated race would furnish the skilled workmen for their masters, and the new generations would grow up in a knowledge and use of the arts of the race which had made the advance. In time the characteristics of the conquering race would predominate, and the mixed race deteriorate, until we would naturally expect a condition such as was found by the whites who discovered the New World. Is it not, too, an additional evidence in favor of my theory of their origin, that when America was discovered, the highest state of civilization among the North American savages was found in the central and southern part of the great valley and near the gulf?

In their civilization they had the simplicity which belongs to a race in its infancy, and were probably behind the parent stock and their Aztec neighbors. I believe they were agriculturists, and little given to war except in defense of their homes, and thus were unable by nature and education to cope with the fierce red savage, who probably conquered and succeeded them. That they communicated with each other at great distances there can be no doubt. Many evidences of this intercommunication exist in native copper tools and weapons found far from the parent mines, in the plates of mica, the lumps of galena, the ocean shells and many other substances not native to the locality where found, but hundreds of miles from the spot where nature placed them.

One of the most striking instances of this fact which I know of came under my own observation. I have in my cabinet a circular ornament, perforated with two holes, some five and one-half inches in diameter, with another article curiously perforated at each end, which were found in a pre-historic grave on the island of Mackinaw, situated in the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan. The first is made from the broad part, and the other from the central whorl of the great conch-shell of the Gulf of Mexico, a thousand miles distant from the



place of sepulture. Both had been highly polished, and when they had the pearly lustre of the fresh shell, must have made beautiful ornaments for the perhaps kingly wearer. I have also in my cabinet a carved stone totemic emblem or badge, found in DeKalb county, Indiana, which is almost a counterpart of the one figured in Schoolcraft (part second, plate 45, History of the Indian Tribes, Phila., 1852) as found in Washington county, New York, eight hundred miles from mine. Just so in later days, the name of the Indian chief, Duluth, to whom was committed a century ago the charge of the ill-fated heroine of the American revolution, Jane McCrea, whose sad story and fate are embalmed in history, song and romance, has reappeared as the name of a thriving town at the extreme western end of Lake Superior, thirteen hundred miles from the scene of the tragedy, and the name comes, I believe, from a local Indian tradition of a local Duluth.

To the primitive man distances and time were not so tiresome or so pressing as to the civilized man of to-day. With few wants, and those wants easily supplied, to the roving character a journey of hundreds of miles could be accomplished without much fatigue or difficulty, and one fond of adventure and travel would be likely to carry for trade and barter such tools and ornaments as could be easily carried, and would most surely excite the admiration and desire of those who were ignorant of such works.

I doubt not that many instances could be cited by careful observers which would tend to verify the suggestions herein made; and I submit them in the spirit of investigation, not as proven facts, but as suggestions to invite the attention of others to an investigation of the theory of the origin of this strange race, whose remains are exciting the attention of the scientific world.

R. S. ROBERTSON

NOTE.—This paper was read before the second Congress of Americanists, which met at Luxembourg, where the theory suggested in it provoked some discussion and dissent, on the ground that all tradition and history indicate migrations from the north to the south. The point of my theory is overlooked, *i. e.*, that the Mound-builder passed away before tradition and history began for America, and that he withdrew before, or was overwhelmed by, the migration from the north.

That all tradition and history of the modern Indian point to a migration from the north, or rather from the northwest, may be freely admitted, but that we possess any tradition or history that points to the origin of the Mound-builder may be safely denied.



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BENEDICT ARNOLD AND HIS APOLOGIST

The generous treatment of the Southern leaders in the late rebellion against the Government of the Union seems to have been misunderstood. It was based upon a desire for reconciliation of people of the same blood, but contrary opinions, who had put their quarrels to the arbitrament of the sword. It is a perversion of the sentiment to base upon it a condonation of the crime of those who took part with the foreign oppressor in the struggle for national existence and national independence.

To what else can be ascribed the aggressive tone with regard to our revolutionary heroes which has marked a number of recent publications? The cloak of apology is thrown aside, and toryism reveals itself in its most offensive form. The characters of the founders of our government, and of the brave men who established it, are maligned, their motives impugned, their acts misrepresented.

And now an apologist has risen even for Benedict Arnold, who attempts to offset his treason by his patriotism; in a word, to vindicate him from the verdict of a century.

Kapp, in his *Life of Steuben*, tells a story of a youth who begged his assistance. His name being asked, he said it was Arnold. The Baron was horrified that any one would own to the name, but recognizing on reflection that it was not the boy's fault, he procured an act of legislature which changed the name, and left to him provision by will.

Fortunately the old and honorable name of Arnold has been borne by too many worthy men, that the disgrace of one can drag it to the dust; and no motive of defence was sufficient for the present apology. The words of the introduction, "He was not so black as he has been painted," is the key to the biographer's intent. These chapters* are at once a palliation of his treachery and his apotheosis as a military hero; and the facts are appealed to. Unfortunately the facts are the other way. They have hitherto lain scattered through the published and unpublished literature of the country, no one seemingly caring to undertake the task of bringing them together.

Mr. Arnold has reopened the verdict of a century upon the Traitor of the Revolution. If it result that the investigation which he courts show that Arnold was a villain of a deeper dye than is commonly supposed, he has only himself to thank.

The character of man is usually homogeneous. Conversions of the Damascus order are justly held to be miracles. Search thoroughly the character of Arnold, and the traits which culminated in the crowning treachery will be found characteristic of every part of his career and of each epoch of his life.

Arnold's first exploit was running away from home and enlisting for the French war, Mr. Arnold says, at Hartford, but the advertisement for him as a deserter from the New York Regiment, which appeared in Weyman's New York Gazette for May 21, 1759 (see *Mag. Am. Hist.*, I., 194), shows that he did not volunteer in one of the Connecticut regiments, but crossed the line to New York, where he was paid for enlistment. He was, therefore, not only a deserter, but a bounty jumper, to use an expressive modern phrase. In the New York advertisement he appears as a "weaver," but he seems to have had no settled occupation. He served an apprenticeship with a druggist in New Haven, where, if tradition be true, he learned the use of "apothecary stuff" to some purpose. He went out on one occasion as supercargo of a trading vessel, commanded by Youngs Ledyard of Groton. Captain Ledyard was administered to by Arnold, and died on the voyage, and to this day it is a tradition of the Ledyard family that Arnold poisoned him, and appropriated the funds of the venture.

Of his reputation in New Haven, Colonel Tallmadge has left the strongest testimony in one of his letters to Mr. Sparks (*Mag. Am. Hist.*, III., 754), in which he says that he met him while he (Tallmadge) was a member of Yale College, and was impressed by the belief that he was not a man of integrity.

The terrible sufferings of the march to Quebec through the valleys of the Kennebec and the Chaudière are well known. Mr. Arnold ranks it with the Anabasis of Xenophon or the crossing of the Alps by Napoleon. It was like these in the endurance and hardships of the men. It was unlike them in that it was through a country where there was no enemy, and that it was not marked either by foresight or prudence in executive management, organization or leadership. The assault on Quebec was a piece of Don Quixotism, as any one who has seen the ground of action must confess, necessary perhaps after the efforts and sufferings to reach that point, but hopeless from the beginning. Here Arnold received his first wound. His biographer cannot suppress his regret that the bullet had not killed him, a sentiment in which he will find cordial concurrence, though he may mingle more personal sorrow in his cup of grief than the world at large. His name might possibly, as is

suggested, have been associated with that of Wolfe and Montgomery, instead of keeping eternal companionship with that of the man who sold his master for thirty pieces of silver, save that the original went out and hanged himself, while his imitator let his confederate in his treason hang for him.

While in command at Montreal he first publicly displayed his contemptuous indifference to the wishes of Congress, and his utter disregard of any rule of conduct except his own love of lucre. The object of the Canada campaign was the deliverance, not the conquest, of Canada, and all the earlier movements, while Montgomery held command, were conducted with a strict regard to all personal and private property. Regardless of Montgomery's solemn engagement with the citizens of Montreal, Arnold, so soon as he found himself free from immediate control, began systematically to plunder the inhabitants, seizing large amounts of goods, without giving any account, and sending them to Ticonderoga. Followed closely by the owners, Arnold endeavored to shift the responsibility on a subordinate. A court of inquiry was raised, with whom Arnold quarreled, addressing them letters, written in a vein of characteristic impudence, from the consequence of which he was only saved by the interference of Gates, who, to use his own words, "dictatorially" dissolved the court. With what ingratitude the favor of Gates was repaid by Arnold appears in the sequel.

Gates intended him for the command of the flotilla he was organizing on Lake Champlain. The ill-matched naval battle which ensued between the poorly equipped, badly manned vessels of Arnold and the superior armament of Carleton forms an important chapter in the volume; the fight was gallant, but the result was the total destruction of the American vessels. The judgment of Bancroft, who had all the authorities before him, that Arnold "recklessly sacrificed his fleet without public benefit," is just. Mr. Arnold offsets this with the expression of Marshall that "the fight did not dispirit the Americans nor diminish his (Arnold's) reputation." Mr. Arnold quotes the letters and orders of Gates, and includes a passage of praise from Dacre, a British officer, and bearer of dispatches, all of which appear in Force's archives. We commend him to a perusal of the letter of Colonel, later Brigadier-General Maxwell, of the Jersey line, written from Ticonderoga on the 20th of Oct., 1776, ten days after the action, in which he uses these significant words: "You must have heard that a few days ago we had a fine fleet and tolerably good army. General Arnold, our evil genius, to the North

has with a good deal of industry got us clear of all our fine fleet, only five of the most indifferent of them, and one row galley excepted." This is very harsh judgment and is only quoted to show the distrust of Arnold by his companions, even at this period. Mr. Arnold's account of the action, however, will not bear examination. In the disposition of his fleet Arnold showed his usual recklessness, and want of military judgment. Mr. Arnold says his rear was unapproachable, and his line extending across the channel he could be attacked in front only. On the contrary he left the main channel of the Lake free to the undisputed passage of the British, and exposed his rear. As Maxwell says he suffered "himself to be surrounded between an island and the mainland." That Arnold displayed here as everywhere else personal bravery, is not questioned, but we are at a loss to find any evidence of military capacity.

That the distrust of his contemporaries was not of his military capacity alone appears in a letter of General Wayne of the 27th September, 1780, in which he says that "he had the most despicable idea of him, both as a gentleman and a soldier, and that honour and true virtue were strangers to his soul; and however contradictory it might appear, that he never possessed either general fortitude or personal bravery, and that he rarely went in way of danger, but when stimulated with liquor, even to intoxication."

On the 9th February, 1777, Congress elected five major-generals, each the junior of Arnold. This was naturally a deep grievance, and no doubt the seeds were there sown of his later treason, though it is worth notice that in a petition of Colonel John Brown for a court of inquiry upon General Arnold at Ticonderoga, which was referred by Gates to Congress, and by them dismissed, the last allegation against him was of a "treasonable attempt to make his escape with the navigation then at or near Ticonderoga to the enemy at St. Johns." In reference to the action of Congress Mr. Arnold uses this extraordinary language: "To what extent his treatment by Congress is to be attributed to envy, jealousy or other unworthy motives, it is now perhaps impossible to determine." Is it not more natural to believe that this admirable body of men were guided by motives no more unworthy than a *distrust* of Arnold?

It was only after the repeated requests of Washington that Congress consented to send Arnold to the northward, to which the fall of Ticonderoga and the invasion of Burgoyne attracted undivided attention. Joining Schuyler at Fort Edward, he learned that the question of rank had been decided against him in Congress by a formal

vote. Congress persisted in its *distrust*. Still the friend of Gates, with whom he was on terms of intimate confidential correspondence, the daily companion of Schuyler, and trusted by Washington, whose nature was unsuspicious and generous, he retained his command, and his conduct during this branch of the Saratoga campaign was faultless in every respect. Schuyler was soon after removed from command, and superseded by Gates. How Arnold repaid Gates for his friendship will now appear. The difference came to a head about the time of the first battle of Saratoga, that of Bemis heights, on the 19th September, 1777.

To this battle Mr. Arnold devotes a separate chapter. In this chapter, read by him as a paper before the New York Historical Society, the accuracy of Mr. Bancroft was questioned. Mr. Bancroft was present at the reading, but took no notice of the remarks. Later in a letter describing this lecture, which appeared in the New York Tribune, October 21, 1879, Mr. Arnold used these words: "Mr. Bancroft took his seat on the stage, and I turned to him and complimented him as the 'Father of American History,' and then went on to show, by the letters of Varick and Livingston, his mistakes, which I was sure he never would have made if he had ever read these letters! The audience evidently enjoyed the scene, and applauded repeatedly, and when I said 'if Arnold had died of his wound received at the moment of his victory, neither Mr. Bancroft nor any other respectable historian would have denied to him the glory of the campaign, nor would have made the erroneous assertion that he was not in the field in the battle of the 19th of September,' the audience applauded heartily and generally. And when I concluded summing up by declaring that General Arnold was the hero of that campaign, and that to him was its success and the surrender of Burgoyne largely due, they again applauded. Mr. Bancroft was kind enough to say he had 'listened with great pleasure,' but directly one of the officers whispered, 'He has not heard a single word you have said; the old gentleman is very deaf.' I could only say: 'I wish you had told me that an hour ago.' But all went off well." This is a graphic description of a not uncommon scene. The atmosphere of this ancient society, particularly on the platform, is of an unusually somnolent character, and this is not the first time that an appreciative audience has enjoyed the humorous scene of an enthusiastic orator making pointed allusions to a dignitary on the stage, who remained the while utterly placid under the gentle influence of sleep. Well do we remember a similar scene, when the late William Cullen



Bryant (one of the officers) presided at a meeting, and gave way to the same soothing influence. Towards the close of the lecture the reverend orator turned gracefully to Mr. Bryant, and quoted the well-known closing lines from *Thanatopsis*. The audience applauded—and so did the venerable Mr. Bryant, awakened by the sound. The audience, to use the good stage word, “rose to him,” while the unconscious president continued to lead the applause (of himself).

Somewhat similar was the scene Mr. Arnold describes so innocently. Fortunate for him perhaps that the “Father of American History” was asleep in reality. He is not troubled with deafness, and Mr. Arnold deludes himself, if he supposes that he has “caught him napping,” in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

The conclusions of Mr. Bancroft have not been shaken by any fresh evidence that has been brought forward. The very letter that Mr. Arnold quotes, the insolent letter of Arnold to Gates, preserved in the N. Y. Historical Society, is conclusive evidence that while the division, which he claimed to be *his* (although he had never led it into action), was that chiefly engaged, Arnold did not lead them in person. “You desired me to send Colonel Morgan and the light infantry and support them; I obeyed your orders, and before the action was over I found it necessary to send out the whole of my division to support the attack.” To *send out* is not to lead out. Moreover, the troops were put in at different hours during the day.

But if any further evidence be needed, that of Robert R. Livingston, the brother of Major Henry B. Livingston, should suffice. In the application which he made to General Washington, on behalf of his brother, he could not have been misinformed on a matter which so immediately concerned his request.

In a letter written 14th January, 1778, to General Washington, occurs the following passage:

* * * “I take the liberty to enclose your excellency an extract from a letter to him [Major Livingston], written under General Arnold’s direction by a gentleman of his family, he being unable to hold the pen himself. After a warm recommendation of his conduct, both in camp and the field, and giving him and his regiment a full share of the honor of the battle of the 19th September, *in which General Arnold, not being present, speaks only from the reports of those who were*, he adds: On the 7th of October the conduct of your corps fell more immediately under the inspection of General Arnold; he thinks it but justice to you and them to observe that great part of our success on that day was owing to the

gallant part they acted in storming the enemy's works, and the alertness and good order they observed in the pursuit."

Mr. Arnold further rests his argument on the statement of Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, first edition, that "Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army." He does not seem to be aware that Marshall, in his revised edition, gives a different version of the movement of the 19th, in which he purposely omits the statement that Arnold was on the field.

The letters of Major Livingston, quoted by Mr. Arnold, and of Major Varick, then serving as supernumerary aid to Arnold, contain no proof that Arnold was on the field, and there is still extant a circumstantial account of the action, written on the day of the battle by Major Varick to General Schuyler, which makes no mention of Arnold's participation in the fight. Varick saw the action himself for an hour, having accompanied Col. Morgan, but was sent back for reinforcements. He was at dinner at headquarters, and speaks of his resentment at some words which dropped from General Gates. It would be strange indeed if Arnold, of whom he speaks as one whom he would "cheerfully serve," had been in the action that he should have passed his presence by unnoticed.

The battle of the 19th September was, on the part of the Americans, essentially a soldiers' battle. While Burgoyne led his men in person, exposing himself with great bravery, directing the movements of the British line, the Americans had no general officer in the field until the evening, when General Learned was ordered out. The battle was fought by the general concert and zealous co-operation of the corps engaged, and sustained more by individual courage than military discipline, as is shown by the loss of the militia in comparison with that of the regular troops.

Mr. Arnold is of those who believe that the partial success of this day could have been converted into a decisive victory. The better opinion is that Gates wisely refused to take any action which would uncover the river road which Burgoyne hoped to force, and which was the only route by which his artillery could be moved to Albany. The purpose of Gates seems to be as incomprehensible to Mr. Arnold now, with the light of history, as to the young officers upon whose testimony he relies, and whose opinions, expressed before the plan of the campaign was developed, he accepts as a verdict on its general scope. The purpose of Gates was to hold fast to his position, decline all but necessary **action** until the troops he had ordered to "fall in the rear or flank of



General Burgoyne " had reached their assigned posts, and all possibility of retreat was cut off.

Such was the symmetrical plan which the genius of Gates devised and carried to complete conclusion. To him the laurels of Saratoga are justly due, and to ascribe the honor of this decisive campaign to Schuyler, or to style Arnold the hero of Saratoga, is simply absurd.

That Arnold behaved with the most desperate recklessness in the second battle of Saratoga (on the 7th October) is nowhere disputed. That the source of his recklessness was patriotic ardor has been questioned (*Magazine*, III., 310,) by one who was evidently of the opinion of Wayne.

From what source Mr. Arnold draws his circumstantial statement that Arnold rode a gray horse on the day of the 19th does not appear. He does not claim that the horse was shot under him in the battle, yet the General is found borrowing "a beautiful Spanish horse" from Major Lewis for the action of the 7th October. This animal was killed, and the compensation for it was the occasion of a piece of rascality on the part of Arnold in perfect harmony with his entire career. It is well told in Sparks' Biography of Benedict Arnold.

On this day Arnold went into action in violation of orders. His conduct inspired the troops, no doubt, but he showed no such generalship as is claimed, and had the day resulted differently he would have been deservedly cashiered. He was severely wounded, and Gates, with his usual magnanimity, mentioned him in general orders in the highest terms.

This is not the place to defend Gates, the generous, accomplished gentleman, from the imputations cast on his nature, character and capacity in this volume. He was all that Arnold was not; high-toned, magnanimous, an accomplished officer and a gentleman; a patriot and not a traitor. Dying childless and without kindred in this country, the honor of his name has no personal defender; but the truth of history, like other truth, cannot be long perverted, and the spirit of modern investigation leaves no cause to doubt that the late repeated efforts to strip from the brow of Gates his well-earned laurels will arouse the attention of historic students, and result in the entire vindication of this admirable and much abused character.

The domestic life of Arnold, and the temptations which his admission into the high-born, courtly society of Philadelphia led his ambitious spirit need not be noticed here. He was assigned to the command of Philadelphia on the withdrawal of the British in 1778. As

usual he assumed authority not in the purview of his command, and embroiled himself with the President and Council of Pennsylvania. He was accused with trading with the enemy and other disreputable practices; including that of consorting with persons disaffected to the cause of the country. Tried by court martial on these charges, he was acquitted of that of "making purchases for his own benefit," but reprimanded for his illegal acts and unwarrantable interference with the civil government. That he led a life of ostentatious splendor is notorious, and that it was maintained by continuous speculation there is little reason to doubt. Proof, other than that presented to the Council, is mentioned by Mr. Reed as still extant (*Life of President Reed*, II., 126). To Washington fell the duty of the reprimand. At the close of the noble paragraph in which he describes the profession of arms as the chastest of all, and therefore its honor to be most tenderly guarded, he generously promises the guilty, but still favored officer, that he would furnish him as far as in his power "with opportunities of regaining the esteem" of the country.

Is it difficult to predict the sequel? Will not the man who in turn has thus far betrayed each benefactor, turn also on the generous hand which is still held out to him?

His wound giving him an excuse for a demand for a service which would not require activity, he sought the command of West Point, the key of the military position, with the purpose to betray his trust. He was not tempted; he needed no tempters but his ambition and his avarice.

Mr. Arnold has made much of Washington's opinion of Arnold; he has offset it against the contempt and distrust of his companions in arms. Washington was not a man to lend a ready ear to other than open accusations; the gossip of a camp rarely reached him. But it is not certain that he ever had any personal liking for Arnold. To Reed, of Pennsylvania, he wrote a line which refutes the idea that his "opinion and confidence" in Arnold were "conveyed in terms of affection and approbation." In answer to his biographer, Washington's final opinion of him may well stand as the national verdict upon the traitor.

"Arnold's conduct is so villainously perfidious that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. That overruling Providence which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favour, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid intention to surrender the post and guns of West Point into the hands of the enemy. * * * * The confidence



and folly which have marked the subsequent conduct of this man are of a piece with his villainy, and all three are perfect in their kind."

Against a man so utterly lost to all sense of honor it seems almost absurd to bring charges of smaller peccadilloes, but the whole truth may as well be told.

Not satisfied with public defalcations and delinquencies, Arnold stooped even to defraud his subordinates.

In the letter of General Wayne, which has been already referred to, he charged him with employing sutlers to retail public liquors for his private emolument, and furnishing his quarters with beds and other furniture by paying for them with pork, salt, flour, etc., drawn from the magazine. Nor, he goes on, "has he stopped here; he has descended much lower and defrauded the veteran soldier, who has bled for his country in many a well fought field during five campaigns; among others, an old sergeant of mine has felt his rapacity. By the industry of this man's wife they had accumulated something handsome to support themselves in their advanced age, which coming to the knowledge of this cruel spoiler, he borrowed a large sum of money from the poor, credulous woman, and left her in the lurch. The dirty, dirty acts which he has been capable of committing beggar all description; and they are of such a nature as would cause the infernals to blush were they accused of the invention and execution of them."

Nor is this accusation of honest General Wayne unsupported. In the Connecticut Gazette of December 12, 1780, may be seen a letter copied from the New Jersey Journal, of Sarah Warren, dated October 25, 1780, complaining of Arnold as having borrowed from her in August of the same year, \$22,000. Copies of the notes for \$12,600, August 8, and \$9,400, August 18, respectively, are printed with the letter.

A part of the reward of the traitor was a command in the British forces. He was at once set about work in which the most unscrupulous of the British commanders hesitated to engage, and detached to Virginia on a plundering expedition, in which he acquitted himself with the hot zeal of the fresh convert. Here his peculating disposition had full swing, and he shipped large quantities of tobacco and other produce, which he robbed from the plantations of his countrymen, to the Havanas for sale for his own account.

His last act in America was a fitting crown to his dishonorable career, and as before, plunder was again his object. A large quantity of public stores and private property was accumulated at New London. They were within reach of the enemy by a sudden stroke, with a com-

petent force led by a commander acquainted with the ground. Such was Arnold; a son of Connecticut and familiar with every inch of her coast. The inhabitants, too, had been his companions and friends. He eagerly undertook the service, and was the hero of the most disgraceful act of the long war. New London was burned to the ground under his eyes and the British arms, polluted by his presence, were disgraced by the murder of Col. Ledyard at Fort Groton by the British officer who led the attack; a deliberate murder after surrender, Ledyard being run through the body with his own sword.

Thus did Arnold, after betraying every trust and turning in base ingratitude upon every person who had befriended him, fitly close his career of infamy by the wanton parricidal destruction of that which every feeling of honor and humanity should have made sacred in his eyes.

His career in Nova Scotia and England are of little general interest to American readers. How the Prince of Wales walked with him arm in arm, how he was received by the English nobility, are matters in which Americans have no concern. The standard of English morals at the period was a low one at the best, yet Arnold does not seem to have been a welcome guest in any circle of London society.

Mr. Arnold entitles his volume "The Patriotism and Treason of Arnold," and while admitting his *treason*, calls upon us as a "just and generous people to remember that he was a *patriot* also." But other arguments must be brought forward than are presented in support of this unwarranted statement. There is no evidence that the heart of Arnold ever beat with one patriotic thrill.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

* The Life of Benedict Arnold, his Patriotism and Treason. By Isaac N. Arnold. 8vo, pp. 447. Janson, McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1880.

THE CHEWS OF PENNSYLVANIA

Among the inhabitants of the great Pennsylvania city, classed by the epigrammatic Dr. Holmes as "the genealogical centre of the United States," few have a longer line of American ancestry to revere than the Chews; worthy of note, in these days of downfall or destructiveness, for the unostentatious preservation (without entail) of the venerable mansion of their forefathers, as the family home.

Although their genealogy dates back far beyond the revolutionary days in which Cliveden became historic as the strategic Chew's House, whose massive granite walls, occupied by the British Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, turned the tide of victory against the Americans, at the battle of Germantown, the name of the builder of that house, Chief Justice Benjamin Chew (grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather of its present dignified owner and happy occupants), stands forth in the family record, through his merit, attainment and opportunity, as the eminent man of his race. He was born in Maryland at the family mansion on West River, November 29th, 1722, exactly one hundred years after his grandfather's grandfather, John Chew—as recorded in Hotten's List of Emigrants to America—landed at Hogg's Island, opposite Jamestown, in Virginia; John Chew in the *Charitie*, Sarah (his wife), and three servants, in the *Seafloure*, the following year.

In a letter dated Montreal, September 28th, 1797, Joseph Chew gives to his cousin, Joseph Chew, of Connecticut, the following account of their ancestor, John Chew: He was settled in Virginia in 1643, "at which time Sir William Berkeley was Governor of that colony, and had a particular regard for him, as I find from some papers I have seen. The family afterwards removed to Maryland, from whence the Chews in that province and those in Philadelphia are descended." The writer of this letter, being a Tory, became, after the revolution, a citizen of Montreal, and was in the Indian Bureau with Sir William Johnson. His name is among the signatures to the Indian treaty, now at Independence Hall. He was a great-grandson of Joseph, second son of John and Sarah Chew, whose grandson, Thomas Chew, married a daughter of Colonel James Taylor of Virginia, and lived in that province. Alice Chew, a daughter of this union, married her cousin, Zachary Taylor, and settled in Kentucky. Her grandson, General Zachary Taylor, was the distinguished soldier of the Florida and Mexican wars, and President of the United States. Another daughter of Colonel James Taylor



married Ambrose Madison, and was the grandmother of President Madison. John Chew, the founder of the family in America, is said to have been a cadet of the Chews of Chewton, in Somersetshire, England.

He is styled in a Virginia land-grant of the year 1623, John Chew, merchant. Neill's history of the Virginia Company of London contains a curious petition of the General Assembly of the company, in the year 1622, that the people should not be again placed "under the crewell yoke" of Sir Thomas C. Smith's government. In the list of signatures the name of John Chew follows that of John Ute, who came over from England about the same time as the Chews in the "Francis Bonaventura," and probably accompanied them to Maryland, as the will of one of their descendants, John Chew, batchelor, bequeaths, in 1696, to "Mary Utie, widdow, Baltimore County, one dozen calves' leather chairs, and four pounds sterling of money."

In the Land Office Records of Virginia is a quaint old deed of the year 1624, headed "By the Governt & Capt-Generll of Virginia for Mr Chew—To all those to whom these Presents shall come greeting in our Lord God everlasting know ye that I—Sir Francis Wyatt, Lt Gouvernre & Capt-Generll of Virginia, doe with consent of the Counsell of State, give & grant to John Chew heirs & assigns etc Signed with my hand & the great Seale of the Colony at James City, the fourteenth day of August, in the yearres of the Reigne E Souvereigne Lord James of Angt the foure and twentieth, and Scot fifty eight yearres."

John Chew's name appears as Burgess from Jamestown and in the Upper House of Assembly from 1623 until 1643, when (notwithstanding letters from Governor Berkeley, dissuading him from the step) he removed with his family to Maryland, in which province they received large grants of land, which are yet to be seen in the records of Annapolis, as well as the purchase of 500 acres of land for "5000 lbs. of Tobacco."

In the Maryland upper House Journal of 1659 John Chew's eldest son is recorded as "Samuel Chew, Gent.," in the House of Burgesses, and in Liber C. D of Chancery Records, folio 11, "Samuel Chew, Esq.," is sworn, December 17, 1669, one of the Justices of the Chancery and Provincial Courts. March 15, 1670, a land-writ is issued "unto his Lordship's trusty and well-beloved Sam'l Chew, Esq.," by the Lord Proprietary; and his name appears in both Houses of Assembly until 1676, the year of his death.

He styles himself Samuel Chew of Herrington in his will (said to be a holograph), wherein, having bestowed the half of his landed estate

on his eldest son, he devised the remainder to his second and third sons, and his "Lots in the Town of Herrington" to the fourth. To his other children he gave only their respective shares of a large amount of personal property, consisting of negroes, "Able-bodied Englishmen, and Hogsheads of Tobacco, done up in Casks," ready for the market. He also bequeaths "Imprimis to my brother, Joseph Chewe my seale gold Ring, to be delivered unto him forthwith after my Decease by my Executrix." This executrix was his wife Anne (Ayres) Chew, a prominent Quakeress, in whose tenets her children were brought up, and from whom are descended both the Chews of Maryland and the Chews of Pennsylvania. Her fifth son, Benjamin, married Elizabeth Benson, and died at an early age, leaving one son, Dr. Samuel Chew of Maidstone (an estate near Annapolis), who, after the death of his first wife, Mary Galloway, removed with his second wife, also a Mary Galloway (widow of Richard Galloway) to Dover on the Delaware, and was created Chief Justice of those three lower counties of the Province of Pennsylvania now included in the State of Delaware. He thus became the first of the Chews of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Samuel Chew was the father of Benjamin Chew, the illustrious Chief Justice, and his equal in mental vigor, as is shown in his speech to the Grand Jury on the Lawfulness of Self-defence against an armed enemy, which severed his connection with the Quakers. This speech was printed at the request of the Grand Inquest of the County of Newcastle, as being "very worthy the Consideration of the Publick." It is a model of forcible reasoning, but extracts from it are unnecessary here, as it was twice published by Franklin. The arguments were unanswerable, and gave great offense to the Quakers, who, being in the majority in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, had rejected the Governor's recommendation to put the Province "into a posture of defence upon account of our war with Spain." The Assembly of the lower counties, however, where the Quakers were in the minority, passed a militia law, with provision for arms, ammunition, etc., which the Quakers endeavored to frustrate by declaring it contrary to their Charter of Privileges. Chief Justice Samuel Chew, though a Quaker, took occasion in his speech to the Grand Jury to sustain the law with his argument and opinion, for which the Quakers expelled him from their community.

An answer to this from the pen of the indignant Judge appears in a leading gazette of that day. After setting forth that nothing is more generally professed among Protestants than charity and "Toleration," he points out that new sects "are all able clearly to prove that matters of Judgment & Opinion not being under the power & Direction of the

Will, ought to be Left free & unmolested to all men. But once installed & confirmed, we too often find that those very People, who have contended for Liberty of Conscience & Universal Toleration, soon become more Clear Sighted, & plainly discover the necessity for Uniformity in matters of Religion." The people called Quakers he asserts to be a "remarkable & surprising instance of this Spirit of Peace & Charity maintained as long as they had occasion for it; that is, so long as they were oppressed & persecuted. . . . But in process of Time, having grown Rich & powerfull, they extend their Jurisdiction, & carry their Claim so high, as for differences even concerning Speculative matters, to Exclude persons from their Society, with hard names & other marks of Bitterness worthy the Pope himself. . . . Their Bulls of Excommunication as full-fraught with Fire & Brimstone & other Church Artillery as those even of the Pope of Rome!"

Nor did Dr. Chew fail to denounce their proceeding from the bench in a second speech to the Grand Jury, saying: "I am, *Gentlemen* (however unworthy the honour), by the Authority of his Majesty's commission, constituted Chief Justice of this Government, which gives me a Right to sit in this Place. And in November last, at a Court of Oyer and Terminer held here, I did, according to Custom and the Duty of my Office, deliver from the Bench, as the Act of the Court, a Speech to the Grand Jury, calculated to the best of our Judgments to the Occasion of the Times, his Majesty's Service and the Good of the Publick. . . . I take it we were accountable to his Majesty alone, and subject to no other control than the Laws of the Land. . . . But I am mistaken it seems, & am accountable for what I shall transact in the King's Courts to a paltry Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, that calls itself a *Monthly Meeting*. Tell it not in *Gath*, publish it not in *Ashalon*! Is it not extraordinary that these People should here, where, by a singular Instance of Favour, they have been admitted to an Equality with their Fellow Subjects, act a Part, which, if it could have been foreseen, would justly have excluded them from all Civil offices, and left them upon the same Footing with their Brethren in other Places. . . . It was for want of a timely Check to such Beginnings as these that the Church of *Rome* extended by Degrees her wide Dominion, & usurped such an enormous Power over the Christian World as to be able to govern it with an arbitrary sway And tho' the Constitution of *England* was the best calculated for Freedom and human Happiness of any Government in the known world, it was not able to stem the Torrent of that Church Power, that, like a whirlpool, drew all things into its vortex. . . .

After what has been said to you in general, *Gentlemen*, I hope I have no need to say much for to excite you to a resolute and faithful discharge of your Duty, The Oath and Affirmation you have now severally taken exact of you Diligence and Impartiality. The Laws of the Land are to guide you in the Course of your Enquiries for the Good of your Country. If, therefore, you pay a proper Regard to them, you will be in no Danger from Tamperings, or private Influences of any kind, but will be Proof, not only against the attempts of Religious Societies, but against all other Combinations of artful men to turn you aside from your Duty."

A local poet of the time celebrates the event in verse, beginning thus:

"Immortal Chew first set our Quakers right,
He made it plain they might resist and fight,
And gravest Dons agreed to what he said,
And freely gave their cash for the king's aid,
For war successful, or for peace and trade."

Seven of Judge Chew's children died in infancy. His daughters Elizabeth and Ann married Colonel Tilghman of Wye and Samuel Galloway. His son Samuel (Chew) was for many years Attorney General of the Colony, and Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Delaware, but left no descendants, and John died a bachelor. Benjamin, who became Chief Justice, was the eldest of Judge Samuel Chew's sons. He studied law under Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, and at the Inner Temple, London. His first wife, who was also a Mary Galloway, died in 1755, leaving daughters only, one of whom married Edward Tilghman of Philadelphia, a distinguished lawyer. Mary (the eldest) married Alexander Wilcocks, and was the mother of Benjamin Wilcocks, and of Mary and Ann, wives of Charles Jared Ingersoll and Joseph Reed Ingersoll (Minister to Great Britain).

A member of the Provincial Council, Attorney General of Pennsylvania fourteen years, and Recorder of the city of Philadelphia twenty years, Mr. Benjamin Chew was appointed in 1765 Register General of Wills, and in 1774 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, though soon displaced by the events of the Revolution. He and his half-brother, John Chew, however, were among the signers of the strongly worded "Non-Importation Agreement," which is a sufficient refutation of his supposed sympathy with the supporters of the Crown. There is also an interesting anecdote, given in Westcott's *Historic Mansions of Philadelphia*, of Chief Justice Chew's last charge to the Grand Jury, on which occasion, having just defined the offense of high treason, Dr. John Cox, a juryman, pressed forward, and demanded in an exalted

voice, "What then is to become of us, who are now opposing the arbitrary power attempted to be exercised by the British Ministry?" The Chief Justice, who had only paused for a moment, immediately resumed his discourse: "Opposition by force of arms to the lawful authority of the King or his Ministers is high treason; but in the moment when the King or his Ministers shall exceed the Constitutional authority vested in them by the Constitution, submission to their mandate becomes treason." It is added, that Dr. Cox and most of the Grand Jury immediately made a low bow to the Court.

The Chief Justice, however, in common with other patriotic citizens, considered the attempt to set up an independent government rash and premature; and refusing to sign a parole, he and the late Proprietary, John Penn, were ordered to be sent as prisoners to Fredericksburg, Virginia, by Act of Congress, as "disaffected officers of the Crown." August 13, 1777, the Reverend Dr. Ewing appeared before the Supreme Council of the State in Mr. Chew's behalf, and stated his willingness "*now* to sign the Parole," which had only been refused "from a desire that the cause of the arrest might have been inserted in the warrant, that it may not be supposed he stands charged with having committed any crime against the States, but that he is arrested as an officer under the late government." This appeal was unsuccessful, but the place of exile was changed to Mr. Chew's own property, the Union Iron Works, near Burlington, New Jersey, for himself and Mr. Penn, while other influential citizens, the most of them Quakers, were banished to Virginia.

In the spring of 1778 much discussion arose in Congress with regard to these arrests; and notwithstanding that President Wharton declared Mr. Penn and Mr. Chew to be adversaries, since "those who are not for us are against us," Congress directed them to be conveyed without delay into the State of Pennsylvania, and there discharged from their parole. It was during Mr. Chew's enforced sojourn at Union Forges that his country seat, "Cliveden," was turned by the British into a temporary fortification, which proved strong enough to check the advance of Washington's victorious troops, before whom the British were flying in disorder, at the battle of Germantown. In Johnson's *Life of Greene* he speaks of the "impenetrable thickness of the walls," and General Wilkinson in his *Memoir* says: "The artillery seems to have made no impression on the walls of the house, a few slight indentures only being observable, except from one stroke in the rear, which started the wall."

Historians generally lay the blame of the American defeat upon this delay in front of Chew's House, and the blame of the delay upon Gen-

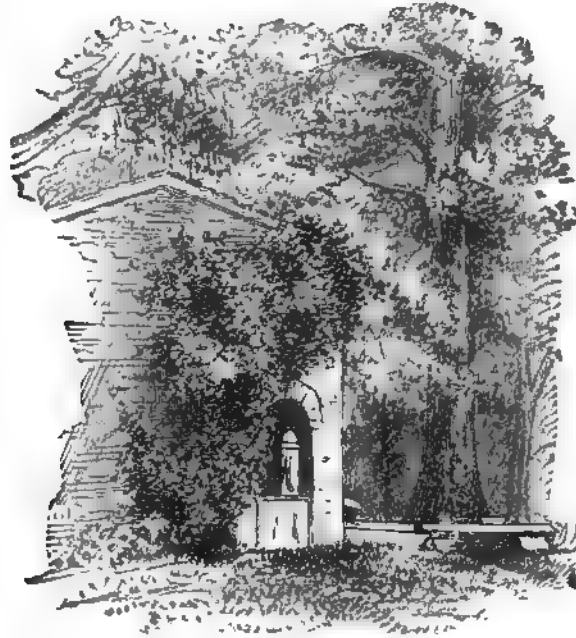


eral Knox, who argued the unmilitariness of leaving an unreduced fortification in the rear. Colonel Pickering claims for himself the credit of having earnestly opposed the movement, asserting that General Joseph Reed—to whom Gordon ascribes it—was not in the army at that date. Mr. William B. Reed confirms the truth of this in his *Life of President Reed*, but states that his father was at that time serving as a volunteer, although he does not say whether he took part in the battle of Germantown or not. The point has been rendered still more obscure by the fact that a portrait of General Reed represented him in the midst of the battle; yet, for some unexplained reason, the representation of the battle has been *cut away* from the portrait of the hero, and thus only the portrait has been preserved by his family.

Chastellux, in his *Travels in America*, describes a romantic and daring exploit of Colonel Laurens and the Chevalier Mauduit-Duplessis during the siege of Chew's House. The Chevalier, who was in command of the artillery, proposed to Laurens that they should "get some straw and hay from a barn to set fire to the principal door, . . . but it is scarcely credible that of these two noble adventurous youths one (Duplessis) should be at present on his way to France, and the other (Laurens) in good health at Newport." They not only succeeded in reaching the house, but de Mauduit actually forced his way into it through a window, where he was met by a British officer, who, "pistol in hand, desired him to surrender," when another rushed into the room, and "fired a musket shot, which killed, not M. de Mauduit, but the officer who wished to take him." The difficulty was to retire, for none had followed them, and it would have been ridiculous to return running. "M. de Mauduit, like a true Frenchman, chose rather to expose himself to death than ridicule; but the balls respected our prejudices. He returned safe and sound, and Mr. Laurens, who was in no greater haste than he, escaped with a slight wound in his shoulder."

The owners of Cliveden have been careful not to destroy the traces of this memorable siege, and have preserved the ancient appearance of the house, which shows no marks of decay in its substantial walls of hewn granite, its wooden carvings and mouldings, its well-kept grounds and magnificent old trees. The sides of the quadrangle in the rear of the building (used as kitchen and laundry) are of much older date than the principal mansion, built by Chief Justice Chew in 1763. The curious old well, of which a drawing illustrates this article, is built in the back wall of the kitchen, and so arranged that, in case of attack or siege from Indians, it could be closed up with outside doors, and the water drawn from inside the house. The heavy cornices, dormer windows and pedi-

ments on the roof are very ornamental. The vestibule or hall is wide and handsome, and the two large pillars supporting the entrance to the



broad stairway add a picturesque effect. A year or two after the battle of Germantown Cliveden was sold. The Duke de la Rochefaucauld-Liancourt, in his Travels in the United States, says that Blair McClenahan bought it from Mr. Chew for about \$9,000, and sold it back to him (eighteen years afterwards) for about \$25,000, no improvements having been added.

Preserved among other family documents at Cliveden is "The Report of the Commissioners" (one of several originals) in the settlement of the famous boundary called Mason and Dixon's line. It has descended to its present owner, Mr. Samuel Chew, from his great-grandfather, Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, who, with Messrs. Allen, Ewing, Shippen and Willing, acted for the Penns in the settlement.

Benjamin Chew was appointed President of the High Court of Errors and Appeal, when it was organized in 1791. This appointment, coming so soon after the close of the war, was not only a tribute to his ability and standing, but a vindication of his patriotism, which had fallen under suspicion, partly from his attempted attitude of neutrality, and partly from the welcome given by his gay and fashionable daughters to the British officers of Clinton's command. Of these, the unfortunate



Major André was sufficiently attracted by the charms of Margaret Chew—styled Peggy in the quaint nomenclature of the day—to select her for his Lady of the Blended Rose in the famous Mischianza Tourney and Fête, and to address her a farewell, touching in its unconsciousness of his impending fate.

" If at the close of war and strife
My destiny once more
Should in the various paths of life
Conduct me to this shore ;
Should British banners guard the land,
And faction be restrained,
And Cliveden's mansion peaceful stand,
No more with blood be stained ;
Say wilt thou then receive again,
And welcome to thy sight,
The youth who bids with stifled pain
His sad farewell to-night ? "

Margaret was the eldest of Mr. Chew's bevy of fair daughters by his second wife, Elizabeth Oswald. She married Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland. The Howard family possess an account of the Mischianza, written for her by André, and adorned with a sup-



posed portrait of himself, sketched in water colors, of which a copy is given here. One of those curious discrepancies so often seen in authentic relics, and which really prove their genuineness, occurs in this sketch. The Knight is in the dress of the *White* Knights, of whom André was one—the Knight's lineaments resemble his—but on the shield carried before him by his Squire is blazoned the motto and device of Captain Watson, the Chief of the *Black* Knights—"Love and Glory," with a heart and a wreath of laurel, instead of André's own device of game-cocks fighting, with the terse motto, "No rival!" In the absence of all clue, the supposition may be hazarded that "Love and Glory" was possibly yielded by André to Captain Watson, and he chose to resume his first choice in preparing the memento for Miss Chew. This memento is "humbly inscribed to Miss Peggy Chew by Her most devoted Knight and Servant, J. A., Knt. Bd. Re.—Philadelphia, June 2d, 1778." The cover is ornamented with pink tracings of the same laurel wreath as is on the shield, inclosing the initials "P. C."

A letter, written by Miss Peggy Chew while on a visit to Lansdown—the Penn country seat—after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, confesses the regret felt by these unpatriotic ladies for the gay "train" who had so enlivened their circle. She writes of

"passing over again in imagination those happy scenes, . . . and though there were some dark moments, yet there were other gay ones, that in a great degree compensated for them, and perhaps gave us a high relish for pleasure, when it was within our grasp. What is life, in short, but one continued scene of pain & pleasure, varied and chequered with black spots, like the chess-board, only to set the fair ones in a purer light? What a three months have we spent since the exit of the gay train that was so pleasing last winter— A state of torpid existence has been ours since they left us. . . . The day or two after I came out Mr. John Penn and a Mr. Vernon arrived from England. . . . Mr. P. will require some further study of his character to decide even on a prepossession, as he is the most timidly diffident young man I ever saw, as much so as a blushing virgin upon her first advance into the world. I have discovered him to be fond of poetry, nay, forms a stanza now and then in different languages, which evinces his having cultivated that good sense. He is good looking, but not so easy in his manners as Vernon, his friend. American ease of manners may impart a small degree to him. As I have chatted so freely about former scenes with B. B. and Nancy T., don't, however, my dear, betray to anybody what I have said of these gentlemen. What a mixture of people have I lately seen! I like to have something to say to all. It is only a few weeks since the agreeable Michaelis left us, and here are new objects to engage our attention— I suppose there will be a vast number of strangers among us this winter— The societies will be improved by the addition, as there are so few gentlemen in proportion to

the ladies. How I would harangue if I were with you! My heaven—I seem as if I had a thousand, and yet a thousand things to say, but, alas! my time is short—”

In another letter, dated “Philadelphia, June 23, 1784,” Miss Chew gives a lively description of certain bridal scenes, in which she acted as bridesmaid to a friend who marries a Frenchman:

“Every thing that was possible to dispense with in the *form* of the ceremony was omitted, on account of the Bride being a Protestant. Molly Swift is the other Bridesmaid. Mr. Harrison & Mr. Terrasson, a frenchman, the others— We all accompanied the Bride & her intended from her Father’s to the Minister’s parlour, where the Abbé was ready to receive us, & as soon as we entered he performed the ceremony, which cheated the company who were in the great room of at least half it; before they could get in we were almost taking our departure; for, to spare her feelings in receiving the congratulations of a vast crowd, we turned off as soon as she was Madam—and retired to her Father’s again. The three days’ entertainments were dinners, which, tho’ I dislike them in general, went off surprising well. What contributed greatly to my satisfaction was being gratified by having a table in the adjoining coolest room for the Bridesmaids, to which many gentlemen followed, for the sake of Ease and Air, & I flatter ourselves, for the sake of our company also. Govr Morris kept us in a continual smile (I dare not say laughter for the world, but you may admit it in the back room). Next day Walker kept up the spirit of the Table with great eclat. This is the Tea table week, my dear. But I suspect the latter part of it will be rather tranquil, as a great many gentlemen are going away to-day & to-morrow. The Ministers Ternant & Otto are gone this day on board at Cheston. I don’t recollect wether you knew Ternant; know, however, that he was a monstrous favorite of mine. I had a sincere respect for him, & am sorry to lose his acquaintance. Apropos of Frenchmen—I hear McMahon is married— They are a strange kind of people. Don’t you think they are, my dear friend— It was written from a friend of Ternant’s to him that it was soon to be—and I since hear he is actually married. . . . I wish to describe several of our Beaux to you—our Hollander too, I want you to know him— Not the irresistible Hogendorp; he is gone, & what is worse, I never saw him; but van Beschel, I mean. He improves upon nearer acquaintance—his mind opens with advantage— But I am afraid to trust myself with character.”

The Chew mansion in Third street, always the centre of a brilliant society, received in turn the members of the first Continental Congress, Washington, who held Mr. Chew in high esteem, Adams, the gay British officers, and accomplished foreigners who visited our land in those eventful days. Adams records its elegance in his diary, dilating upon the “turtle and flummery and Madeira” of the sumptuous dinners. Mrs. Chew was distinguished for her urbanity and her beauty,

which, inherited by her children and their descendants, has become historical. Her daughter Harriet became the wife of Charles Carroll of Maryland, only son of Carroll of Carrollton, "the Signer;" her grandson, John Lee Carroll, is the present Governor of Maryland. Two other of the lovely Misses Chew married—one an Englishman, Mr. Philips; the other, Mr. Micklin, and her daughter married Hon. George M. Dallas, Minister to Russia. Harriet was a great favorite. General Washington insisted upon having her charming company during his sittings for his portrait to Stuart, "to give his face," he said, "a more agreeable expression."

There is a letter of Miss Franks, afterwards wife to Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Johnston, quoted in Griswold's *Republican Court*, in which she draws an amusing parallel between the manners of the New York ladies of that era and the Philadelphia belles; giving the preference to the latter, as being less complaisant to the gentlemen, yet more witty and entertaining; and mentioning "the Chews" as girls who could entertain a drawing-room full of company, "without having recourse to games," and with the brilliancy of their wit and conversation alone. Nor did the daughters monopolize the family inheritance of beauty and distinction. Benjamin Chew, Junior, their only brother, is described by a biographer as "an elegant, accomplished, brave gentleman of polished manners, singular personal symmetry of form and feature, and great strength, bestowing liberal charities, leading a blameless life of princely hospitality." He married Miss Banning, a lady of large fortune, who outlived him many years. Like his father, he was a lawyer, as was also his eldest son, Benjamin Chew, who made a boast of his descent from a "generation of lawyers." This gentleman, though gifted with great abilities, yielded to the promptings of a haughty and eccentric temper, and wasted his life in lawsuits with his brothers and sisters, from whom, as his legitimate heirs, he finally diverted by will all of the family property, pictures, plate and papers that he could control. In his youth he served in the war of 1812. His eldest sister married the Hon. James Mason, who, with the Hon. John Slidell, became during the late civil war the occasion for the famous international case of arrest while proceeding in an English vessel on an embassy to England and France, from the Confederate States Government.

Of Mrs. Mason's four younger brothers, Samuel was a prominent lawyer, noted for his irresistible humor and wit. John served gallantly in the navy under Commodores Gordon and Decatur, and was chosen bearer of dispatches after the victorious battle with the Algerines. He



was lost at sea in the sloop-of-war *Epervia*. William was Secretary of Legation to the American embassy to Russia; and after the return of Mr. Dallas, the Minister, Chargé d'Affairs. All three died without heirs, leaving the sons of their brother Henry Banning Chew (who married a daughter of Gen. Ridgely of Hampton, Governor of Maryland in 1815, and resided on her estate of Epsom, adjoining Hampton, near Baltimore, Maryland;) as the only representatives besides their aunt, Miss Anne Penn Chew, owner of Cliveden, of the name of the Chews of Pennsylvania. Charles, the eldest son of Henry Banning Chew, remained, with his family, at Epsom; but his sons Benjamin and Samuel returned to Pennsylvania, and are living at Cliveden with their distinguished aunt, who worthily represents, in her own person and carriage, the family traditions. Mr. Samuel Chew married the daughter of David S. Brown, of Philadelphia, and his children represent the ninth generation of Chews in America. Dr. Samuel C. Chew, of Baltimore, represents the elder branch, while the Hon. Benjamin Brooke Chew, still resides in the neighborhood of the old settlement, in Prince George County, Maryland, of this notable family, which, in spite of the levelling power of republican institutions, the division of property, and the process of time, has retained its high standing from generation to generation, through a period of two hundred and fifty-seven years.

ELIZABETH READ



DIARY
OF A FRENCH OFFICER

1781

(Presumed to be that of Baron Cromot du Bourg,
Aid to Rocnambeau.)

*From an unpublished Manuscript in the possession of C. Fiske Harris, of
Providence, R. I.*

Translated for the Magazine of American History

JOURNAL FROM MY DEPARTURE FROM
FRANCE 26 MARCH, 1781, UNTIL THE
18 NOVEMBER OF THE SAME YEAR,
WHEN THE ARMY UNDER THE ORDERS
OF M. LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU
WENT INTO WINTER QUARTERS.

MARCH

March 26—27—We left Brest on the 26th at four o'clock in the afternoon in company with the *Emeraude* and the *Bellone* which were to serve as our escort until we passed the Capes, but soon after sailing we lost sight of them; we had made on the 27th, at noon, the hour from which I shall hereafter count my day's travel, a run of $49\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

March 27—28—The sea ran very high all day as well as during the night and we encountered some severe blows in one of which the main top-mast was broken; we made 80 leagues.

Side note—A vessel was seen from the mast-head.

March 28—29—Weather similar to that of yesterday; the run, 64 leagues.

Side Note—A vessel was seen ahead from the mast-head at 11 o'clock.

March 29—30—During the day of the 29th and all night the weather was very stormy, constant gales, hail and a high sea. On the morning of the 30, the

weather cleared—the run during the 24 hours, 35 leagues.

Side Note.—Several vessels were seen.

March 30—31—The sea was very high although the weather was fine; the wind was ahead nearly all day—the run, 26 leagues.

Side Note.—A vessel was seen from the mast-head.

March 31—The weather fine and the sea calm; we met a Brig upon which we fired a cannon shot. She showed the Danish flag and came within hail—she said she was from Leghorn and had seen nothing for five days—we resumed our course and made in the 24 hours— $54\frac{2}{3}$ leagues.

Side Note—We saw a small Danish vessel.

APRIL

April 1—2—We had a fair wind from astern all day, and therefore made $71\frac{2}{3}$ leagues.

April 3—4—Variable winds during the day; some squalls; run of 30 leagues.

April 4—5—A fair wind but not very strong—very fine weather—run 32 leagues.

April 5—6—Wind and weather variable; run 24 leagues.

April 6—7—High sea, very rough and bad weather; run, 42 leagues.

April 7—8—Fine weather; the sea very rough; we labored much; several very heavy blows; our run was $39\frac{1}{3}$ leagues.

April 8—9—Winds varying continually; the sea high and very rough; constant blows; we only made $10\frac{1}{3}$ leagues.

April 9—10—Contrary winds and swelling sea; run $30\frac{2}{3}$ leagues.

April 10—11—Fine weather, the sea



smooth and calm, no wind; run $5\frac{3}{4}$ leagues.

April 12—13—Weather and winds variable; the sea very heavy; run 18 leagues.

April 13—14—Weather fine, the sea heavy and contrary winds on the 13. On the morning of the 14th better weather; run 14 leagues.

April 14—15—Weather fine and a clear sky, very light winds, some calms; run 18 leagues.

April 15—16—The weather fine and the sea quite smooth. At daybreak on the 16th, we sighted a small vessel to which we gave chase; we soon came up with her and fired a cannon shot, hoisting our flag. She showed her own also which was likewise replied to by a cannon shot. This vessel was the Privateer Rower (Rover) of 12 guns which our frigate captured last year. She left Newport 13 days ago to carry to France the news of an engagement between M. Destouches and Admiral Arbuthnot—the former having sent out the Eveillé, a ship of 64 guns, to intercept the reinforcements which the English were transporting to Arnold in Chesapeake Bay. The Eveillé was not able to join the first division, but arrived within the Capes; she met the Romulus of 44 guns escorting a convoy of 10 transports which she took with the ship. She sent the transports in to Philadelphia and took the Romulus to Newport where she was armed and increased the number of vessels under M. Destouches to 8, with which he went out on a cruise toward the Chesapeake where he fell in with the English. There was a brisk engagement. The enemy were roughly handled although in supe-

rior force, their fleet numbering 10 vessels, of which one, the London, a three deck ship. One of our vessels, the Conquerant, was for a long time engaged by three and badly injured. The Rover left us toward nine o'clock and we continued our course. The run in the 24 hours was 37 leagues.

Side Note.—We fell in with a vessel named the Rower (Rover) (this word means wanderer). We were allowed to send letters to France by this vessel but without date or position of the ship.

April 16—17—Weather and sea calm. Run $7\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

April 17—18—The weather quite fine but a heavy swell. Run, 30 leagues.

April 18—19—Very foggy, the sea very rough; run 28 leagues.

April 19—20—The sea continued very rough, the weather dark and overcast; the winds constantly variable; some squalls; run 16 leagues.

April 20—21—The weather fine but the sea rough through the 20th, and a part of the night. The morning of the 21st almost a calm; the run $25\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

April 21—22—The weather fine and nearly always calm; with the little wind we had, our run $12\frac{1}{3}$ leagues.

April 22—23—A heavy swell. Run 24 leagues.

April 23—24—Weather similar to that of yesterday. Run 23 leagues.

April 24—25—Several squalls, a heavy sea, more wind than the preceding days. Run $46\frac{1}{3}$ leagues.

April 25—26—Fine weather day and night with a fresh breeze. Run 33 leagues.

Side Note.—A vessel seen from the mast-head.

April 26—27—The weather fine and a smooth sea during the 26th, but in the night and during the 27th a heavy sea, strong winds and a great deal of fog. Run $53\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

April 27—28—During the day of the 27th the wind favorable, the night calm and very rainy, and the same on the morning of the 28th. Run 33 leagues.

Side Note.—Several birds seen, sign that we are nearing land.

April 28—29—Very heavy weather, the sea very rough and every appearance of a storm until the morning of the 29th. We passed the night under jib sail; on the 29th the weather cleared, the wind was favorable and in the twenty-four hours our run 56 leagues.

Side Note.—To be under jib sail is to take in all sail and let the ship drift.

April 29—30—The finest weather possible. Run $45\frac{1}{2}$ leagues.

April 30—1 May—The sea smooth but a heavy fog. Run $26\frac{2}{3}$ leagues.

Side Note.—We saw a great many birds.

MAY

May 1—2—The sea absolutely as smooth as oil, until two the morning a fair wind. Run $37\frac{3}{4}$ leagues.

May 2—3—The sea smooth, a fair wind at midnight; sounded and found at 65 fathoms a bottom of whiteish gray sand, mixed with small black gravel; we were on the St. George's Banks at seven in the morning; on the same bank we found 86 fathoms; a great deal of fog, rain and thunder; in the 24 hours the run $28\frac{1}{4}$ leagues.

May 3—4—Heavy fog and rain. We sounded several times and found bottom at 60 and 120 fathoms. We caught some cod. There was thunder in the

night. The 4th in the morning we sounded and found at different times 60, 80 and 140 fathoms; heavy fog all the while till noon; the run 16 leagues.

May 4—5—A heavy swell and high wind. We found ourselves in the course of the day off Jeffrey's bank which gave us 51 fathoms—at eleven at night 100—at daybreak we sighted 3 vessels. Run 15 leagues.

Side Note.—We saw three vessels.

May 5—6—The 5th almost calm until 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening; at midnight we fell in with two vessels and beat to quarters. They kept us up all night and for some time within cannon shot, but seeing that they had no intention of attacking us we did not give chase, our orders being to reach our destination as rapidly as possible, and at half past eleven on the morning of the 6th land cried from the mast-head and at two o'clock was perfectly visible from the deck. At three o'clock when we were not more than 4 leagues from Boston, we saw a small vessel upon which we fired a gun. She came alongside and served to pilot us to land. At five o'clock we entered the harbor of Boston to our great satisfaction and came to anchor. Run 27 leagues.

Side Note.—To beat to quarters is the signal to prepare for action.

The entrance to the port of Boston is very difficult for those not acquainted with it, because of the great number of islands and rocks through which the passage lies.

The Frigate upon which I crossed carried a captain, a ship's ensign, three auxiliary officers, a guard of marines and an auxiliary corps of volunteers.



I am not able to say what the service is on board of other of the King's ships, but it seemed to me that the crew of this vessel, although governed with the greatest kindness, did its duty perfectly. Not a single man was punished on the passage; everything was in the best possible order. There was also on this vessel a detachment of Infantry of 35 men commanded by an officer. The soldiers lived in perfect harmony with the sailors and not only did their own duty with exactness but even went aloft in the different manœuvres, a thing entirely outside of their own line of duty. Their posts assigned were to the service of the batteries and in the watch.

The beat to quarters is about the same thing in the Navy as the Generale in the land service; it is always executed with the greatest promptness and in a very short time; according to the diligence with which this is done a vessel finds itself in proper condition for action.

There were always one or two officers on watch during the passage which I made because besides the officers of the frigate we had on board three ship's lieutenants in the suite of M. de Barras, who was on his way to take command of the fleet at Rhode Island.

The entire crew seemed to me thoroughly willing, perfectly disciplined, and, as far as I can judge, it seems to me that the sailor is more easily governed than the soldier on land.

Side Note.—To beat to quarters is to put aside every thing that can be in the way in action, to prepare the guns, each man going to his post. The beat to quarters is always given the moment a vessel is met, and often even at other times to accustom the crew to be prompt in case of surprise.

The watch is a service of four hours, to which the officers of the navy are held. They pass these four hours on deck, and are charged with the sailing of the ship during this period. They direct their course according to the orders of the captain of the ship.

ARRIVAL IN AMERICA.

May 7—In the morning I landed and my first care after having called upon the Consul of France, was to have him present me to the famous M. Hancock, Governor of Boston. In the evening I also saw Doctor Couper, (Cooper), a gentleman celebrated by the part he has had in the Revolution of this country. Not understanding English I was not able to form any opinion of their intellectual powers, but I hope if I have the opportunity to return to Boston when I know their language, to be able to judge for myself of what I have heard concerning these two men.

During the day which I passed at Boston I saw as much of the town as I could; it seemed to me extremely pretty. It is quite large, and shows that before the war it must have been a charming residence. It is in the best possible situation, has a superb harbor, and from a high piece of ground called the Beacon, (Beacon Hill), there is one of the most beautiful views in the world. From it may be seen the position which General Washington took when he seized the town and forced the English to abandon the country. I should have much liked not to have been so in haste to reach Newport that I might have visited the different posts occupied by the English and by Washington, who, according to what all the Bostonians say, showed his



THE DEFENCES OF NEWPORT. R. I. 1781. FROM A FRENCH MS. CHART.

military genius on this occasion. From what the inhabitants told me, and from what they showed me from the Beacon, (Beacon Hill,) this is the conclusion I formed concerning this operation. Boston is a peninsula surrounded by a number of islands of considerable extent. The Bostonians were blockaded in their port by an English squadron and by the English army on the side where the town is connected with the main land. Washington found means to post his troops and a part of his artillery upon a height from which it overlooked and swept the harbor. This position was so favorable to him that the English consented to withdraw on condition that he would not fire upon their squadron. With a much inferior force he gained this advantage.

The town seems to me but thinly settled, and the inhabitants in a state of great inaction; no workmen in the port, either from negligence or want of means, but this inaction leads me to fear its usual consequence — a complete decay.

Side Note.—Mr. Hancock and Doctor Couper, (Cooper), brought about the revolution in this country.

The beacon is on elevated ground upon which a very high pole is set, on the top of which is a beacon which is lighted in case of surprise, and at this signal all the militia of the country rally. It can be seen from a very great distance.

The town of Boston, like all English towns, is built of very small houses of brick or wood. They are extremely neat within. The inhabitants live absolutely in the English manner; they seem to be excellent people and very affable. I was extremely well received on the few visits that I was able to make. A great deal of tea is drank in the morning. The dinner, which is generally at two o'clock, consists

of a great quantity of meat. Very little bread is eaten. In the afternoon at five o'clock tea is again taken, Madeira wine and punch, this ceremony lasting until ten o'clock, when they go again to table and take a supper somewhat less considerable than the dinner. At each meal the cloth is removed, the dessert is served and fruit is brought. On the whole, the greatest part of the time is spent at table.

May 8—I left Boston for Newport. I slept at a distance of 15 miles and found at the inn where I stopped the same neatness as in the town. This is a habit of the country. Our innkeeper was a captain, the several military grades being granted here to every rank of people. There are shoemakers who are Colonels; it often happens that the Americans ask the French officers what their trade is in France. The country which I crossed in these 15 miles is extremely wooded and very hilly. The farms on the way are surrounded by walls of stones which are placed one on another, or wooden fences. There is a large extent of pasture land.

Side Note.—The country seemed to me greatly to resemble that part of Normandy which is by the Bridge of d'Ouilly and at Condé on the Noireau.

It is cut also by an infinite number of brooks and streams.

May 9—In the morning I left my resting place for Newport at a very early hour. The country seemed to me less wooded but as little improved as the town; as a whole it is not inhabited. The villages are immense. They are some four or five miles in extent and even more and the houses scattered. I passed through Bristol which was formerly quite a commercial town; that was before the war, for it has felt this scourge severely. When the English

withdrew they burned more than three-fourths of the houses and they have not yet been rebuilt. I at last crossed Bristol Ferry which separates Rhode Island from the Continent. The arm of the sea is about a mile wide. I am now arrived at Newport and propose to examine the country with a little more care.

Side Note.—Some of the villages appear to me to be from 15 to 20 miles long.

I arrived at Newport the 9th May, 1781, as I have just said, and my first care, after having performed the duties which my service required, was to study the country in which I found myself.

Rhode Island is in its extreme length at most fifteen miles, and the widest part of the Island five.

It must have been one of the most pleasing spots in the world before the war, since notwithstanding the disasters it has suffered, some of its houses destroyed, and all its woods cut down, the Island is still a charming residence.

The Island is very much cut up, that is all the land belonging to the different proprietors is enclosed by walls of stones piled one upon another or by wooden fences. There are some farms in which^o barley and other grains grow admirably. Great quantities of Turkey grain, otherwise called maize, are grown here. There are, as in Normandy, extensive orchards and the country bears about the same fruits as those of France. If it were cultivated as our provinces are the productions would be much greater, the soil being very good and the grass superb. It is cut by numerous small streams. The inhabitants are inactive and consequently not laborious.

Side Note.—The measure is here as well as on the Continent by miles as in England—three miles make a league.

There is very little game on the Island, some partridge rather larger than our own, some sea fowl and birds of passage, but there are neither hare or rabbits nor wild beasts. The birds differ a little from our own—part of the wings of the black bird is red. There is a kind of heron the plumage of which is tinged with various blue—a bird which is called the Widow, the body of which as well as the breast is black, but the head of a very handsome yellow and a part of the wings of the same color. There are Cardinal birds of the same size as the black bird but almost entirely red. The crows are of a smaller kind than ours.

There are cows, pigs and sheep precisely as in France. There are also numbers of geese and turkeys of the same kind as our own; the horses are generally quite good although in less variety than I had supposed, the English having introduced their breed here as well as on the main land. They are extremely dear, a horse which would be worth 20 louis in France, will here bring 40 or 50 at least. Their great merit is in being excellent leapers, being early trained. They have all the gait which we term the amble, of which it is extremely difficult to break them.

The coast of the Island abounds in fish. The cod is very abundant, some sturgeon, great quantities of mackerel, shad, black fish and many varieties of shell fish.

I found the army in the best possible condition, very few sick and the troops in splendid order.

The Island seemed to me to be so fortified that a landing was no way to be feared, at least if one should be made no ill result need be feared from it.

Newport is the only town on the Island, there being besides but a few scattered buildings to which the name of farm houses is given. Three-fourths of these houses are small farms.

There are but two streets of any consequence in the town. It is well built

and quite pretty ; it must be quite commercial and therefore much more prosperous before the war.

The Fort is to the south west of the town and of considerable size. The troops encamped last year in front of the town to the south west ; the camp extends from the south east of the Town almost to the north of it. In front of the port to the south west of the town, a half a mile distant, is Goat Island, upon which there is a battery of eight pieces of twenty-four, which defend the entrance to the Harbor ; to the south west of Goat Island the Brenton battery of twelve pieces of twenty-four and four twelve inch mortars, the fire of which crosses that of the vessels in the harbor. The Brenton battery is a half mile from Goat Island.

About three quarters of a mile to the north west of Goat Island is the Battery of Rose Island of twenty pieces of thirty-six and four mortars of twelve inches upon which the right of the vessels rests ; it defends not only the entrance of the Harbor but reaches every thing that might pass it.

The Battery of Brenton's Point, of which I have just spoken, is about one and a quarter miles by sea to the south west of the town ; all along the coast to the south west of Brenton's point there are several guard posts and some redoubts which also defend the entrance to the Harbor. To the north west of the town is Coasters Island where there is a battery of three pieces of cannon. It is about three quarters of a mile from the town and a quarter from the coast. This battery commands that part of the

entrenched camp which lies to the north of its position.

There are several Guard posts scattered along the coasts with Redoubts at the places where it would be possible for an enemy to land, so that should a descent be effected the smallness of the Island would allow of the troops being moved in a very short time to its centre, there to defend themselves, and they would there have the advantage of the entrenched camp, from which it would be, by reason of its situation, extremely difficult to dislodge them.

As for the Harbor, it seemed to me from the position of batteries and the range of fire of our Vessels that if they were attacked it would be absolutely impossible for the enemy to force an entrance. The Plan of this Island which I attach to this Journal will enable my readers to judge of our position much better than from the imperfect account I give of it.

May 16—The Count de Rochambeau learned that the English squadron had gone out from New York under the command of Arbuthnot.

May 17 — It appeared before the channel about six leagues in the offing and came to anchor. It remained until the 26th, allowing the twenty-six transports, ships which arrived from Boston, to come in on the 23d. During all this time we were in uncertainty as to whether our Squadron should go out or not, but the result of a Council of War, held on board of the Duc de Bourgoyne, at which M. de Rochambeau was present, was that it should remain in the Harbor.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE QUAKERS, THEIR
RELIGION AND MODE OF LIFE

Every one has some idea of the Anglican religion, and there are few who have not heard also of the Quakers. A large part of the town and even of the Island is inhabited by people of this sect. I have endeavored to inform myself concerning their customs; here is what I have learned.

They are people of extreme gravity in their dress as well as in their behavior. They are quiet, talk very laconically and are very frugal.

The base of their religion consists in the fear of God and the love of their neighbor.

It is also a matter of principle with them to take no part in war. They abhor all that may lead to the destruction of their brethren.

For the same reason they refuse to take any part in the rejoicings for the success of a nation in war.

By the same principle of love for their neighbor they will not suffer any slave in their community, and the Quakers can hold no negroes, although there are few houses which have not one or more belonging to it according to its means. They even hold to be a duty to aid them. They are very charitable. They will never make oath, saying that the oath is in the heart of man and not in words.

They also refuse to pay tithes, considering the demands made by the clergy as a usurpation which is not authorized by the Holy Writ.

They meet in an edifice which they call their Temple, and there pass two consecutive hours in the most perfect silence, unless one or more of them believe themselves inspired. Then he upon whom grace is working rises, and taking off his hat, gives way to his inspiration, and preaches to his brethren upon the subject with which he is so strongly penetrated. This discourse sometimes lasts quite a long time, and it is easy to see from their countenance that there is passing, or that at least they believe there is passing within them, something extraordinary. Their sermons generally run upon the vanities of this world and their principles of religion. The women also speak when they feel themselves inspired. There are sometimes meetings

without any sermon, but at others Grace works more efficaciously and there is a number of preachers. They are all very devout in their meetings, and for nothing in the world would they speak to one another.

JUNE

June 9—The Vicomte de Noailles who visited Boston out of curiosity returned and announced to the General the arrival of the convoy which left France some days before I did, but which had been at sea 80 days while I was only out 40—as I was about naked not having been able to bring anything with me on the Frigate, and as we were at the point of entering on the campaign, I asked permission of M. de Rochambeau to go to Boston to refit, which he gave me, and an hour after I started. I slept at Warren, quite a pretty little village not more than eighteen miles from Newport on the main land. Several little merchant vessels were built there before the war; there were some even which had been begun but were left to rot. I was received at the inn by the keeper, one Mr. Millers, who is an officer in the service of the Congress, and by his brother who last year commanded all the militia of Rhode Island. These two men are about a third larger than M. Beaujon.

June 10—I left Warren at four o'clock in the morning quite anxious to reach Boston. I can hardly express my astonishment at the change which I found in the places I had passed hardly six weeks before, the landscape which seemed to me frightful had put on a new garb, the leaves had opened in the interval, the roads were entirely repaired, it seemed to me absolutely that I was in

another country. The roads are almost all bordered with acacia trees which were at this time in flowers and spread a charming perfume, so that it was easier for me to imagine myself walking in a garden than as leading a life of adventure two thousand leagues away from all to whom I am attached. As I went my way dreaming I found myself near a church, a very handsome temple, at which men and women were arriving from all sides. My curiosity led me to tie my horse to a branch, and I went in. It was at Dagues.(?) This temple was quite pretty for a place so small. The minister who was preaching was quite young, and as far as I could judge, his discourse turned on the misfortune of this war, on the necessity of sustaining it, and he urged his hearers to pray to the Supreme being to bring it to an end. I started again on my journey and arrived in good season at Boston where I learned that the greater part of the fleet were anchored at three leagues from the entrance of the channel, but that the *Louis Auguste*, on which my servant was with all my baggage, had two days before while anchored at the same place, been driven by a frightful gale to put to sea, and that nothing had been since heard of her or several other vessels of the convoy which shared the same fate. It was in this lovely situation that I wrapped myself in my bed clothes.

Side Note.—During this time one-half of the troops, that is to say the Regiments of Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts, left Newport for Providence. M. de Choisy remained at Newport with 400 Infantry, 30 men from the artillery and 1000 of the militia of the country.

The squadron also remained at Newport.

Temples or churches are the places of worship of the country.

June 11—Monday I spent a part of the day in going back and forth from my lodging to the Harbor and from the Harbor to my lodging in the hope of seeing the fleet come in, which, as I have said was anchored three leagues from the town, and of hearing something of the vessel which interested me most particularly. At last at six o'clock in the evening I saw not only the fleet come in but also the *Louis Auguste*, which had rejoined it in the morning.

Side Note.—The second division of the Army composed of the Regiments of Soissonnois and Saintonge, left Newport the same day for Providence.

On the arrival of the fleet, the *Stanislas*, the *Diane* and *Dawoot* (Davoust) were missing.

June 12—My first care was to get my man from on board and look up my baggage. I found everything in good order. In the afternoon I took a stroll to Cambridge which is a little town three miles from Boston; it is one of the prettiest places possible; it is situated on the bank of the river of Boston in a charming place and its houses are perfectly beautiful. At one end of the town on a very extensive green, there is a college which takes the title of a university; it is one of the finest in America. There are about one hundred and fifty scholars to whom Latin and Greek are taught. There is a library, which is both fine and extensive. This is a very interesting object in this country. There is also a Museum of Physics filled with the finest and best instruments. There is one of Natural History just begun in which there are already many

curious things, but which is not yet complete. I left Cambridge at half past seven in the evening delighted with what I had seen in a country still barbarous in its manners and its slight cultivations. The night caught me at a mile or so from the town, and I was not a little surprised to see the two meadows on the sides of the road I was riding upon covered with sparks of fire extending from the surface of the ground to from five or six feet above. I at first ascribed it to the extreme heat of the last five days, but I hardly knew what to think, when all at once I saw some which seemed to come out of the road upon which I was. I saw them even on the ground and all around me. I got down suddenly from my horse to pick up one of these sparks which seemed to me so extraordinary, and I could not have been more astonished by anything than I was at finding in my hand a sort of fly which threw out a great light; this insect is in this country called the *fire-fly*. They produce precisely the same effect as the shining and burning worms in France, except that they are innumerable. When I reached Boston I spoke of what I had seen and was assured that nothing was more common.

Side Note.—I have since seen them in many places.

June 13—In the morning, before leaving Boston, I went five miles from the town to see a place which had been described to me as interesting. This is a little town called Miltown (Milton), where there is a paper factory of considerable extent and two chocolate mills. The river which moves them forms above a sort of cascade which is quite pretty.

The view from the top of the hill is also fine.

June 14—I left Boston, but before quitting this town which I may perhaps never be able to see again, I desired to make the acquaintance and at the same time take my leave of the fair sex. Twice a week there is a ladies' hall or school where the young ladies meet to dance from noon until two o'clock. I spent some moments there. I found the hall quite pretty, although the English on leaving the City had stolen or carried away some twenty mirrors which certainly ornamented it. I found nearly all the women extremely handsome, but at the same time extremely awkward. It would be impossible to dance with less grace or to be worse dressed (although with a certain extravagance.)

NOTES

AN ANCIENT GOLD MEDAL. — The medal, of which impressions are given, was formerly the property of Maria Farmer, whose descent is as follows :

1st. *Jacob Leisler* came to America in 1660 from Amsterdam. Married in 1663 *Elsie Tymens*, step-daughter of *Govert Loockermans*, and widow of *Peter Vandever*, was hanged, 16th May, 1691.

2d. *Mary Leisler*, daughter of *Jacob Leisler*, baptized December 12, 1669. Married, 1st, February, 1690, *Jacob Milbourne*, Secretary to *Jacob Leisler*; 2d, May, 1699, *Abraham Gouverneur*, born 1671.

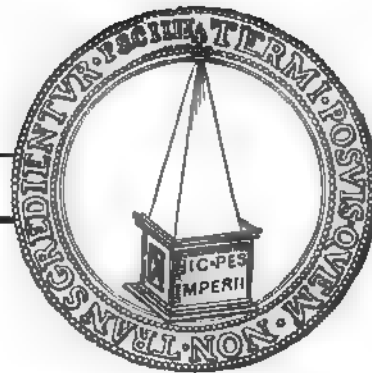
3d. *Maria Gouverneur*, baptized July 13, 1712, was the daughter of *Abraham Gouverneur* and *Mary Leisler* his wife.



Inscription on Rim.

Insig. Civi. Imperi. Novimag. The Insignia (or Arms) of the Imperial City of New Magdeburg (or of the New Imperial City)?

There is no date on either side of the Medal.



Inscription on Rim.

Termi. Posvis. Qvem. non. Transgredientvr. P. S. CIIII.

"Thou hast set a bound that they
"may not pass over. Psalm CIV."
(9th verse, 1st paragraph.)

Inscription on base of Monument.

Hic. pes. Imperii.

She married, 1st, Henry Myer, Jr., son of Hendrick Myer and Wyntje Rhee, and, 2d, December 31, 1742, Jasper Farmer, merchant of New York. She died March, 1788, and was buried in Trinity Church, near the chancel, by the side of her deceased husband, Jasper Farmer. By her will, dated March 3, 1788, recorded in New York's Surrogate's office 18th March, 1788, Lib. 40 of Wills, p. 96, she bequeaths the medal in the following words: "Item—I give and bequeath unto Henry Remsen my large Gold Medal with the Imperial Arms thereon."

1st. *Henry Remsen* (here alluded to) was born April 5, 1736. He was of the firm of Henry Remsen, Jr., & Co., and was in business in Hanover Square, New York, in 1768. He died March 13, 1792.

2d. *Henry Remsen*, son of Henry Remsen, 1st, was born November 7, 1762. He was Private Secretary to Thomas Jefferson and President of the Manhattan Co., New York, from 1808 to 1826. He died February 18, 1843.

3d. *William Remsen*, son of Henry Remsen, 2d, was born in New York February 13, 1815. Mr. William Remsen states that the medal was given by his father to his, Henry's, sister Caroline Remsen, and by her given to him some thirty-five years ago.

The inference from the above seems to be that this medal descended from, or was given by, Jacob Leisler to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Jasper Farmer, was bequeathed by her to Henry Remsen, and descended from him to its present owner, Mr. William Remsen. It

seems probable that the medal was struck to commemorate some event in the history of the city of Madgeburg, perhaps its destruction by Marshal Tilly in 1631, or perhaps the completion of the work on the Protestant religion, known as the Centuries of Magdebourg in 1559-74.

October, 1879. HENRY REMSEN.

Extracts from Will of Maria Farmer, deceased (will dated 3d March, 1788. Recorded in New York Surrogate's Office, 18th March, 1788, Lib. 40 of Wills, p. 96).

Directs burial to be in Trinity Church, New York, near her deceased husband (Jasper Farmer). Funeral to be conducted "according to the ancient Dutch Custom and mode, attended by a genuine Dutch Minister (if there is one in town); also by all the Ministers of the Church of England, also by the Rev. Dr. Rogers and the assistant Minister of his church, also by his Excellency the Minister of the United Netherlands, also by the Governor of this State and the Mayor of this City, and also by Doctor Charlton, to all of whom I desire that Scarfs and Gloves may be given, as well as to my Pall Bearers; and in order that the procession may be conducted exactly conformable to the old Dutch Custom, I desire that the directions of Ieronymus Van Alstine be taken, he being perfectly acquainted with the Discipline and Usages of the Reformed Dutch Church."

Legacies are given to "My niece Hester Gouverneur, Daughter of my brother Nicholas Gouverneur, decd." To "the children of my son Peter Farmer." "Item—I give to Peter Goelet my Pair of Silver Candlesticks. Item—I give to Jacobus Lefferts, Esquire, my Ebony Tea Table. Item—I give to Thomas Farmer my Silver Salver. Item—I give and bequeath unto Henry Remsen my large Gold Medal with the Imperial Arms thereon. Item—I give and bequeath to my son Peter Farmer, son of my deceased husband, my Diamond

"mourning ring, which I had made in memory of his father, and 25£ in cash to purchase mourning suits for himself and wife. Item—A christal ring to wife of Peter Farmer. Item—To Jasper Farmer, son of Peter Farmer, my Silver Tankard marked M.G. Item—To George Farmer my silver stand and Casters. Item—to Anne Farmer, Daughter of Peter Farmer, two of my Gold stay Buckles. Item—to Elizabeth Farmer, daughter of Peter Farmer, my silver Milk Pot, shaped like a cow. Item—To Samuel Farmer, son of Peter, my small Silver Tankard. Item—To David Provost my silver Tea Kettle and stand. Item," &c. &c. &c.

Peter Goelet, Jacobus Lefferts, Esquire, and Gerard Walton of the City of New York, and Thomas Farmer of the State of New Jersey appointed Executors. Thomas Farmer alone qualified. H. R.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS. — Dr. Edward Bartholomew Bancroft, an eminent man of science, and a friend of Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane and other patriots of the Revolution, published, in 1770, Lond., "The History of Charles Wentworth;" an exceedingly curious work in some respects. The following note is found in Vol. III., p. 54.

New York.

C. M. S.

"I shall subjoin a fact to which I was myself an eye witness. At Colonel Boquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, in 1764, when, by the conditions of peace, they were obliged to restore their captives, many among them considered their return to their friends and countrymen as a new captivity; and not only parted from the savages with reluctance, but with tears. The Shawanese found it necessary to bind several of their prisoners and force them to the

camp; and several women who had been delivered up afterwards found means to escape to the Indian town; and others who could not effect this clung to their savage friends, refusing to part, and continued many days, making the bitterest lamentations, and refusing all sustenance. Nor did the Indians in their turn discover less affection for their departing captives, whom they delivered up with the utmost reluctance and torrents of tears, visiting them daily during their stay in camp, and presenting them with corn, meat, skins, horses, and everything besides that they could possibly spare. They also did more; they even solicited and obtained leave to accompany them on their return home with the army, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the roads; and a young Indian of the Mingo tribe, having formed an attachment to a female captive belonging to Virginia, and been permitted to call her his wife, gave an instance of love that appears romantic; for against all remonstrances of the imminent danger of his approaching the frontiers of our colonies, he persisted in following her, at the risk of being murdered by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons who had been scalped or captivated by the warriors of his nation. 'Tis certain the ferocity of these savages is terrible in war; but in peace their kindness and humanity are virtues worthy of imitation by those who glory in Christianity and civilization. When either affection or caprice determines them to give life to a prisoner, they give everything which, in their opinion, belongs to it; he is at once incorporated with

them, and is in every respect treated like themselves; the infants are adopted by some among them, and treated like children of their own body; and no woman thus saved is reserved from base motives, or her honor ever violated."

A NICARAGUA CANAL PROPOSED IN 1586.—The following reference to a Nicaragua Canal is found in the fourth volume of "Purchas his Pilgrimes," Book VII., Chapter XI., page 1,433. It is contained in "*The Historie of LOPEZ VAZ a Portugal [i. e., a Portuguese] (taken by Capitaine WITHRINGTON, at the Riuer of Plate, Anno, 1586, with the Discourse about him*"):

"I doe verily beleeeue that if this Land were now the ancient *Romans*, or else the *Egyptians*, they would surely make a channell from the end of this River *de Carinas* (which issueth from the Lake of *Nicaragua*) to the South Sea, for that there is no more but foure leagues betweene the Sea and the Riuer, so that they might Trade to the *Moluccas*, and to the Coast of *China*, so would it be sooner and easier done then the long and troublesome Voyages of the *Portugals*, and sooner made, then to goe through the Straits of *Magellan*; which is almost impossible to passe thorow."

Boston.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

POETRY OF THE REVOLUTION.—The following lines were picked up on the Mall (so called) in front of Trinity Church-yard, New York, during the British occupation of the city in 1779, and excited strong feelings of resentment among the British officers. They were long afterwards found to have

been written by Miss Hannah Lawrence, afterwards the wife of Jacob Schieffelin :

On the purpose to which the Avenu adjoining Trinity Church has of late been dedicated.

This is the scene of gay resort,
Here Vice and Folly hold their court,
Here all the Martial band parade,
To vanquish—some unguarded Maid.
Here ambles many a dauntless chief
Who can—oh great ! beyond belief,
Who can—as sage Historians say,
Defeat—whole bottles in array !

Heavens ! shall a mean, inglorious train,
The mansions of our dead profane ?
A herd of undistinguish'd things,
That shrink beneath the power of Kings !

Sons of the brave immortal band
Who led fair Freedom to this land,
Say—shall a lawless race presume
To violate the sacred Tomb ?
And calmly, you, the insult bear—
Even wildest rage were virtue here.

Shades of our Sires, indignant rise,
Oh arm ! to vengeance, arm the skies.
Oh rise ! for no degenerate son

Bids impious blood the guilt atone,
By thunder from the ethereal plains,
Avenge your own dishonored Manes,
And guardian lightnings flash around,
And vindicate the hallow'd ground !

R. L. SCHIEFFELIN.

GENERAL JOHN HARDIN.—I take occasion to congratulate the Magazine upon having such a brilliant contributor in Ellen Hardin Walworth. Her article, "The Battle of Buena Vista," in December number, in my judgment, places her in the front rank of writers for a historical magazine. The circumstantial accuracy, ornate style and flowing periods are a constant source of pleasure to the reader of her mono-

graph. Here is a little reminiscence of her grandfather, General John Hardin. I found it not long since in a semi-political letter from General Wilkinson. General Wilkinson, familiarly known to all historical readers by his "Memoirs," was originally a Marylander. I believe, however, he went to Philadelphia to pursue his studies, and there joined as a volunteer Col. William Thompson's Pennsylvania rifle regiment, which entered the trenches at Cambridge about August 9, 1775 ; soon taking rank as the first regiment of the Continental Line. Thompson was made a Brigadier on the 1st of March, 1776, and ordered to Canada ; and we next hear of Wilkinson's energy in saving Arnold's command with de Haas' Pennsylvania battalion from capture by Carleton. In January, 1777, General Washington appointed him Lieut.-Colonel of Col. Thomas Hartley's additional regiment, which appointment, however, he resigned April 9, 1777, to accept position as one of the Adjutant-Generals of Pennsylvania. The same astute and financially powerful clique at Philadelphia, Robert Morris, Blair McClanachan, the Irvines, John, Matthew and Thomas, etc., that sent General John Armstrong, Sr., and his able brigade Major, Morgan Conner, to South Carolina to manage matters there, sent General James Wilkinson, the Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania, up to act as Adjutant for General Gates, a further reason, by the way, why Pennsylvania should have been included in Mr. Curtis' roll-call of States at Saratoga.

To come back, however, to General Hardin, the latter was First Lieutenant of Van Suringen's Eighth Pennsyl-

vania, detailed into Morgan's rifle command. After the war in 1784 he ran for sheriff of Fayette county, and came out second best; the constitution at that time allowing the people to choose two for the office of sheriff, either of whom could be commissioned by the Council.

Thereupon General Wilkinson writes to President Dickinson (after resigning his position as Brigadier and Adjutant-General):

"On the present return of the election for Fayette County Major John Hardin stands second for the Sheriff's office: permit me briefly to state to your Excellency this man's merit without detracting from that of his competitor. Mr. Hardin served in the alert of the army under the Generals (then Colonels) Morgan and Butler in the Northern Campaign, 1777. His rank was that of a Lieutenant, and I can, as the Adjutant General of the army under General Gates, assert that he was exposed to more danger, encountered greater fatigue and performed more real service than any other officer of his station: with parties never exceeding twenty men, he in the course of the Campaign made upwards of sixty prisoners, and at a personal encounter in the rear of the enemy's position he killed a Mohawk express, and brought dispatches which he was conveying from General Burgoyne to the commanding officer at Ticonderoga, with the loss only of a lock of hair, which the Indian's fire carried away. It is sufficient for me, Sir, to testify his merits, the justice which characterizes your administration will do the rest."

According to a note in Wilkinson's

Memoirs, General John Hardin was murdered by the Indians near Sandusky, Ohio, in 1791.

Bellefonte, Penn. JOHN B. LINN.

A HERO OF QUEBEC.—Died June, 1807, at Ford, County of Northumberland, England, aged 85 years, Robert Sanderson, who was orderly sergeant to General Wolfe at the memorable attack on Quebec, and the person represented in the print as supporting the British general after he had received his mortal wound.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 77, p. 684.

W. K.

THE BAILEY MEDAL.—This medal, struck by Tiffany & Co., and endowed by the friends of the late Admiral in memory of his services, especially in leading up the van of Admiral Farragut's fleet in the little (3) gunboat Cayuga, and taking the surrender of New Orleans has been recently conferred for the first time by Captain T. P. Luce, commander of the U. S. training ship Minnesota, on ordinary seaman T. M. Johnson, for the highest merit as a graduating apprentice.

EDITOR.

THE TAPPAN INDIANS.—I have read with interest the notice of the Seventy-six House, Tappan. In it is said that the word Tappan is derived from the Delaware word *Tappanne*, meaning "cold stream." I have always understood the meaning to be "clear water." Perhaps some Indian scholar may decide. There are still some remains of the burial places of this tribe in the neighborhood of the village. It is on a clearing in the Green woods, and is to this day known



among the inhabitants of the locality by the name of the wild man's burial place; in the Dutch dialect, "*Wildermann's Kerche Yard*." A sketch of this tribe would interest many of your readers.

Tappan.

J. J. S.

QUERIES

NEW YORK GENEALOGY.—Who were the father and mother and more remote ancestors of Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant, who came from Holland in 1647?

What was the ancestry of Nicholas Bayard, whose widow, a sister of Gov. Petrus Stuyvesant, brought to America her sons Baltazer, Peter and Nicholas?

What was the parentage of Govert Lockerman, whose daughter, Anna Marika, married Baltazer Bayard, and whether Anna Marika was the daughter of the first or second wife of Lockerman: one of the wives having been a daughter of Anneje Jans?

What was the parentage of Oliver Stephens Van Cortlandt, who came from Holland in 1638, as Secretary to Gov. Kief, and married Ann Lockerman?

What was the parentage of Catharine Von Brug, wife of Philip Livingston and mother of Gov. William Livingston of New Jersey; and how she was related to Carl Von Brugge, Lieutenant-Governor of the New Netherlands in 1648?

What was the parentage of Margeret Hardenbrook, wife of Frederick Philips, whose daughter Eve married Jacobus Van Cortlandt?

What was the parentage of Lieutenant-Governor Brockholst of New York, whose daughter Susan married Philip French; their daughter, Susan French,

being the wife of Gov. William Livingston?

J.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—Who is the author of the following lines?

"That he's like a palm-tree, may well be said,
Having ever a cluster of dates in his head."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

APPLEBY.—Arthur St. Clair, in a letter to Governor Penn, dated Ligonier, August 25th, 1674, says: "This moment I have heard from Pittsburgh, that Mr Speare and Mr. Butler's goods that were going to Appleby, are seized," etc.
* * * "It will oblige me to put off my journey to Appleby." Where was Appleby?

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

SECRETARY BURNET.—Who was "Robert Burnet, Esq., Secretary to Nova Cesarea, or New Jersey in America," and so appointed in May, 1733, v. *Gentleman's Magazine*. Robert Burnett, one of the twenty-four proprietaries of East Jersey, and who died in 1714, had a son, and also a grandson, named Robert, the latter the son of John. Was the Secretary either of these, and what may be known of him?

T. H. M.

CASSELLII DISSERT. DE FRISONUM NAVIGATIONE IN AMERICANE.—Has it ever been translated into English, or is the original work of Casselius in any library in this city? Johannes Cassel was born at Gottingen in 1533, and died in 1613. He was a professor of philosophy, etc., at Rostock, and his works were printed in octavo at Frankfort, in 1687.

W. H.

INDIANA.—In the Pennsylvania Packet of February 5th, 1780, the following advertisement appeared: "The Proprietors of Indiana are requested to be punctual in meeting, agreeable to their adjournment, at the Indian Queen Tavern in Philadelphia, on the first Monday in February, at four o'clock, P. M. Per order, David Franks, President."

Where was Indiana located in 1780, and did not this company originate the name now applied to a State?

MARKET STREET.

AN EXTRAORDINARY MILITARY RECORD.—The following scrap, in a lady's handwriting, was copied from "we know not what original":

"During the American war, 80 old German soldiers, who, after having long served under different monarchs in Europe, had retired to America, and had converted their swords into ploughshares, voluntarily formed themselves into a company and distinguished themselves in various actions, in the cause of independence. The captain was nearly a hundred years old, had been in the army 40 years and present in 17 battles. The drummer was 94, and the youngest man in the corps on the verge of 70. Instead of a cockade, each man wore a piece of black crape as a mark of sorrow for being obliged, at so advanced a period of life, to bear arms. 'But,' said the veteran, 'we should be deficient in gratitude if we did not act in defence of a country which has afforded us a generous asylum, and protected us from tyranny and oppression!' Such a band of soldiers never before, perhaps, appeared on a field of battle."

Has the account an historical basis?
It has a mythical look. W. H.

AARON WRIGHT'S JOURNAL.—Some years since there appeared in the Historical Magazine (Dawson's) a notice of this journal. The journal was copied in part in the note. Aaron Wright was a sergeant or private in Col. Wm. Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment from Northumberland. Can any one of your readers give me any information as to this journal, or tell me in what number of the magazine the notice appeared or whose were the initials to the notice?

J. B. L.

Bellefonte, Pa.

KOSCIUSZKO'S EARLY MILITARY CAREER.—Could any of the readers of this Magazine enlighten a countryman of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, engaged upon a biography of that Polish hero, concerning the following facts in Kosciuszko's American life, or point out the books and documents wherein the desired answer may be found? Why was Kosciuszko, a young man who had arrived in America without important recommendations, previous fame or rank, suddenly appointed a Colonel of Engineers, and entrusted with the important position of Engineer upon General Gates' Staff? Did he give any proof of engineering skill at the defence of New York in September and October, 1776? Where did he serve in 1779, after leaving West Point and before joining General Greene's army in North Carolina? Is there any truth in the statement of his French and German biographers that he assisted Generals Sullivan,

Greene, Lafayette and Count d'Estaing during their Rhode Island campaign, or had been wounded in the American service, or took part in the siege of Yorktown, while no biographer of General Greene mentions his ever having left the Southern army in 1781? An answer to any of the above questions would greatly oblige Kosciuszko's

POLISH BIOGRAPHER.

BOISANTIER, BISHOP OF GALLIPOLIS, OHIO.—A person of this name, a canon of St. Denis, was made bishop about 1789 or 1790. Any information relating to him would be acceptable. I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

THE HAMILTON FAMILY.—While perusing a quaint old volume at a friend's house in Bermuda, entitled "A Natural History of Nevis, by the Rev. William Smith," printed at Cambridge, England, in 1745, I was struck with the name of Hamilton as borne by residents of that small island; and it occurred to me that perhaps they were connected in some way with the celebrated Colonel Alexander Hamilton so often mentioned by American writers.

I copy the references: *page 111*, "An intimate acquaintance of mine at Nevis, one Mr. Archibald Hamilton, went for his health's sake to Boston, the Metropolis of New England, and at his return back gave me a very particular account of that flourishing British Province;" *page 113*, "When Mr. Hamilton was in New England (*i. e.*, in 1717 or thereabouts), it was currently reported, and universally believed, that the Person who cut off King Charles the First's

Head, died there then, he owning it upon his Death-bed, but not before." On *page 214*, a commission issued April 16, 1716, by Walter Hamilton, Governor of the Leeward Islands.

What relation, if any, were these gentlemen to the distinguished American?

BERMOOTHES.

WEEMS' WASHINGTON.—Can any one give me any account of the 4th, 5th, or 6th Editions of Weems' Life of Washington? Also, can any one verify the statement made in Hough's Washingtonia that two Editions of the work were printed in the lifetime of Washington?

BIBLIOS.

MACHIAS.—This is a singular name, and I do not find it used anywhere except in connection with Maine. Will some one of your contributors, learned in the Indian tongues, give an explanation?

OUTIS.

NORUMBEGA.—Last summer, when on the Maine coast, I inquired in vain of the Indians for some information respecting "Norumbega," or "Norambegu." Aged Penobscot Indians did not know the word. Will some one give its origin? Is it an Indian word? It first appears on the Verrazano Map as "Aranbega." Vetromille's definition is not satisfactory. Who will reply?

OUTIS.

ANNEKE JANS.—Is it true that the Anneke Jans heirs are descended from King William IV. of Holland? It has been so stated.

C. H. B.

Philadelphia.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.—Is there an autograph copy of Jas. Rodman Drake's "American Flag" in existence? Has a *fac simile* of the author's autograph of it ever been published, and if so, where can one be obtained?

Do you know of an autograph copy, or *fac simile* of one, of Geo. P. Morris's "Flag of Our Union?"

Should any of your readers know of such autographs, will you please ask them to communicate with me direct as well as answer in your Magazine?

The object I have in view is to give these songs in autograph in the new edition of my History of the American Flag, etc., for which I have secured autographs of "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Red, White and Blue," "The Blue and the Gray," "America," "God Save the President," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," etc., etc. I only need the "American Flag" and "Flag of our Union" to complete the series of national and patriotic songs in the autographs of their authors.

GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

Brookline, Mass., Jan. 28, 1880.

A NEW SONG.—The following verses, with their title, have been copied from an ancient looking manuscript memorandum, and are offered to these columns with the query, whether they have ever before been in *print*? Their theme is the famous "Tea Party" exploit of Boston at the outbreak of the Revolution, and they were evidently composed, and not without poetic merit, under the fresh inspiration of that bold and significant historic act:

(1.)

"As near bounteous Boston lying,
On the gently swelling flood,
Without Jack or pendant flying,
Three ill-fated Tea ships rode,

(2.)

Just as glorious Sol was setting,
On the wharf a numerous crew,
Sons of freedom, fear forgetting,
Suddenly appeared in view.

(3.)

Armed with hammer, axe and chisels,
Weapons new for warlike deeds,
Towards the herbage-freighted vessels
They approached with dreadful speed.

(4.)

O'er their heads aloft in mid-sky
Three bright Angel forms were seen—
This was Hampden, that was Sidney,
With fair Liberty between.

(5.)

'Soon,' they cried, 'your foes you'll banish,
Soon the triumph shall be won;
Scarce shall setting Phœbus vanish
Ere the deathless deed be done.'

(6.)

Quick as thought the ships were boarded,
Hatches burst and chests displayed,
Axes, hammers, help afforded,
What a mighty crash they made!

(7.)

Squash into the deep descended
Cursed weed of China's coast.
Thus, at once, our fears were ended—
British rights shall ne'er be lost.

(8.)

Captains, once more hoist your streamers,
Spread your sails and plough the wave;
Tell your Masters they were dreamers,
When they thought to cheat the brave."

W. H.

NOTE.—We call attention to the significant absence of any mention of Indian costume as being worn by the men who destroyed the tea. On this subject, see the account by a participant, published in the Magazine (I, 590), October, 1877.

EDITOR.



A WASHINGTON RELIC.—There was exhibited in the office of the Boston Traveller, in January, 1831, a silver snuff box, in weight equivalent to about four dollars and a quarter, of an oblong form, which was personally presented by Gen. Washington to the last chief of the Oneida tribe of Indians, whom it will be remembered remained true to the cause of liberty. On the lid was the following inscription beautifully engraved :

"THIS BOX
WAS THE GIFT OF
GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON,
TO
SHENANDOAH,
LAST CHIEF OF THE ONEIDAS
1784."

By some strange process it seems afterwards to have become the property of the town of Manlius, N. Y., for on the back of the box was engraved :

"THE TRUSTEES OF THE VILLAGE OF
MANLIVS
TO
H. C. DE BOIES ESQ.
DEC. 20, 1828."

Two years later the owner of the box, having met with some reverses of fortune, was obliged to leave it in pledge for a small sum of money borrowed in Boston. It was afterwards sold to a young gentleman of that city.

Does this interesting relic exist, and how did it become the property of the town of Manlius? PETERSFIELD.

BRITISH FRIGATE AMERICA.—In the spring of 1746 the land commissioners of the Admiralty, either as reward to New England for the services of her

sons in the Louisburg campaign, or because of the reputation of the eastern colony for shipbuilding, gave orders to Admiral Peter Warren to build four ships of war in New England, two of twenty-four and two of forty-four guns. The Admiral consulted with Sir William Pepperell, under whose direction the vessels were built. One of these vessels was loaded with spars and naval stores and sent to London under convoy, having only one tier of guns mounted. This ship (according to Parsons, Pepperell's biographer) was called the America, and was esteemed one of the best frigates in the British navy.

What was the fate of the America? and what the names of the other three vessels ordered to be built in New England? Parsons does not state.

The America was launched on the 4th May, 1749. At what port?

KITTERY.

THE BOWERIE.—Can any of your readers give me the origin of this name and its true spelling? It is variously claimed to mean a farm, a shaded lane, and to be of Dutch and English derivation.

SAINT MARKS.

THE SALUTATION INN.—Sewall speaks of the death, Sept. 28, 1685, of one Edward Grove, who kept the Salutation. Where was this inn?

BOSTON.

THE SHIP AMERICA.—Samuel Sewall, in his diary, speaks of going aboard the America (Aug. 23, 1689) with Mr. Walker and Mr. Brattle. What vessel was this?

BOSTON.

REPLIES.

ARNOLD NOT A FREEMASON.—(III., 761.) That Benedict Arnold was a Freemason admits of no doubt. In the book kept by the Masonic Lodge in New York City, just previous to the Revolution, for the signatures of brother Masons visiting the lodge, there appear the names (written in their own hands) of Sir John Johnson and Benedict Arnold, both, it would appear, having visited the lodge the same evening. Across the signature of Arnold some one has drawn a line—probably to express contempt for his treason. The book containing these interesting signatures may yet be seen among the archives at the Masonic Temple in New York City. At least it was in existence a few years since, when I visited the Temple for the purpose of verifying, by personal observation, that which I had heard of by rumor. Sir John Johnson, by the way, was the last Colonial Grand Master of New York State. WM. L. S.

Jersey City Heights.

ARNOLD A FREEMASON.—(III., 761.) H. E. H., in reply to S. H. Shreve (III., 578,) is entirely wrong; Benedict Arnold was a Freemason. Lossing, in a note in his *Field Book of the Revolution*, II., 231, says, "It is asserted that all of the Major-Generals of the Revolutionary Army were Master Masons, except one, 'the lost Pleiad'—BENEDICT ARNOLD. It is a mistake. Arnold was a member in good standing in a lodge in Connecticut."

The Hartford (Conn.) Times of Dec. 18th, 1841, published the following, copied from the New Haven Herald:

"An old book has accidentally fallen into our possession, which proves to be the Records of a Masonic Lodge held in this city, the first entry in which is the following: 'A Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held at the Fountain Inn, in New Haven, 18th April, 1765.

Present: R. W. Nathan Whiting, Master.

George Miles, S. W.

Andrew Burr, J. W.

Br. John Hotchkiss, Treasurer.

Br. Timothy Jones, Secretary.

Br. Robert Brown.

Br. Buckminster Brintnall.

Br. Benedict Arnold, V. B

Br. Christopher Killey.

Br. Benedict Arnold is by R. W. proposed to be made a member of the R. W. Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons; accordingly was balloted for and accepted, and is accordingly a member. Expenses for the evening, £1, os, od."

The name of the lodge is not mentioned in this meagre extract, but it is supplied in an historical sketch of Hiram Lodge, No 1, New Haven, by Francois Turner, W. M., published in the *Freemason's Monthly Magazine*, Dec. 1, 1850, from which the following extract is taken:

"In 1765, Nathan Whiting was again W. M.; George Mills, S. W.; Andrew Burr, J. W.; and Timothy Jones, Secretary. On the 16th of April, Brother Benedict Arnold, then 'a good man and true,' as may be inferred from the fact that he was proposed for membership by the R. W. Master himself, and was admitted a member of this Lodge. His name appears frequently on the record as present at the regular meetings, until about 1772."

It will be observed that there is a discrepancy in the extracts as to the date on which Arnold was admitted to membership in Hiram Lodge: one says 18th, and the other the 16th of April, 1765; this is, no doubt, the result of a typographical error.

During the Anti-Masonic excitement which followed the abduction and murder of William Morgan, by some members of the Masonic fraternity, it was charged that Col. Jamison's singular conduct in informing Arnold of the capture of André was in pursuance of his Masonic obligation to apprise a brother of all approaching danger. I am reminded of this by the publication of the Tallmadge-Sparks' correspondence (III., 747-756), which seems to corroborate the charge.

I. C.

Alleghany, Pa.

—(III., 578-761.) In answer to the Reply of H. E. H., expressing the general belief that Arnold was not a Mason, I submit the following evidence that he was:

In the "by-laws of Hiram Lodge, No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, New Haven, Conn., published by the lodge in 1876, containing the names of members and dates of admission, from its organization in 1750 to 1876," I find on page 19 the following entry: "Arnold, Benedict . . . April 10, 1765."

Gen'l David Wooster was Master of this lodge from 1750 to 1762.

It is to be presumed that the compiler of this volume of 88 pages, published by order and under the sanction of the lodge, knew from the records who had been members thereof and if Arnold

was a "member" he must have been by the members recognized as a Mason. But, through the courtesy of Br. John R. Hutchinson, Masonic editor of *Loomis' Musical and Masonic Journal*, published at New Haven, I am furnished with the following extract from the Lodge records:

"At a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons held at the Fountain Tavern in New Haven, 10th April, 1765, R. W. Nathan Whiting, Master [he was the successor to Gen. Wooster, the first Master, and elected in 1762]. . . . Brother Benedict Arnold is by R. W. proposed to be made a member of this R. W. Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, accordingly he was ballotted for and accepted, and is accordingly made a member in this lodge."

The . . . above represents the list of officers and members, and among them *present* is the name of "Benedict Arnold, V. Br.," which means *Visiting Brother*.

I have been unable to learn when and in what lodge he was "made a Mason," but he must have been duly "initiated" into the mysteries of the Craft, to have been "made a member" of so orthodox a lodge, presided over by such worthies as Gen'l Bros. Wooster and Whiting.

T. S. PARVIN,

Gd. Sec'y, Gd. Lodge, Iowa.

Iowa City.

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AN AFFAIR OF HONOR.—(IV., 53.) An error occurred in the setting up of the correspondence concerning the letters which passed between Mr. Benton and Webster. On page 54 the note of Wm. Inman is printed as addressed to Charles

Henry Hart. The manner in which the paper came into the hands of this gentleman, who contributed it to the Magazine, is explained in his preliminary note on the preceding page.

EDITOR.

ROBINSON'S HOME IN THE HIGHLANDS.—(IV., 109.) There is a slip of the pen in the article on Robinson's House, whereby the author has made one man out of two. John Robinson, the President of Virginia, held office only for a few days, and died in 1749. John Robinson, elected Speaker in 1758, was one of his sons, who are said to have been ten in number, and one of the brothers of Col. Beverley Robinson.

BEVERLEY R. BETTS.

Columbia College, N. Y.

THE ROGERENES.—(IV., 68.) "Petersfield," in the "Queries" of this Magazine for January, 1880, asks for information "in regard to a queer sect, known as the Rogerenes." In reply I send you the following extracts from the "History of New London," by Frances Manwaring Caulkins. "New London: published by the author, 1860."

G. W. C.

Staten Island.

"A great source of annoyance during the ministry of the Rev. Mather Byles (ordained Nov. 18, 1757) was the frequent interruption of the Sabbath service by the Quakers. By this term is understood the followers of John Rogers (sometimes called 'Rogerene Baptists,' as coinciding in their mode of baptism with the Baptist denomination), of whom for about thirty years after the death of their founder, very little is

known. 'We were not molested as at first,' observes one of their writers, and the reason is evident, and they had refrained from molesting the worship of others. In the year 1764 their former spirit revived, and they began to issue forth, as of old, on Sundays to testify against what they called idolatry. * *

* This outbreak lasted in its vehemence only a year and a half. John Rogers third, grandson of the founder of the sect, has left a minute account of it in the form of a diary, which was printed with the following title:

'A looking-glass for the Presbyterians of New London; to see their worship and worshippers weighed in the balance and found wanting. With a true account of what the people called Rogerenes have suffered in that town, from the 10th of June, 1764, to the 13th of December, 1766.'

Who suffered for testifying—

'That it was contrary to Scripture for ministers to preach the Gospel for hire.

'That the first day of the week was no Sabbath by God's appointment.

'That sprinkling infants is no baptism, and nothing short of blasphemy, being contrary to the example set us by Christ and his holy apostles.

'That long public prayers in synagogues is forbidden by Christ.

'Also for reproving their church minister for their great pride, vain-glory and friendship of the world which they lived in.

'With a brief discourse in favor of Women's prophesying or teaching in Church.

'Written by John Rogers, of New London.

'Providence, N. E. Printed for the author, 1767.

'June 10th, 1764. We went to the meeting-house, and some of our people went in and sat down; others tarried without and sat upon the ground some distance from the house. And when Mather Byles, their priest, began to say his formal synagogue prayer, forbidden by Christ, Mat. 6-5, some of our women began to knit, others to sew, that it might be made manifest they had no fellowship with such unfruitful works of darkness. But Justice Coit and the congregation were much offended at this testimony, and fell upon them in the very time of their prayer and pretended divine worship; also they fell upon the rest of our people that were sitting quietly in the house, making no difference between them that transgressed this law and them that transgressed it not; for they drove us all out of the house in a most furious manner; pushing, striking, kicking, etc., so that the meeting was broken up for some time, and the house in great confusion. Moreover, they fell upon our friends that were sitting abroad, striking and kicking both men and women, old and young, driving us all to prison in a furious and tumultuous manner, stopping our mouths when we went to speak, choaking us,' etc.

"Very nearly the same scene was acted over ever successive Sunday that Summer.

"The Quakers were committed to prison sometimes twenty or thirty in a day; and if after being released the same person was again committed—his term of imprisonment was doubled. The

authorities vainly hoped to weary them out. 'But this method,' observes John Rogers, 'added no peace to them, for some of our friends were always coming out as well as going in, and so always ready to oppose their false worship every first day of the week.

"On the 12th of August, the term of commitment by this doubling process had become *four months*; when those within determined to prevent, if they could, any further commitments. Finding that a fresh party of their friends were approaching in charge of the officers, they barred the doors inside.

'Also, we blew a shell in the prison, in defiance of their idle Sabbath, and to mock their false worship, as Elijah mocked the worshippers of Baal. The authority gave orders to break open the prison door, so they went to work and labored exceeding hard on their Sabbath, cutting with axes and heaving at the door with iron bars for a considerable time till they were wearied, but could not break open the door.'

An entrance to the prison was finally effected from above, and the fresh prisoners let down into the room. * * *

These disturbances continued, with some intervals during the severity of winter until October, 1765, when the magistrates having proved the inefficacy of detentions and imprisonments, came to the unfortunate determination of having recourse to whippings. October 15th five were publicly whipped ten stripes each, 'at beat of drum.' October 23d nine were whipped 'at beat of drum.' November 4th 'nine more.' November 14th, Thanksgiving day, a Rogerene was driven from the meeting-house by some

young men, ducked in muddy water, and then imprisoned.

'Some our friends went to town, and an old man, aged 73 yrs., cried Repentence! through the streets, and as he went he stooped at the authorities houses and warned them of the danger they were in, if they did not repent of their persecuting God's people.'

"This party was taken up and confined in the school house until evening, when they were taken out by the populace. They were tarred, men and women, but not *feathered*—warm tar was poured upon the heads and their hats glued on. They were otherwise treated with great cruelty by an infuriated mob.

"All the suffering had no influence whatever in putting an end to the testimony, which the next Sunday was renewed with as much spirit as ever, and so continued from week to week. Feb. 2d, 1766, the disturbance was attended by this aggravating circumstance — a woman, being turned out of meeting for keeping at her needlework during the prayer, struck several blows against the house to testify in that way against the mode of worship. Feb. 16th. Another heartrending scene of whipping, tarring and throwing into the river of men and women took place. The next Sunday they came again, and a great uproar was the consequence, the service being for a considerable time interrupted.

They were 19 in number, ten men and nine women. The women were committed to prison, but the men, after being kept until evening, were delivered to the populace, cruelly scourged and treated with every species of indignity and abuse that the victims of a street mob

generally undergo. The women were kept in prison till the next June, 'leaving near 20 small children motherless at their homes.'

"We have now reached the climax of offense and punishment. Both sides relented. The testifiers would come into the house of worship, and commit no other offense than wearing their hats, and this the community at large were disposed to endure rather than create a disturbance by removing them.

The visits of the Rogerenes to the churches gradually became less frequent and less notice was taken of them when they occurred. If they interrupted the worship, or attempted to work in the house, they were usually removed and kept under ward till the service was over and then dismissed, without fine or imprisonment. There was nothing stimulating in this course, and they soon relinquished the itinerant mode of testifying. But as a sect they retain their individuality to the present day. They are now to be found in the southeastern part of Ledyard,* and though reduced to a few families, vary but little in observances or doctrine from those inculcated by their founder. In one point of practice, however, there is a remarkable difference; they never interfere with the worship of their neighbors, and are themselves never molested."

* In 1734 a colony of Rogerenes of New London, consisting of John Culver and his wife and ten children, with their families, making twenty-one in all, removed to New Jersey, and settled on the west side of Schooley's Mountain in Morris county. It is supposed that the Rogerene principles have become extinct among the descendants of this party. See Benedict, vol. ii., p. 245.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

BIBLIOTECA AMERICANA—HISTOIRE, GÉOGRAPHIE, VOYAGES, ARCHÉOLOGIE ET LINGUISTIQUE DES DEUX AMÉRIQUES ET DES ILES PHILIPPINES REDIGÉE. Par CH. LECLERC. Paris. MAISONNEUVE ET CIE. 1878. 8vo, pp xx. 740.

This is one of the bibliographical catalogues that began to appear about twenty years since in England and in this country. Henry Stevens led the way in copying titles accurately, and his notes to some of his sale catalogues make these permanently valuable. Harris, in his Bibliographies, goes beyond what is expected, even from an expert in such matters, and has left but little to be gleaned by others, but his works are not what is required from the catalogue maker, Leclerc, in his catalogues of 1867 and 1868, has, however, completely satisfied the book buyers, both the experienced *connoisseur* and the timid collector. His titles are given in full, and identify the book or the edition; his collection is brief and clear, and his notes are descriptive and explanatory without redundancy.

In the *Bibliotheca Americana* of 1878, now before us, containing 2,638 titles, and compiled, as were the previous ones, for the house of Maisonneuve et Cie., of Paris, Leclerc has exceeded himself. The great amount of care, labor and knowledge which has been expended on this work is incredible, and can only be fully appreciated by those who are quite familiar with the task of making annotated catalogues.

The question is whether such costly catalogues can be sufficiently circulated to reach all our book buyers, and thus pay for their compilation. It is to be hoped that the answer will be a favorable one, and that many others may be issued, thus stimulating the American book collectors to gather all the Americana that Europe can offer to them.

We might dwell on the merits of certain copies of books included in Mons. Leclerc's list, and on many of the interesting notes appended, sometimes to books of minor value; but the work must be seen to be properly appreciated.

As books that are both scarce and of historical value, we may notice No. 359, containing three Italian translations from Peter Martyr and Oviedo. The *Libro Primo* is a summary of Martyr's first three Decades of the Ocean, and was probably composed by himself before his death in 1527. The second is the *Somario*, by Oviedo, which first appeared in 1526, and was composed for the then young emperor, Charles V. In it is to be found the earliest

known mention of the Bermuda Islands, visited by the author on his return from the ill-conditioned settlement of Pedrarias Davila, at Darien, in 1515, although they appear in 1511 on Martyr's map. The *Somario* appears also in Ramusius, and in Spanish in Barcia's *Historiadores* (this catalogue, No. 50). An English version is given in Eden's *Decades* of 1555, fol. 174, and an unreliable one in Purchas. The map of Spagnuola is found again, printed from the same block, in the third volume of Ramusius, who undoubtedly compiled the book. The large map is very rarely found with the book, Ramusius, in his Discourse, fol. v. verso, says it was prepared by Giacomo Gartaldi.

No. 137, four manuscript and one printed documents relating to the family of Columbus, ought to belong to some great public library. Some other printed ones on the same subject are described by Harris in his *Notes on Columbus*. A complete list of these documents, both printed and manuscript, is still a *desideratum*.

No. 184, Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*, Firenze, 1646, 2 vols, in folio, is but little known to geographers. This is the last and best edition. Edward Everett Hale found the original manuscript maps in the Royal Library, Munich, and described them in the *Proc. of the Ant. Soc.*, for October, 1873. No. 278, Herrera, is the only edition of this great chronicler that has an ample index, and that can be of use to students.

We should like to point out some excellent notes to some of the articles, but our space is too limited to do so. We must also commend the honesty of the collator, who describes the exact state of the book and its position in the series, when there are several editions.

Under the No. 432, Oviedo, 1547, a valuable book is described, the first edition of which appeared in 1535, containing only a quarter of the whole work. No. 433, at the low price of 100 francs, contains a reprint of No. 432 and the long lost remainder of Oviedo's *Historia*, an account of which is given by Harris.

Several editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*, with the early maps of the New World, are offered at moderate prices. Santarem's atlas of facsimile maps is a complete copy, and contains some of interest to Americans. No. 589, Valades, is a new title among the Americana, containing many curious notices of Mexican civilization.

The original manuscript of one of Champlain's works, only recently found, and published by the Hakluyt Society, and in Quebec, is here offered, but at the price of 15,000 francs. A com-

plete set of the four printed narratives of Champ-lain is offered under No. 2497, finely bound, for 6,000 francs. The first of these is so rare that only five or six copies of it are known. The others are rarely found perfect, and as they are really distinct works, and not new editions of the one of 1613, such a set becomes a bibliographical treasure. All of his works have been reprinted in quarto form in Quebec.

No. 976, Palon's *Life of the P'adre Fray Junipero Serra*, has been reprinted by the California Historical Society. The narratives of Joutel, Tonti and Hennepin appear on the list, as also those of Lescarbot and Creuxius. The Lescarbot is of the first and rare edition of 1609.

No. 1354, Parra, description of the fish of Cuba, is a difficult book to procure. We know of only four in the United States.

Nos. 1454 to 1995 are books more especially relating to South America, among which are many curious articles, both printed and manuscript. There are copies of Piedrahita, Simon, Zamora, Brito Freyre, Rodriguez, Vasconcellos, Brulius, Calancha, Fernandez (a rare book), Mendoza, Zarate, 1557, Ovalle, Nodal, with map, Seixas y Lovera, with a MS. map added, and others. No. 1987 relates to North America only, and in it may be found the only published maps of the North West Coast, as explored by Vizcaino.

Sometimes several editions of books are offered, and other copies appear in the Supplement. The collection of books on American languages is the largest ever offered for sale, and deserves special mention. Some of them have never been quoted in sale catalogues before.

The work is prefaced by a clever *avant propos* from the pen of P. Deschamps, and a summary of the more interesting titles. The catalogue is divided under two heads, *Histoire* and *Linguistique*. The first is again subdivided, but the actual presence of a book or of its reprint can be more certainly determined by consulting the admirable index.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

A COLLECTION OF FAMILY RECORDS.

With Biographical Sketches and other Memoranda of Various Families and Individuals bearing the Name of Douglas, or allied to Families of that Name. Compiled and edited by CHARLES HENRY JAMES DOUGLAS. 8vo, pp. 563. E. L. FREEMAN & CO. Providence, 1879.

No pains or expense have been spared in the editing and publication of this handsome volume. The arrangement is excellent, with the numerical

references according to the best approved method. The engraved portraits on steel are extremely good, and the typography and press work leave nothing to be desired. There are preliminary chapters on the family name and coat of arms, which bears, as every reader of Scott remembers, the cognizance of "the bloody heart," and on the origin and early history of the ancient family of Scotland.

With more than usual frankness, the young editor acknowledges that he has been unable to discover the link which connects the several families of Douglas in America with the noble Scotch house. The Americans of this name he divides into the New London family (1575-1878), the New Fairfield family (1750-1878), David Douglas and his descendants (1715-1878), other New Jersey families (1710-1878), James Douglas and his descendants (1677-1878), and unconnected families (1743-1878).

The New London family, which traces its descent from the original emigrant, Deacon William Douglas, who first settled at Gloucester, but soon removed to New London, which has been ever since the home of the family. He was born probably, but not certainly, in Scotland, in 1610. His wife was Ann Mattle.

Among the excellent portraits, nearly all of which show a strong New England type, that of William Douglas, Colonel of the New Haven regiment in the Continental Army, 1776, and his wife, by the celebrated Sartain, are noticeable. Col. Douglas was in the French war at sixteen. In May, 1775 he was commissioned captain and sent North with provisions to Montgomery. In 1776 he was commissioned colonel of a New Haven regiment, and was engaged in the campaigns around New York of that year. Disabled by exposure, he withdrew from the service and died the next year, at the age of thirty-five. His wife was Hannah, daughter of Stephen Mansfield, of New Haven.

Charles Henry James Douglas, the editor, is in the sixth generation from James, who emigrated from the north of Ireland in 1729 and settled in Voluntown. He was graduated from Brown University with honors in June, 1879.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, at the Annual Meeting, January 1, 1879. 8vo, pp. 45. THE SOCIETY'S HOME, Boston, 1879.

The address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, the worthy President, opens the proceedings with an account of the history and present state of the Institution, the details of which are related in subsequent reports of the Secretaries, which are given in formal abstracts.

THE ROUND TRIP, BY WAY OF PANAMA, THROUGH CALIFORNIA, OREGON, NEVADA, UTAH, IDAHO AND COLORADO. With Notes on Railroads, Commerce, Agriculture, Mining, Scenery and People. By JOHN CODMAN. 12mo, pp. 351. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1879.

This book is the result of more than a year of experience, the observations during which are set down in a continuous form. The intention of the author is to point out objects of interest not marked down on the usual maps or described in the guide books, which are the ordinary companions of the trans-continental tourist. In excellent narrative style the reader is first taken by water in a winter trip to California by the Isthmus route, across the Isthmus of Darien, and after sundry stoppages at the west coast ports of Puntas Arenas, Libertad, San Jose, and Acapulco, all of which are graphically pictured, is finally landed at the Golden Gate of the Pacific.

The chapters on California, Southern California, the San Bernardino Valley and Los Angeles are full of practical hints and useful information. There is a report of a personal interview with Flood, the Bonanza King, whose career is as wonderful as that of the fabled Aladdin, and a charming sketch of the paradise of orange trees, seventy-five thousand acres in extent, which Riverside owes to the enterprise of the land company on the Santa Ana, presided over by Mr. Evans. The California coast was visited by stage along the beach from Newhall, on the Southern Pacific Railroad, to Buenaventura, thence to Santa Barbara, and through Guadalupe and the hot spring of Paso de Robles to Soledad, a distance in all of one hundred and sixty miles; the country and inhabitants being minutely sketched.

Another excursion is made from Santa Cruz to San Jose, two hours distant by the railroad from San Francisco. Here are the most famous vineyards of California. These were first planted in California at St. Gabriel in 1771, but the culture has taken an immense leap since the advent of the Americans. Two hundred and fifty distinct varieties were imported by Colonel Haraszthy, of which forty to fifty were selected as best adapted for wine and brandy. The exportation of grapes and raisins has already become large and profitable. Northern California, the giant Mount Chasta, the vast farming lands, and mining interests are then noticed, and the Chinese problem is solved in a chapter of its own in the only reasonable manner. Treat them as our own.

The last half of the book is given to the eastward trip homeward, through the Grass Valley, Carson and Virginia City, and the great American desert to Salt Lake City. Idaho and the soda springs are visited, and after various side

journeys and digressions Chicago is reached. The volume is brim full of information and yet reads easily as a romance; and what fairy tale can compare with the marvellous story of the development of the American continent. Not the least instructive is the final contrast the author draws between mining and agriculture, and the statistics by which he shows that the latter is in the long run more profitable than the former. True enough, but the benefits of an addition to the world's metallic treasure, which is the basis of all paper credit, are out of all proportion to those which arise from ordinary culture of the soil. Before any man goes west he had better read this admirable volume.

SOUVENIRS OF MADAME VIGÉE LE BRUN. With a Steel Portrait from an Original Painting by the Author. 8vo, pp. 398. R. WORTHINGTON. New York, 1879.

The lovers of personal literature may well mark with a white stone the year in which they are presented with two such charming summer companions as the *Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte* and this delightful volume, in which a princess of art relates in chapters of never ending graceful variety the story of a life passed in palaces and castles, and in the intimacy of the titled and gifted, which has, from classic days, been accorded to the portrait painter. To whom, indeed, is one tempted to appear to the best advantage if not to the artist who is to perpetuate the form and features and the moral traits as well, of the *self* which is near and dear to us all.

Madame Vigée le Brun, who ranks in the very first class of portrait painters was born in Paris in 1755. She was the daughter of Louis Vigée, a painter of distinction. She was married to M. Le Brun, a well known picture dealer. Admitted to the Academy of Painting in 1783, her talent was at once recognized, and she began her career by painting some of the most eminent persons in Europe—among them Marie Antoinette and Madame du Barri. She emigrated in 1789, and was called to paint nearly all the sovereigns of Europe. She returned to France in 1801 and remained there till her death, which occurred in Paris in 1842. During her life she painted six hundred and sixty portraits, fifteen pictures, and nearly two hundred landscapes. These memoirs are from her own hand. When translated, the volume does not give information. That they have been translated by the hand of a master a glance reveals. The simplicity and directness of a pure French style has been preserved, and such slight idiomatic traces as remain add piquancy to the rendering, while they show that the thought has not been tampered with—which is the art of the

translator, perhaps one of the most difficult in literature. The fascination of the book is in its personal descriptions. She handles her pen with the graphic skill of an artist, and the persons she describes stand out from her page in clear outline and brilliant coloring, strong as on the canvas. The picture she draws of Marie Antoinette, and her account of her interviews with this loveliest and most unfortunate of women is exquisite. But where all is excellent to select would be injustice. No review can do justice to the variety of charm which invests its pages.

LIFE OF PROF. ALBERT HOPKINS.

By ALBERT C. SEWALL. 16mo, pp. 340.

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH, New York, 1879.

This book, the author says, is not a complete biography, yet it is written according to the established forms of biography proper. The subject is the central thought, and the life history is taken at the birth, carried through its successive stages, and closes with the death. The only other form of biography is that of selecting the objects to which the life may be devoted, and considering the life in its relation to these objects. In no kind of literature can the subjective and objective forms, so dear in their divisions to German thought, be more completely applied.

Prof. Hopkins was a scientist, a teacher, a preacher. He was born in 1807; he died in 1872. During the greater part of this period he kept a journal which recorded his religious impressions, and it is chiefly to this phase of his character that the book is devoted. He founded the Natural History Society of Williams College. He erected, almost wholly at his own expense, the first astronomical observatory in this country. Graduated from Williams College in 1826, he became a tutor in 1827, with the ultimate design of becoming a missionary. In 1829 he was chosen Professor of Mathematics and Natural History, and later his professorship was enlarged to include Astronomy, and he filled the chair with honor, dignity and usefulness for more than forty years. During all this period he was virtually a Minister of the Gospel.

In the account of his early education there is a frightful story of his having been whipped into submission by his mother, by repeated punishment, before he was three years of age; and the author condones this crime against common sense and the true theory of Christianity by saying that he was never after disobedient, but grew up an affectionate and dutiful son. Such experiments are dangerous, and fear is not the loadstone to attract affection; nor is it in accordance with the Master's teaching.

Professor Hopkins organized the first Natural History Expedition in this country in 1835

The field was Nova Scotia. He carried some of his students with him. An account of it may be found in the *American Traveler*, November 13, *et seq.*, of that year.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY FOR THE YEAR 1878, and the transactions at the Annual Meeting. January, 1879. No. V. 8vo, pp. 160. Published by the Society, Worcester, 1879.

The general reader will find little of interest in this number, which is mostly taken up with the transactions of the Society. There is one paper on the lumber business of Worcester; another on the Putnam riot of October 30, 1754, when an attempt was made to execute the fugitive slave law in Worcester. In addition the most valuable matter will be found in the names and inscriptions found in the burial ground on Mechanic Street, Worcester. No. IV. of the Society's proceedings gave the inscriptions from the old burial grounds in this town.

THE MAINE GENEALOGIST AND BIOGRAPHER. A Quarterly Journal. WM. B. LAPHAM, Editor. June, 1878. 8vo. SPRAGUE, OWEN & NASH, Augusta, Maine, 1878.

In our notice of this periodical (II., 384) we expressed regret at the announcement made by the editor that it was to be suspended. We are glad to see another number, and trust that with the reviving spirit and prosperity of the country, it may be resumed and regularly continued. Maine should do its duty in the preservation of its records. The number before us contains a genealogical sketch of the descendants of Edward Chapman, who was a grantee of Ipswich, Mass., in 1644. This completes Vol. III. of the series.

THE SECRET OF THE ANDES. A Romance. By F. HASSAUREK. 8vo, pp. 468. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1879.

In six books, entitled respectively *Dreams, Realities, The Revolution, The Reaction, The Value of Life, and The Worthlessness of Life*, the reader is carried through a lengthy fiction, which opens at the City of Quito, in the Vice royalty of Peru, in the spring of 1592, with a popular uprising against the home government, who were meditating a breach of faith against the distant province. The story is too intricate to allow of even the briefest analysis in the limits our space affords to works of other than historical value.



A TRUE REPUBLIC. BY ALBERT STICKNEY. 16mo, pp. 271. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1879.

This book is written with a purpose. This purpose is declared to be the suggestion of a plan to free our government from the dominion of party. Party, Mr. Stickney claims, holds our public men in chains. Party controls the selection of our public servants; party controls their actions. Mr. Stickney believes that all this can be changed; that there is a remedy, and that if found it will be used. He expresses an unbounded faith in the honesty and sound sense of the people of the United States. "They made this Government," he says, "because they thought wise to make it; they will change the Government if ever they think wise to change it"—and he suggests the change.

For his manly expression of belief in the moral and political rectitude of the American people we thank him. When at a great public dinner a public man like the Rev. Dr. Bellows can state that an Englishman of influence and rank said to him that in his travels through the United States he had scarcely met a citizen of property and social standing—one of the class which may be, even with us, called aristocratic—who did not express his distrust of the permanence of American institutions, it is high time that one who has faith in our Republic should declare it. To the honor of Dr. Bellows be it added that he only mentioned to condemn, in scathing words, this miserable sentiment.

But Mr. Stickney is in error in the statement that the American people made their Government. They inherited sundry governments, varying in form if not in nature. They harmonized and improved those governments, as far as was practicable. After the failure of the Confederation as a form of government adequate to direct and protect the States, a more perfect Union—in other words a nation—was formed. Are parties necessary? The experience of nations gives an affirmative answer. Parties have their errors, but they have their advantages as well. The existence of free parties in a free republic gives assurance of watchfulness. Rivalry and ambition, two of the strongest motive powers in the human mind, are a consequence of parties. That our system is perfect cannot be assumed. Nothing human is perfect. Nothing fixed, unchangeable can ever be devised to meet the exigencies of changing circumstances. The Constitution of the United States affords sufficient guarantees against sudden change, but provides for change as occasion demands; but only when a certain majority of the people demand such change, and under due delay.

Civil reform, in the opinion of Mr. Stickney, has failed, and against this no cavil can justly be

made. But so long as the expenses of party are to be borne by individuals is true reform possible? How can this be altered? *Hic labor hoc opus est.* Shall the nation, or State, or city assume the necessary election expenditures? and if so, for how many parties? Until this be solved, it cannot be expected that those who pay the piper shall not lead the dance.

In his chapter entitled "A True Republic," we find no answer to this question, which lies at the base of the election system and civil reform. There is natural complaint that our ablest men have not control of our government. But experience has shown that the tendency of ability is towards autocracy, and the American people have shown strong common sense in preferring men who are not so superior to their fellows as to endanger the faithful execution of their will. What administrations have been the most complete failures in our history? Those of Tyler and Johnson, who were both faithless to their party. That of Mr. Hayes is not amenable to this censure. He brought in and represents a new regime, the wish of the majority of his own party—the policy of conciliation. That policy is on trial, not the principles of the party which elected him, which were definitely settled in the result of the civil war.

WHITE AND BLACK: THE OUTCOME OF A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. By Sir. GEORGE CAMPBELL, M. P. 8vo, pp. 420. R. WORTHINGTON. New York, 1879.

Sir George Campbell is a keen observer and a candid judge. He sees with his own eyes, is fair and upright and does his own thinking; and, what is more rare, does not forget while noticing some of the disagreeable phases of American life and character, that Great Britain is very far from perfect. He alludes to the kindly feeling which Americans have for the English, and ascribes much of the misunderstanding between the two countries to the ignorance and prejudice of his own countrymen. In this he is certainly right, but we think he is mistaken in the opinion that the hospitality shown to the English is exceptional. The Americans are an hospitable race, but we do not believe they care one jot more for an Englishman than they do for a member of any of the other Northern nations—perhaps less, since the abuse showered upon the country by snobs of the Dickens and Trollope order, and the pictures of English life and manners which Emerson and Hawthorne have held up for our examination. The truth is that Americans are quite indifferent to British opinions.

First as to the characteristics of the American people. Sir George found us in a marked degree British and not foreign; that our language

is English—a little better than any used in any country of England. This is mildly stated, as every one who has traveled in England knows. He regrets our lack of Scotch cooking—well, there is no disputing about tastes. He admires our steamboat travel, which is, as he says, "the most comfortable institution in the way of traveling" in the world. The true greatness of America he ascribes to our land system and the provisions of the homestead law, and much to the free education which has prevailed in the North for two or three generations. He notices the rapid progress in our manufactures, and sees a competition threatening to British supremacy in the markets of the world. He observes the temperance of the people as compared with his own. He might have drawn the contrast stronger, and shown the general abstinence of women, and noticed that one of the most disgusting sights in English towns is the presence of women in the ginshops. He was struck by the entire elimination of religion from politics, and the absence of ill-blood because of difference of opinion, and notices, in passing, the happy effect of the disestablishment of the English Church in Canada upon the social relations of the people of the Dominion. He acquits us from the charge of want of interest in politics, comparing us favorably with his own people in this regard also. He recognizes the superior ability of our much abused Congressmen to the Members of Parliament, and pays just tribute to the hard work they perform in their line of duty. He justly condemns the political character of subordinate civil appointments. He finds the government of our cities about on a par with that in England, and we may say that all nations may look to France for a lesson in municipal government. Only there is the public good paramount to private interests. On the currency question he has moderate views. He recognizes that there are two sides to the silver question, and is not of opinion that a return to silver would be a great hardship to creditors. As a country for emigrants he wisely says that America is an excellent place for those who are willing to work with their hands, and work hard, but that the educated Englishman stands a poor chance in competition with his American cousin in any of the professions. The farmer who cultivates 500 to 1000 acres he advises to stay at home. But to young laborers he gives the advice to go. This "bird's-eye view of the United States," as Sir George entitles these chapters, closes with a warning to England to "cultivate friendship, good-will and amity with the people of the United States," that the hour may never strike when a hundred Alabamas may avenge the wrong done to America by the misconduct of the British ministry.

The second part of this admirable volume contains a paper on the management of colored

racess which originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*. It was to study the relations of the black and white that the author visited this country. He observes the rapid improvement of the blacks in education and political knowledge, notes with some surprise the little strain in the industrial relations of the two races, considers the blacks to be good laborers and very tolerable cultivators, and that "all that is now wanted to make the negro a fixed and conservative element in American society is to give him encouragement, and facilities for making himself, by his own exertions, a small landowner." He severely condemns the unequal distribution of justice; he considers the work of black legislatures as not at all below the average of American State legislation. He exposes the organized election frauds, which are committed in open day, and saw himself irregularities which would have vitiated the election before an election judge in England a hundred times over. The blacks, as a rule, he found to be republican. Finally, he notices the caste separation, which is becoming more pronounced than ever. Looking to India, however, his view of the future is extremely sanguine, and he firmly believes in a final adjustment of the black difficulty and the retention in our population of a settled, industrious and progressive population. We cannot share this view, and believe that the final settlement of this question will be by a general emigration of the black population to the West India islands, when slavery shall be wholly abolished and they shall have fallen under the protection of the United States.

The latter half of the book contains some of the contents of the writer's journal, and notes his observations in all the States and cities which he visited.

HISTORY OF PRINCETON AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. Illustrated with steel and wood engravings. By JOHN FRELINGHUYSEN HEGEMAN. Second edition. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 359—449. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

Princeton is an ancient and historic place. It is also a thoroughly American and representative town. The very mention of the name is suggestive not only of the infancy of the Nation in the smoke of battle which drifted back and forth over her fields, but of the best growth of its intellectual and moral strength in the famous University which still clings to the stern old faith which gave initial tone to our national character. The origin of the name of Princeton is involved in obscurity. The suggestion that it was called after one Henry Prince, of Piscataway, an early purchaser of land in the neighborhood, has been discarded by its originators and is scouted by

Mr. Hegeman. The general belief of its citizens that it was given in honor of William, Prince of Orange, who was held in special honor in this section of the country as the defender of the Protestant faith, is treated with more respect, but the probabilities seem to be that it is traceable to the general respect for royalty which showed itself in the naming of Kingston and Queenston—adjoining places. It seems to have been first so designated about 1724.

The date of the first settlement here is also lost in doubt. There is a short description of the country in which it is situated while yet a wilderness and the home of Indian tribes, written by William Edmundson, an English Minister of the Friends, in 1675. At this time the only road laid out by Europeans within the limits of New Jersey, was that by which the Dutch at New Amsterdam communicated with the settlements on the Delaware.

The starting point in what may be properly termed the history of the town was the assumption by William Penn, in 1693, of a large tract of land in this neighborhood as his share of the Proprietary holding. Through his influence a few Quaker families, disturbed or persecuted in the Eastern and Middle States, settled here. From them the town has derived much of its sedate character and high moral influence. Among the earliest families were those of Clarke, Olden, Worth and Homer. Stockton and Clarke were the largest land holders. Richard Stockton, the first of this distinguished stock in Princeton, bought from Penn fifty-five hundred acres of land on the north side of Stony Brook.

The period from 1750 to 1775 was in New Jersey as in the other colonies a period of marked growth; not in wealth, because a period of war and political agitation, but of intellectual development. History is full of evidence of the vigorous vitality which finally broke the bonds of dependence in 1775. Princeton was the scene of the two most important events in that of New Jersey. In 1756 the college of New Jersey with its President and seventy students took possession of the college building, which had been liberally built at the expense of the citizens of the town. The author exclaims with just pride, "Happy day for Princeton!" The other event, of not less significance, was the planting here also at the same period of the Presbyterian Church. Presbyterianism was already in the ascendant, and the mutual influence of college and church upon one another secured and has since maintained, the controlling influence of the covenant faith in the social and political circles of the State, and extended it as from a radiating centre to every State, territory and town in the entire land.

The revolutionary history of Princeton is a bright page in her annals. Here a Provincial Congress was held in 1775, in the College

Library. The first Legislature of the State met in 1776, when Richard Stockton and William Livingston divided suffrages for Governor on a tie vote, and Livingston was thereupon chosen. Here also it held its second session in the following year. The battle of Princeton, or the fight at Stony Brook, at sunrise on the 3d January, 1777, is known in the annals of the war. In 1783 the United States Congress, threatened by the unpaid, discontented soldiery at Philadelphia, withdrew to Princeton, where they were received with hearty welcome. A house was provided at Rocky Hill, a few miles distant, since famous as the spot where Washington wrote his famous parting address and farewell orders to the armies. Mr. Hegeman closes his first volume with the record of the town during the late civil war, and a series of short biographical sketches of eminent citizens.

The second volume is principally devoted to local history, in which the antiquary will find a delightful sketch of the old "town and taverns," their hosts and guests, and to a series of chapters on the educational and religious institutions of the university town. One upon the College gives concise accounts of its several administrations, illustrated by five portraits, on steel, of its Presidents. Our readers will remember President Maclean's complete History of the College of New Jersey, of which a notice was given in this Magazine (I., 702).

A POPULAR TREATISE ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION. Written from a southern point of view. By ROBERT W. HUGHES. 12mo, pp. 213. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York, 1879.

It is a relief in the flood of what we hold to be unsound views and obstinate heresies concerning the now all important question, of what, for the next generation, the circulating medium of the country shall consist, and the proportion of paper currency and gold and silver, to have such an earnest, well-posed argument as this from one whose office and record give him the authority and respect of the southern community.

We are of those who hold the view that no expedients can, for a great length of time, sustain the present amount of paper currency at a par with coin, and that now is the favorable moment to make the conversion of a very considerable amount of paper and draw the precious metals into circulation. But while we have no sympathy with those who would compel us to take silver at a fraction less than its real value, and consider that a proper place may be made for it as subsidiary coinage by a withdrawal of all notes under five dollars, and of all gold pieces under two dollars and a half, which would bring into

circulation as much silver as could conveniently be carried at present, we do not believe that it should be made a legal tender for any sums over five dollars. The experience of France has demonstrated that silver can be used to advantage in monetary circulation, while the experience of Italy, under the Latin convention, shows that debasement of the coinage can only result in injury and loss. But the warmest advocates of a bi-metallic coinage, such as Cernuschi and Leon Say, protest against the recent silver legislation of the United States.

In an extremely clear manner Mr. Hughes demonstrates the folly of the idea that paper can have any intrinsic value, or any other than representative value. He shows with equal clearness the danger of a redundant paper currency. Of the forms of issuing paper currency he strongly prefers the national bank system to the old State bank system; and he opposes a government or greenback issue. At the same time he holds "that nothing can therefore be more important to a country than to make the aggregate amount of circulating money as unchanging as possible." This is subject to criticism. With abundant gold in circulation such danger would hardly occur. The best authorities consider that it is to her large coin basis that France owes her prosperity, and that it is her comparatively small gold basis that brings the periodic variations in England.

Let us take in every greenback and permit gold and silver on just terms to replace them in our circulation. We will then have come to the time to decide whether the national bank circulation shall be permitted to exist, or a new government issue, limited in extent and not to exceed the gold in circulation, shall take its place. But we shall be only safe, absolutely secure, when the precious metals in circulation shall largely exceed the amount of paper currency afloat.

THE POLITICAL REGISTER AND CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY: a Statistical Record of the Federal Officials, Legislative, Executive and Judicial, of the United States of America, 1776-1878. Compiled by BEN. PERLEY POORE, Clerk of Printing Records, United States Senate. Royal 8vo, pp. 716. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & COMPANY. Boston, 1878.

The general favor accorded to the official "Congressional Directory," edited by the precise statistician whose name gives authority to this massive volume, prompted the preparation of this complete compendium of information concerning the persons who have composed the Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches of the Federal Government, from its inception in 1776 to the year 1878. It is the result of six years of

assiduous labor, carefully condensed into a volume of reasonable dimensions; and here testimony may be properly borne to the advantages of a single volume closely printed in double columns, and as far as possible either chronologically or alphabetically arranged, over the cumbersome many volume edition. Such as this are invaluable for library reference, and indispensable to public institutions.

The mass of subject matter is divided into four parts. I. A series of registers of the different sessions of Congress, with a list of Senators, Representatives and Delegates. II. A record of the successive administrations, from the organization of the Federal Government. III. A similar exhibit of the Supreme Court of the United States. IV. Statistical sketches of the Delegates to the Continental Congress, and of the Senators, Representatives and Delegates elected or appointed to the forty-five successive Congresses under the Federal constitution. These sketches are concise and unpretending, and contain the statistical information required without comment or surplusage. The work deserves a more extended notice, but it is impossible to give an idea of such an amount of material by selection.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION:

Documents Relative to its Origin and History. Edited by WILLIAM J. RHEES. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 328. 8vo, pp. 1,013. Published by THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. Washington, 1879.

The Smithsonian is not a Government institution, as is often supposed, but a private foundation, originating entirely in the bequest of an individual. Its management is, however, entrusted to the Congress of the United States, and the national collections in natural history being under its charge, it is compelled annually to seek an appropriation for their preservation and exhibition, a necessity which it is hoped may be ere long avoided by some permanent foundation to meet this particular charge. The noble bequest of James Smithson found a fortunate administrator in the late lamented Henry, the first secretary of the institution, and is not less fortunate in its transmission to the care of his distinguished successor, Mr. Spencer F. Baird.

In this collection, which is valuable as a record chiefly, are given the will of Smithson and the correspondence resulting from it, a reprint from the Congressional Globe; a record of all the legislation in Congress relating to it, and numerous reports, memorials and opinions as to its disposition of the fund. The results of the management will serve as an example to similar institutions.

LIBRARY NOTES. BY A. P. RUSSELL. New edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, pp. 402. (The Riverside Press.) HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

Under this modest title the reader will find the most charming volume of table-talk which has appeared in many years. To the student it is fascinating in its reminders of the quaint and apposite sayings of a thousand writers, and to the general reader it is a mine of suggestion for thought. Take it up at any time or at any place and it will only be put aside with regret. Its arrangement is certainly ingenious, and shows rare taste and judgment. Under thirteen separate headings, as many chapters group about all that has been written by men of note that has close bearing upon the topics treated. There are Insufficiency, Extremes, Disguises, Rewards, Limits, Incongruity, Mutations, Paradoxes, Contrasts, Types, Conduct, Religion. The manner in which the innumerable quotations are strung together, *currente calamo*, is a marvel of masterly word-handling in its infinite variety; and the equality which is maintained in the selection show a scholarship vast and recondite, and a familiarity with literature in its whole range. It is a volume to have for ever at the elbow, and of which no one can weary. Not Selden nor Hazlett are more learned and graceful; not Boswell more chatty and entertaining.

AMERICAN ALMANAC AND TREASURY OF FACTS, STATISTICAL, FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL, FOR THE YEAR 1879. Edited by AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD, Librarian of Congress. pp. 420, 12mo. THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, New York, 1879.

The appearance of the first of this excellent series, the annual for 1878, was received with universal welcome from the large class of persons whose daily work requires the use of thorough, reliable and fresh statistics. The position which the compiler fills in the National library, which the copyright laws have made the converging point of all American publications, gives him rare facilities for the making of the best attainable work of this character. Of his judgment in selection and skill in arrangement we had ample evidence in the last volume, to which we invited the attention of our readers.

In addition to the usual reference matter there are here given some notable papers; on the census; the history and principles of taxation; the climates of the United States; the budgets of nations, etc., which well deserve perusal. The value of such annuals is in their permanency and strict adherency to a well digested method of

presentation of facts. We sincerely trust that this may take a permanent place in our statistical literature.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF M^{DE}ME.

BONAPARTE. By EUGENE L. DIDIER. With a Portrait from the Studies by Gilbert Stuart. 16mo, pp. 276. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York, 1879.

The career of this remarkable woman, whose name was familiar to two continents, and whose letters, now published, entitle her to rank among the most celebrated of her sex in modern times, covered a period of nearly a century. She was born in Baltimore, in 1785, four years before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States and the first term of Washington as President. She died in 1879, having completed her ninety-fourth year. The entire panorama of modern society, from its initial scene of the French Revolution to the definitive establishment of the French Republic is here displayed. During the period of her life Monarchies, empires and republics rose and fell and crumbled to ashes, to rise and fall and crumble again. Not only did she witness, but she was an actor in some of the most important events of the stormy period. The attempt of Napoleon to obtain the dissolution of her marriage by the Pope was the cause of a quarrel which weighed heavily in the balance of Imperial destiny. The story of her marriage to Jerome, her desertion by her weak and ambitious husband, are familiar; and there are those yet living who remember the peerless beauty which captivated the young brother of the Regulator of Europe, and for a time tempted him to give up "all for love." But not until now has the world been enabled to form a true estimate of the tenacious vigor of the moral and mental nature of the American girl who maintained her independence and controlled her destiny independent of advice or counsel of family or friends. This the letters here gathered perfectly present. Mr. Didier well sums up her character in the closing words of his preface when he describes her as the Baltimore girl, married at eighteen and deserted at twenty, "who possessed the *savoir vivre* of Chesterfield, the cold cynicism of Rochefoucauld and the practical economy of Franklin." To this may be added that to the beauty, fascination and virtue of a Recamier she united the conversation of a du Deffaud and the intellect of a de Staël.

Her character was not loveable, but as a psychological study of extreme interest. The tenacity with which she pursued her ambitious schemes to the sacrifice of all personal feeling is extraordinary.

THE COUNT AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN.

Translated from the French of TH. BOREL. 16mo, pp. 156. ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., Broadway, New York.

No American can forget the thrill of excitement which the appearance of "Uprising of a Great People" created in this country. To the cause of the Union it was worth an army with banners and millions of money. Its righteous anger, its invincible logic, its firm belief in northern charity and northern justice electrified two continents; and so at the close, his "America before Europe" taught moderation and pardon, equality and forgetfulness to both sections.

Gasparin was born in 1810, at Orange, Vaucluse, and belonged to the Corsican family of that name. His father is said to have been one of the most distinguished statesmen France has ever produced. He was successively Prefect, Peer of France, Minister of the Interior and Member of the Academy of Sciences. His native city of Orange erected a statue to him in 1864.

The son was worthy of the sire. His first public service was a confidential mission from the Constitutional Government in 1833. His first appearance as a publicist was as the author of a pamphlet entitled, "Ought France to retain Algiers?" In 1836 he was appointed Chief of the Cabinet of the Ministers of the Interior, and in 1837 entered the Council of State as Master of Requests. In 1842 he was elected Deputy for Corsica for the Chamber of Deputies. In 1846 he espoused liberal principles, and was a candidate for the re-election by the people of Paris, but was not chosen. In 1848, on the overthrow of Louis Philippe, he resigned his post and visited Palestine. What he was as a writer is well known; as an orator his biographer tells us he was winning, impassioned, magnetic. Of his private character his brother-in-law, M. Boissier, said, that in the thirty years he had known him, he had never discovered a flaw in it. He died at Valleyres, near Geneva, in 1871. Be his name forever honored.

A HISTORY OF OLD BRAINTREE AND QUINCY, WITH A SKETCH OF RANDOLPH AND HOLBROOK. By WILLIAM S. PATTEE. 8vo, pp. 660. GREER & PRESCOTT. Quincy, 1879.

The venerable name of Braintree needs no other lustre than its own. It recalls the early days of Puritan settlement, and was founded by emigrants from Devon, Lincolnshire and Essex, who brought with them the best manners and the purest speech of England. Her religious beginnings also were liberal, in contrast with the closer dogmatism of her neighbors. She played an honorable part in colonial history, and was first to

establish many branches of industry. Here was established an iron manufactory in 1643, and her citizens were engaged in the making of glass and spermaceti, in salt works and stocking weaving. The first and largest merchant ship for the East Indies was constructed within her limits, the first railroad in the United States was laid down within the village, the first stone meeting house was constructed here, and of her granite, if we mistake not, the famous massive pillars of the New York Merchants' Exchange, now the New York Custom House, were made.

All this is honor enough, but to those of English speech the old precinct is better known, under its more modern name of Quincy, as the home of the historic families of Adams and Quincy, who have alike illustrated our literature, our politics and our history.

The volume has been compiled by topics, rather than in a chronological order, which the author considers as a better arrangement for a local town history. It contains a vast amount of information on early New England. There is a copious and excellent index.

READINGS FROM ENGLISH HISTORY.

Selected and edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

Three parts in one volume. 12mo, pp. 152—152—140. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1879.

Few men have secured the ear of the English reading public with the rapidity, or held it with the security that fell to the lot of the able Oxford professor, who, in a single work under the modest title of a Short History of the English People, took the first rank among English historians and English writers. He is as picturesque as Macaulay, while a more just observer and a safer guide.

In the admirable selection before us, taken from a wide range of authors, in which Bancroft, Motley and Kirk well represent the right of America to be considered wherever English history is treated of, Mr. Green shows that, while he may fairly challenge competition for brilliancy and power with any, he has a true estimate of the work of all.

It were tedious to name all the authors from whose brightest pages he has culled his narrative; in the first part from Gibbon's story of the English Conquest of Britain to Miss Songes' picture of the battle of Crécy; in the second part, from his own account of the Peasant Rising to Guizot's Chapter on the Death of Cromwell; in the third, from Macaulay's Restoration to W. H. Russell's Balaklava. These very titles show the practical and eminently catholic character of the selections. In its variety and charm the volume reminds one of a well-stored picture gallery, representing every period of English history and every style of descriptive art.



MEMOIR OF JOHN WINGATE THORNTON. WITH A LIST OF HIS PUBLICATIONS. By THOMAS C. AMORY. 8vo, pp. 20. Printed for private distribution. Boston, 1879.

In these pages Mr. Amory gives a pleasing sketch, full of personal reminiscence of this well-known historical student. His literary life is chiefly dwelt upon. His address in 1870, before the New England Historic and Genealogic Society, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the compact, in the cabin of the Mayflower, afterwards expanded into one hundred and more pages, Mr. Amory considers the ablest, as it was the most elaborate of his productions. A list of his works is appended from Allibone's Dictionary of Authors.

MEMORIALS OF THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF THE BERMUDAS OR SOMER'S ISLAND, 1511-1687. Compiled from the Colonial Records and other original Sources. By Lieut.-General Sir J. H. LEFROY. Vol. II., 1650-1687, with map and fac-simile of a Bermuda manuscript. 8vo, pp. 760. LONGMAN, GREEN & Co. London, 1879.

In the December number of the Magazine for 1877 (I., 776) we noticed the admirable contribution to the in-ular history of the Atlantic coast by this distinguished gentleman and accomplished scholar, in a first volume of memorials. The materials supplied by the colony for its continuance have been largely supplemented in this volume by documents found in the Public Record Office in London.

The reign of Charles II. was characterized in Bermuda by a great social deterioration in morals, education and public spirit, and there appear to have been at that period a rudeness, violence and disorder in the community, which faithfully reflects the age of piracy and buccaneering in the West Indies, of plots and factions in the mother country.

One of the strangest episodes in the religious struggles of the seventeenth century is the attempt to found a settlement in the island of Cigatio in 1646. This name was given to it by Columbus, but was changed by the adventurers into Eleutheria, to signify the pure religious liberty to be there established, which was to exceed that of Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth. It will be remembered that Eleutheria was the Grecian festival in honor of Jupiter Eleuthenies, the asserter of liberty. In the new Eleutheria conscience was to be free.

A large part of the volume is taken up with the record of proceedings against the Quakers, a sect which has now entirely disappeared from Bermuda. The Legislature of the island has

shown an enlightened liberality in providing for the publication of these expensive, but extremely valuable volumes, in a style worthy of the editor and of themselves. The Major-General of the last volume appears as Lieut.-General upon this. We congratulate him on his new honors.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS TO THE PRESENT TIME. Being a complete survey of American Industries, embracing Agriculture and Horticulture, etc., etc.; together with a description of Canadian Industries. In seven books, copiously illustrated with about three hundred engravings by the most eminent artists. By ALBERT S. BOLLES. 8vo, pp. 936. THE HENRY BILL PUBLISHING COMPANY. Norwich, Conn., 1879.

The time for the publication of a comprehensive view of the industrial resources of the United States is well chosen. Though not such by name, it is in reality a most important addition to the Centennial history of the country; and it could not have fallen to more competent hands. The materials are gathered from the best sources, and presented in a striking manner in monographic subdivisions, the titles to which well indicate the scope and purpose of the general inquiry. Of the seven books, the first is upon Agriculture and Horticulture; the second, on Manufactures; the third, Shipping and Railroads; the fourth, Mines, Mining and Oil; the fifth, Banking, Insurance and Commerce; the sixth, Trade Unions and Eight Hour Movement; the seventh, the Industries of Canada.

In his introduction the author pays a handsome and well-deserved tribute to the noble collections of the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library and the Astor Library in New York, without which, as he justly says, such a work as his could not possibly have been executed.

Each book opens with a general view on the subject treated, and takes up in detail the history of the development of each industry in this country from its beginnings, and follows it to its latest triumphs; and each is thorough. The statistical tables are well selected; the illustrations adapted to the text.

In our August number (III., 526) attention was called to the admirable paper, by the same author, on the Financial Administration of Robert Morris, a chapter from a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States," the appearance of which is awaited with interest by all who concern themselves in the vital question of American finance, now a prominent topic of inquiry.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

APRIL 1880

No. 4

THE PAWNEE INDIANS

THEIR HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY

THE Pawnee family, though some of its branches have long been known, is perhaps in history and language one of the least understood of the important tribes of the West. In both respects it seems to constitute a distinct group. During recent years its extreme northern and southern branches have evinced a tendency to blend with surrounding stocks; but the central branch, constituting the Pawnee proper, maintains still in its advanced decadence a bold line of demarcation between itself and all adjacent tribes.

§ 2. The members of the family are: the Pawnees, the Arikaras, the Caddos, the Huecos or Wacos, the Keechies, the Tawaconies, and the Pawnee Picts or Wichitas. The last five may be designated as the Southern or Red River branches.

At the date of the Louisiana purchase the Caddos were living about forty miles northwest of where Shreveport now stands. Five years earlier their residence was upon Clear Lake, in what is now Caddo Parish. This spot they claimed was the place of their nativity, and their residence from time immemorial. There they had long been known to the French traders who had a factory among them. Soon after the annexation of Texas they settled upon a reserve provided for them by the Government on the Brazos River, just below Fort Belknap. It would seem that their migration from Louisiana, for whatever cause undertaken, must have been slowly accomplished, for they are reported to have tarried upon one of the tributaries of the Sabine River sufficiently long to leave it the name of Caddo Fork. They have a tradition that they are the parent stock, from which all the southern branches have sprung, and to some extent this claim has been recognized.

The earliest ascertainable home of the Huecos seems to have been upon the upper Brazos River. The land just mentioned as a reserve



was part of their territory. From kinship and proximity, they were always specially intimate with the Wichitas. About 1830 a large portion of the band took up their residence with the Wichitas north of the Red River, and continued there for more than twenty years. From this long continued intimacy they contracted much of the roving character of the Wichitas. Of the early history of the Keechies and Tawaconies very little is known. The home of the latter, prior to their settling upon the Fort Belknap reserve, was upon the upper Leon River. The earliest known residence of the Keechies was upon the Trinity and upper Sabine Rivers. So far as I have been able to learn, they were never induced to settle upon the reserve with the forementioned bands, but preferred an irresponsible life, and gradually wandered away across the Red River, and as early as 1850 were living upon the Canadian River, near Choteau's Landing.

The remaining band, the Wichitas, after their return from the north, occupied territory upon both sides of the Red River. Their first settlement was near the eastern extremity of the Wichita Mountains; Long. 99° 20', Lat. 34° 50'. Before 1805 they had for some reason moved southeast to the Red River. In 1850 they were upon the headwaters of Rush Creek, a tributary of the False Washita. During much of the time they are reputed to have lived in close intimacy with the Comanches. At all events they seem to have imbibed a marked fondness for the unsettled, roaming life of the latter. It is only very recently that they have been induced to adopt a more regular life, and then probably only because compelled by destitution. In personal appearance they are inferior. They are excellent horsemen, and have long been noted as inveterate marauders, especially given to horse-stealing.

In 1804 the relative numbers of these bands were estimated to be: The Caddos, 100 warriors; the Huecos, 80; the Keechies, 60; the Tawaconies, 200; the Wichitas, 400. Just before that date the Caddos, and probably some of the others, had suffered severely from the small-pox. In 1820 they were estimated as follows: the Caddos, 300 warriors; the Huecos, 300; the Keechies, 200; the Tawaconies, 150; the Wichitas, 300. They were then living in a sort of tribal confederacy. At the head of this confederacy were the Caddos, whose first chief held a commission as colonel in the Spanish army.' During the continuance of this alliance, which was probably brief, the Wichitas are said to have removed to the vicinity of the Brazos River, and lived with or near the Huecos. It was no doubt on the return of the Wichitas to their old home beyond the Red River that the part of the Huecos already

mentioned withdrew from their own band and accompanied them.

While living upon the Brazos Reserve the Caddos, Huecos and Tawaconies are said to have been intelligent, peaceable, quiet, industrious and disposed to adopt many of the usages of civilized life. Unfortunately, however, a feud was engendered between them and certain of the more lawless white settlers of the vicinity, which resulted toward the close of 1858 in the murder of several unoffending Indians by the latter. The mutual distrust and uneasiness resulting from this wanton act caused the Indians to begin to move in straggling parties across the Red River into the Choctaw country, where a remnant of the Caddos was already residing. The five bands are now all gathered upon a reserve secured for them in the Indian Territory by the Government. Their numbers by the census of 1876 were: the Caddos (including about 100 incorporated Delawares and Iowas), 580; the Huecos, 70; the Keechies, 85; the Tawaconies, 100; the Wichitas, 215. In many respects, their method of building lodges, their equestrianism and certain social and tribal usages they quite closely resemble the Pawnees. Their connection however with the Pawnee family, not till recently if ever mentioned, is mainly a matter of vague conjecture. I find one record of the Caddos early in this century speaking of the Pawnees as friends (if indeed this does not refer to the Wichitas, *i. e.*, Pawnee Picts), but no allusion is made to any kinship. Gallatin in his Essay (1835) classes them as entirely distinct. Catlin, who visited the Wichitas in 1833, is very emphatic in denying any relationship between them and the Pawnees, claiming that in stock, language and customs they are altogether different. Gallatin mentions them as presumed, from similarity of name (Pawnee Picts), to be related to the Pawnees. On the other hand, the Wichitas and Pawnees, ever since the acquisition of their territory by the United States, have uniformly asserted their kinship, and maintained constant intercourse. Professor Turner, in volume III. of the Pacific Railroad Explorations (1853), gives brief vocabularies of the Hueco and Keechie as probably of Pawnee stock. Of the Caddo he gives only a few words, noting some close resemblances to the Pawnee, but expressing no opinion as to any relationship. In the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876 the fact of any kinship between any of the five bands and the Pawnees is utterly ignored, and the assertion is even hazarded that the Southern branches themselves belong to three distinct stocks—the Caddos speaking one language, the Huecos, the Tawaconies and the Wichitas another, and the Keechies a third. This is certainly a

late and unwarranted contradiction of a fact that has been recognized for nearly a century.

§ 3. Of the one northern branch, the Arikaras, our information is much more satisfying. The reason of their separation from the Pawnees is not certainly known. There has, however, been an old tradition among the Pawnees that they drove them from the once common settlement on the Platte River. The exact date of the movement of the Arikaras northward from this region is also unknown; but we may safely conclude it to have been quite ancient from the fact that their migration up the Missouri River must have been before the occupying of the country along that stream by the powerful Dakota tribe one hundred and fifty years ago. This view is sustained by the remains of various villages built by them at different stages of their progress. The lower of these present the appearance of considerable antiquity. Lewis and Clarke, in 1804, found the Arikaras about Lat. 45° above the mouth of the Cheyenne River. Twenty years before they were reported to have been living below the Cheyenne on the Missouri. From this latter place they had moved up to the Mandans, with whom for a time they lived in alliance; but later had withdrawn to where Lewis and Clarke found them. At that time they were very favorably disposed towards the United States, and remained so for some years. In 1820 they had become bitterly hostile. This radical change has usually been attributed to the intrigues of the Northwest Fur Company, which through its factors was making strenuous effort to divert the traffic of this region from the Missouri Fur Company. In 1823 the Arikaras made an attack upon some boats of the latter company, killed thirteen men and wounded others. In consequence of this act an expedition under Colonel Leavenworth, aided by the company and by 600 friendly Dakotas, was sent from Council Bluffs, Iowa, against them. In August of that year, after a desultory action at their lower village, they were induced to sue for peace. Nine years after Catlin, while ascending the Missouri, found them living at the mouth of the Cannonball River, still so hostile that individual intercourse could not safely be had with them. In 1833 they made a visit in a body to the Pawnees on the Platte, and continued there with the *Ski-di* band two years. To all appearance their intention was to take up their permanent abode with their old-time associates, at least so it was generally understood. But some of their usages and traits, especially their hostility to the whites, proved so undesirable to their kinsmen that they were finally sent away. On receiving this dismissal they returned to their northern home, where they have since remained. They are now upon a reserve with the

Mandans and Minnetarees near Fort Berthold, Dakota. Their present number is about 700.

Like the Pawnees they regard the Dakotas as their natural foes, and wars with them have been ceaseless. Scarcely any other evidence can be needed of their valor than the fact of their having sustained the unequal struggle for so many generations. Their visit to the Pawnees, already noticed, is explained by some on the ground that they were dispossessed and expelled by the Dakotas; but this is incorrect. The real cause of their attempted migration was in some degree the cessation of traffic with them in consequence of repeated aggressions by them upon the traders. But to this should be added their alleged reason: The partial or entire failure of their crops for several years. To a tribe as agricultural as they seem to have always been this was no trifling casualty. In the late troubles with the Dakotas they furnished the Government with a considerable number of scouts, who are reported to have done excellent service.

Of all the branches thus far mentioned the Arikaras most nearly resemble the Pawnees. In personal appearance, in tribal organization and government, in many of their social usages, and in language they are unmistakably Pawnees. The latter claim that since their separation the Arikaras have degenerated, and with some reason, for in many particulars they are decidedly inferior. Lewis and Clarke state that their women were remarkably handsome. This fact was also noted by one who was with them during their last sojourn with the Pawnees; and in this excellence the tribe took great pride. Dr. Hayden, however, in his *Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley*, asserts that the Arikara women now show no traces of such superiority.

§4. Of the central branch, the Pawnee proper, the special subject of this monogram, our sketch will be more extended. The name Pawnee is most probably derived from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn; and seems to have been once used by the Pawnees themselves to designate their peculiar scalp-lock. From the fact that this was the most noticeable feature in their costume, the name came naturally to be the denominative term of the tribe. The word in this use once probably embraced the Wichitas (*i. e.*, Pawnee Picts) and the Arikaras. The latter is evidenced by the name *Pa-da'-ni*, applied by the Dakotas to the Arikaras. *Pa-da'-ni* is not a Dakota word, but simply their pronunciation of *Pa'-ni* (it will be observed that throughout this paper I use the common, but evidently incorrect form, *Pawnee*), and would scarcely have been applied by them to the Arikaras had not the latter, when they first met them, been

known as *Pa'-ni*. The name *Arikara* is derived, I am inclined to think, not from the Mandan, as is sometimes claimed, but from the Pawnee *ür'-ik-i*, a horn; with a verbal or plural suffix, being thus simply a later and exact equivalent of *Pa'-ni* itself.

§ 5. The following list embraces in chronological order most of the works from which data of value concerning the Pawnees may be derived:

History of the Expedition under command of Captains Lewis and Clarke to the Sources of the Missouri, etc., Philadelphia, 1815. This work is invaluable as containing the earliest information (1804) that we have of the Pawnees after the accession of their territory to the United States. In connection with the final work the Preliminary Report of Captain Lewis from Fort Mandan (1805) to President Jefferson, and also the Gass Journal should be read.

Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America, by Maj. Z. M. Pike, Philadelphia, 1810. Maj. Pike visited (1806) one band, the *Kit'-ke-hak-i*, then living upon the Republican Fork of the Kansas River. The three other bands upon the Platte River he did not see. He gives some valuable details.

Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, by Maj. S. H. Long, Philadelphia, 1823. This work contains considerable information (1819) concerning the tribe; but, unfortunately, a large portion of the account was derived from mere report, and is manifestly somewhat colored by the source through which it was acquired.

Sketches taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes, by J. T. Irving, Philadelphia, 1835. Mr. Irving accompanied a Commissioner who visited the Pawnee villages in 1833, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty between them and the United States. Though his personal intercourse with the Pawnees was quite limited, his narrative is unusually correct and valuable, containing the results of careful inquiry and observation.

Travels in North America, including a Summer Residence with the Pawnee Tribe of Indians, by Hon. C. A. Murray, London, 1841. The writer of this work had an excellent opportunity to learn of the character and usages of the Pawnees. During his stay of a little over a month (1835) with them he gained a great deal of very accurate information in relation to them from a gentleman then living with the band with which he traveled. Mr. Murray's independent statements are, in many instances, obviously incorrect. One important fact, not recorded in the work, should be borne in mind while reading it: certain of Mr. Murray's deal-

ings with the Indians were such as to draw upon himself the hearty resentment of a large number of the band and to call forth the severe censure of the gentleman already mentioned. The feeling against him soon became so strong on the part of the Indians as to induce him to take a hurried departure before his visit, as originally intended, was half expired. His undisturbed withdrawal was in no small degree due to the persistent exertions of this gentleman, for already one or two plans for summarily ridding themselves of his presence had been mooted by some of the offended Indians. Mr. Murray afterward repaid this service in a somewhat questionable manner.

Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian tribes of the Missouri Valley, by F. V. Hayden, Philadelphia, 1862. The portion of this work relating to the Pawnees is brief, but is valuable as containing the largest vocabulary of the language hitherto published.

Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. These deserve mention, as they contain a yearly resumé of the condition of the tribe since 1858.

Lawyrawkûlarîts Pdny Kirta. Boston. 1836. This pamphlet is worthy of note as the only attempt that has thus far been made to present the Pawnee language in written form.

§6. *Earlier Notices.* Prior to the beginning of the present century our knowledge of the Pawnees is confined almost exclusively to occasional notices found in French writers. The following comprise the more important of them :

Bernard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français a la Louisiane*, p. 168 *et seq.* "M. de Bienville received, Dec. 29, a letter from Mr. Dutisné dated Kaskaskia, Nov. 22, 1719, with an account of his journey from that place by the river and by land to the villages of the Osages and Panionassas on the Missouri River." Apparently on a second journey, "he crossed the Mississippi and went to the Sabine twelve leagues from Kaskaskia and thirty from the Missouri. From the Sabine he passed on one hundred and twenty leagues to the Osages on a river of the same name; then forty leagues northwest from the Osages through a prairie country, crossing four streams, three branches of the Osages and one of the Arkansas. This branch of the Arkansas is twelve leagues east of the Panionassa village, which is situated on a hill surrounded by prairie and not far from a considerable stream. Southwest of the village is a wood which is of great utility to the Indians. The village contains 130 lodges and about 300 warriors. One league northwest on the same stream is another village of the same nation

about as large. Together they have about 300 (?) horses which they esteem very highly and do not wish to part with. This nation is not civilized, but it would be easy to render it less savage by making it some presents. Mr. Dutisne planted the King's standard at the village, Sept. 27, 1719; but was near being tomahawked by the Panionassas at the instigation of the Osages who represented that he was there for the purpose of making war and taking slaves." The narrative adds that "there are several Panis villages west and northwest of the Panionassas, but they are little known. From them the Osages steal horses." The geographical data in this account are apparently somewhat confused; but the Panionassas visited were in all probability the *Kit'-kē-hak-i* or Republican Pawnees of the Republican Fork of the Kansas River.

Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, vol. 2, p. 251. "The principal nations that live on or near the Missouri are the Missouris, the Canchez (Kansas), the Othonez (Otoes), the Panis blancs, the Panis noirs, the Panimahas, the Padoucas (Comanches), and the Aiouez (Iowas). The smallest are the Aiouez and Othonez; the others are quite large." The Panis noirs were probably the Wichitas, here from similarity of name placed erroneously with the Pawnees. The Panimahas were the *Ski'-di*, or Loup band. In vol. 3, p. 180, it is stated that Bourgmont while on his way to the Padoucas (from Kaskaskia?) in October, 1724, was visited by some Panimahas.

Charlevoix in his *Journal* (vol. 3, p. 212) says: "It is to the Panis, a nation settled on the bank of the Missouri and extending far away towards New Mexico, that it is pretended the calumet was given by the sun (of Nuttall, *Travels into Arkansas Territory*, p. 276); but these Indians have done as many others had done. They have wished to exalt by the marvelous a usage of which they were themselves the authors; and all that we can conclude from this tradition is that the Panis render to the sun a more ancient, or more marked worship than the other Indians of this part of the American continent, and were the first who conceived the idea of making the calumet a symbol of peace." In another place (vol. 3, p. 410), speaking of the Arkansas River, he says: "The river comes, it is said, from the country of certain Indians who are called Panis noir; and I believe they are the same who are better known under the name of Panis Ricaras. I have a slave of this nation with me." In this passage the writer manifestly confounds the Arikaras of the northern Missouri with the Wichitas, or Pawnee Picts.

In a pamphlet, *Notice sur l'état actuelle de la mission de la Louisiane*,

there is the following: "a trustworthy merchant, who has recently ascended the Missouri to its source, told one of the missionaries that he found several tribes on that stream that had never seen a white man. He remarked not without astonishment that these Indians acknowledge only one God, to whom they offer daily the first mouthful of smoke from the pipe, and the first morsel of each meal. There are others, however, who adore the beautiful Star (Belle Etoile). Even lately these latter were going to sacrifice to it a Spanish boy nine years old, whom they had captured; but he escaped [and took refuge with Bishop Dubourg. The poor boy had been fattened for some time with the greatest care, to merit the signal honor of being immolated to their ferocious divinity." Though no name is given here every statement made is specially applicable to the Pawnees.

The foregoing extracts are all valuable, containing, as they do, several statements which will hereafter be seen to be prominent marks of Pawnee life and character. They serve also to aid in locating the territory of the tribe."

§7. *Territory.* De Lisle in *Carte du Mexique*, 1703, has Panis and Panionassas on two streams entering the Arkansas from the south. In *Carte du Canada*, 1703, he has River des Panis entering the Missouri from the south and Pani villages on it; and further to the south Lac des Panis and Pani villages near it. The Pawnee region as given in these maps was evidently largely a matter of hearsay. In the first it would be natural to suppose that the Wichitas on the north Red River were meant. In the second the river entering the Missouri from the south is evidently the Platte. Possibly the villages on the lake were intended to represent the *Kit'-kē-hak-i* band on the Republican. In *Carte de la Louisiane*, 1718, he has Paniassas at the mouths of two streams entering the Arkansas; north on the Canses (Kansas) River twelve villages of the Panis; north of these on the Missouri twelve villages of the Panimahas; still further north, beyond the Aiouez and Aricara, the Panis with forty villages. On this map the Paniassas would seem to be the same as the Panionassas of the first map, the Panis on the Canses, the lake villages of the second; and the Panimahas, the Pawnees of the Platte. The Panis north of the Aricara must be the Arikaras themselves, extravagantly overestimated. [Unless, possibly this is a confusion such as is also found in Jeffrey's map, where Cris Panis Blancs (Crees?) are represented as being located west of Lake Winnipeg]. The Pawnees themselves have no tradition of ever having occupied or claimed territory north of the Niobrara, though they sometimes hunted

there. That region before the westward movement of the Dakotas, was held by the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas.¹

The true Pawnee territory till as late as 1833 may be described as extending from the Niobrara south to the Arkansas. They frequently hunted considerably beyond the Arkansas; tradition says as far as the Canadian; and sometimes made considerable stays in that region. Irving (*Tour on the Prairies*) mentions seeing in 1832 the remains of a recent Pawnee village on the Cimarron. On the east they claimed to the Missouri, though in eastern Nebraska by a sort of tacit permit the Otoes, Poncas and Omahas along that stream occupied lands extending as far west as the Elkhorn. In Kansas also east of the Big Blue they had ceased to exercise any direct control, as several remnants of tribes, the Wyandots, Delawares, Kickapoos, and Iowas had been settled there and were living under the guardianship of the United States. In 1833 the Pawnees by treaty finally relinquished their right to the lands thus occupied. (In 1848 the remains of a considerable village were plainly discernible near where Wolf River empties into the Missouri in northeastern Kansas. The Iowas, then occupying the region, assigned these remains, no doubt correctly, to the Pawnees. This fact would sufficiently indicate that their control of this locality was once real). On the west their grounds were marked by no natural boundary, but may perhaps be described by a line drawn from the mouth of Snake River on the Niobrara southwest to the North Platte, thence south to the Arkansas. The boundaries here named are not imaginary. In designating them I have consulted Pawnee history. Messrs. Dunbar, Allis and Satterlee, who were laboring as missionaries with the Pawnees, accompanied the different bands on their several semi-annual hunts in 1835-6-7, and on those hunts the tribe roamed at will over a large part of the territory within these limits. This territory, comprising a large portion of the present States of Nebraska and Kansas, formed a tract which for their purposes was as fine as could be found west of the Mississippi. The region of the Platte and Upper Kansas, with their numerous tributaries, was a favorable mean between the extreme north and warmer south; the climate was healthful, the soil of great fertility, and game, such as buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope in abundance to more than supply their utmost need.

It is not to be supposed, however, that they held altogether undisturbed possession of this territory. On the north they were incessantly harassed by various bands of the Dakotas, while upon the south the Osages, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos and Kiowas (the last three originally northern tribes) were equally relentless in their hostility. In

fact the history of the Pawnees, as far back as we can acquire any knowledge of it, has been a ceaseless, uncompromising warfare against the several tribes that begirt them, and no more convincing evidence of their inherent energy and indomitable spirit could be furnished than their having up to that date (1833) maintained their right over this garden of the hunting grounds essentially intact. Their enemies were, it is true, making constant forays upon it and in some instances inflicting severe loss upon them; but in no case had they succeeded in wresting from the Pawnees and retaining any portion of their territory. On the contrary within the limits named the Pawnee remained the proud master of the land. In 1833 the Pawnees surrendered to the United States their claim upon all the above described territory lying south of the Platte. In 1858 all their remaining territory was ceded, except a reserve thirty miles long and fifteen wide upon the Loup Fork of the Platte, its eastern limit beginning at Beaver Creek. In 1874 they sold this tract and removed to a reserve secured for them by the Government in the Indian Territory, between the Arkansas and Cimarron at their junction.

§ 8. *Origin.* The traditions of three of the bands, the *Xau'-i*, *Kit-kē-hak-i* and *Pit-a-hau'-ē-rat*, coincide in stating that the Pawnees migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest. The period of this migration is so remote that they have failed to retain any of its details, except in a very confused form. The language affords some evidence that their residence in the Valley of the Platte has been of some duration. *O-kūt-ūt* and *okū'-kdt* signify strictly *above* and *below* (of a stream) respectively. Now their villages have usually been situated upon the banks of the Platte, the general course of which is from west to east. Hence each of these words has acquired a new meaning, *i. e.*, *west* and *east*. So, also *Kir'-i-ku-ruks'-tu*, *toward* or *with the Wichitas*, has come to mean *south*. Such developments are perfectly natural in the history of a language, but require time. The Wichitas I am told, have a tradition that the primitive home of themselves, and the Pawnees was upon the Red River below the mouth of the Washita. This would place them in close proximity with the Caddos (*cf p. 1*) The Wichitas also attempt to explain their own southern position by alleging that having had reason to be dissatisfied with the migration, or its results, they attempted to return to their old home. The Pawnees also state that the Wichitas accompanied them on the migration, but left them long ago and wandered away to the south, though silent as to the reason. This much may be safely claimed that the separation must have occurred long since, as is indicated particularly by the marked **divergence** of the Wichita dialect.

There are certain facts which may be referred to here as affording something of *vraisemblance* to the tradition of this migratory movement from the south; 1. The Pawnee has always been remarked among the northern tribes for his fondness for and skill in the use of horses. It was a great ambition with each of them to be the owner of a drove of them. His wealth, and to some extent his social standing, were determined by the number he possessed. For the increasing of his stock he made frequent predatory incursions upon neighboring tribes, especially upon those towards the south; and sometimes these expeditions were extended to a great distance. Personal names were often derived from successful exploits of this kind. 2. The Pawnee warrior always preferred a bow of *bois d'arc*, and besides the bow in actual use he would often have in his lodge a stick of the same material, which at his leisure he would be working into shape as a provision against possible exigency. Bows of this wood were rarely traded away. *Bois d'arc*, however, was to be obtained only in the south, and for the purpose of procuring it a sort of commerce was kept up with certain tribes living there. Now in both these respects—his fondness for horses and his preferences for the *bois d'arc*—the Pawnee is remarkably at one with the tribes of the southern plains; and though they may not be cited as proof of his southern origin, they are at least indications.* The Pawnee usually locates the Mississippi to the southeast, and the sea to the south. This is perfectly natural, if his present indistinct knowledge of them is the remnant of a more intimate acquaintance that he once possessed in the south.

§ 9. The original inhabitants of the conquered territory, the three bands already named claim to have been the Otoes, Poncas, Omahas, and *Ski-di*. It is in the subjugating of these tribes that the Pawnee finds his heroic age. The tradition is that the Otoes and Omahas were entirely expelled from the country, but, after a long absence to the northward, returned, or rather were driven back by the Dakotas, and were allowed by sufferance to occupy lands adjacent to the Missouri, as the Poncas had continued to do since the first conquest. From that time they have remained wards of the Pawnees. This much at least is true; the Pawnee always spoke of the Otoes, Poncas and Omahas as subjugated tribes; and when together in council, on war or hunting expeditions, though generally acknowledging their prowess—especially that of the two former—he still treated them as dependents; and in times of impending danger from the common foe, the Dakotas, they uniformly looked to him for succor.

There is an interesting document that may be mentioned in this connection. The Pawnee has a song, constituting the finest satirical

production in the language, relating to an attempt that the Poncas are said to have once made to recover their independence. Their warriors in a body, so the account states, made a pretended visit of peace to the village of *Xau'-i*, at that time the head band of the Pawnees. After lulling to rest, as they supposed, the suspicions of the *Xau'-i*, according to a preconceived plan, they made an attack upon them, but were signally discomfited. In commemoration of the victory then achieved, the Pawnees composed this song, and the presumption is that such a remarkable production would not have originated and maintained its position permanently in their minds without a good historic basis.'

As regards the *Ski'-di*, the traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe, that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family. The only statement they give as to the time of this conquest is that it was long ago. Of the exact spot where the event transpired they say nothing. They further claim that once the *Ski'-di* attempted to reassert their independence, and to this end surprised and badly defeated the *Pit-ā-hau'-e-rat* band while it was out on a buffalo hunt. But the two other bands immediately rallied about the survivors of the rout, and having entrapped the *Ski'-di*, inflicted upon them a severe retribution; and since then they have been content to remain quietly in their place as one of the four bands. All this the *Ski'-di* deny. They, however, agree with the other bands in saying that there have been hostilities between the two parties. In 1835 old men were still living who had borne part in a struggle of this kind, probably during the closing quarter of the last century.

The historic basis of this may be somewhat as follows: In the migration of the Pawnees from the south, the *Ski'-di* preceded the other bands, perhaps by nearly a century. With them were the Arikaras. These two bands together possessed themselves of the region of the Loup. When the other bands arrived they were regarded as intruders, and hence arose open hostilities. The result of the struggle was that the two bands were forced to admit the new comers and aid in reducing the surrounding territory. Subsequently the Arikaras seem to have wandered, or more probably to have been driven from the confederacy, and to have passed up the Missouri. Later the *Ski'-di*, in consequence of some real or fancied provocation, attempted to retrieve their losses, but were sorely punished, and henceforth obliged to content themselves with a subordinate position in the tribe.

The known facts upon which this interpretation is based are these:

1. The remains of the old *Ski'-di* villages in the valley of the Loup are

more numerous, and many of them much more ancient than those of the other bands. 2. The names of several of the *Ski'-di* sub-bands are local and still retain their meaning; a fact that would seem to indicate that they were first bestowed in this locality. 3. Since the tribe has been known to the United States the *Ski'-di* have always acknowledged the precedence of the other bands. Though they have been frequently remarked as more intelligent, as warriors they are inferior. 4. They claim to be more nearly related to the Arikaras than to the Pawnees proper. They also do not speak pure Pawnee. Their speech, while Pawnee, is dialectic, and forms an intermediate link between the pure Pawnee and the Arikara.

§ 10. *Population.* This is a matter of the greatest uncertainty till 1834. I find an estimate of them in 1719 (attributed to Mr. Dutisné already mentioned), at about 25,000, probably of no special value. Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, estimated three bands, *Xau'-i*, *Kit-ké-hak-i* and *Ski'-di*, at 4,000. They speak of the tribe as formerly very numerous, but at that time broken and reduced. Major Pike, in 1806, estimated the entire tribe at 6,223. Major Long, in 1820 gives their number as 6,500. Thus far only three bands seem to have been known. The authorities in either case were only hearsay, and the estimates are not above suspicion. In 1834 Major Dougherty, the Pawnee agent, and well versed in the affairs of the tribe, estimated them at 12,500. Messrs. Dunbar and Allis, while traveling with the tribe during the three years following, thought this too high, and placed them at 10,000. In 1838 the tribe suffered very severely from the small-pox, communicated to them by some Dakota women captured by the *Ski'-di* early that year. During the prevalence of the epidemic great numbers of children perished. The mortality among the adults, though great, was not so excessive. About a year and a half after this scourge Messrs. Dunbar and Allis made a careful census of the tribe as circumstances would permit, and found them to be 6,787, exclusive of some detachments then absent. These would have probably raised the total to about 7,500. The conclusion at which they arrived was that their previous estimate may have been quite near the true number. In 1847 the number was not far from 8,400. In 1856 they diminished to 4,686; in 1861, to 3,416; in 1879, to 1,440.

The causes of this continual decrease are several. The most constantly acting influence has been the deadly warfare with surrounding tribes. Probably not a year in this century has been without losses from this source, though only occasionally have they been marked

with considerable disasters. In 1832 the *Ski'-di* band suffered a severe defeat on the Arkansas from the Comanches. In 1847 a Dakota war party, numbering over 700, attacked a village occupied by 216 Pawnees and succeeded in killing 83. In 1854 a party of 113 were cut off by an overwhelming body of Cheyennes and Kiowas and killed almost to a man. In 1873 a hunting party of about 400, 213 of whom were men, on the Republican, while in the act of killing a herd of buffalo, were attacked by nearly 600 Dakota warriors, and 86 were killed. But the usual policy of their enemies has been to cut off individuals, or small scattered parties, while engaged in the chase or in tilling isolated corn patches. Losses of this kind, trifling when taken singly, have in the aggregate borne heavily on the tribe. It would seem that such losses, annually recurring, should have taught them to be more on their guard. But let it be remembered that the struggle has not been in one direction against one enemy. The Dakotas, Crows, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Comanches, Osages and Kansas, have faithfully aided each other, though undesignedly in the main, in this crusade of extermination against the Pawnee. It has been, in the most emphatic sense, a struggle of the one against the many. With the possible exception of the Dakotas, there is much of reason to believe that the animosity of these tribes has been exacerbated by the galling tradition of disastrous defeats which Pawnee prowess had inflicted upon themselves in past generations. To them the last seventy years have been a carnival of revenge.

One important fact should be noted in this connection. The treaty of 1833 contains no direct provision that the United States should protect the Pawnees from the Dakotas on the north, and the Comanches and other tribes on the south. But unfortunately the Pawnees distinctly understood that this was the case, *i. e.*, that so long as they did not molest other tribes, such tribes should not be allowed to trouble them. Accordingly for several years they scrupulously refrained from any aggressive hostilities, though meantime suffering severely from their various enemies. It was only after a final declaration from the Government in 1848 that it had no intention to protect them that they at last attempted to reassert their prestige. Thus, during this period, while they stood in need of the utmost vigilance, the general influence of the Government was to lull them into fancied security and center upon them the intensified efforts of their hereditary foes.

Another cause has been the locality of the Pawnees, directly in the pathway of trans-continental travel during the last half century. This

great highway has lain along the Platte valley directly through their territory. Special diseases, as cholera, syphilis, and certain infantile epidemics have in this way been freely communicated to them. Modified ailments of a syphilitic nature have been quite prevalent, and have no doubt done much towards undermining their native vigor. It is claimed by some that not a member of the tribe for a generation or more has been entirely free from scrofulous taint, but this is an exaggeration. In addition to these the Indian's great terror, the smallpox, should be mentioned. Lewis and Clarke state that the Missouri tribes had suffered from a visitation of it just before their expedition. About 1825 the Pawnees suffered terribly from it; again in 1838, and also in 1852. There have been lighter visitations from it on several other occasions.

§ 11. *Later History.* The history of the tribe since the accession of Louisiana may be passed over briefly. Lieutenant Pike in 1806 found the *Kit-kě-hak-i* band somewhat under Spanish influence. A short time before his arrival an expedition from Santa Fe had visited them intending to form a treaty with the whole tribe, but for some reason returned without fully accomplishing its purpose. The intercourse between the Pawnees and the Spaniards thus revealed seems to have been of long standing. Salmeron refers to them as known to the Spaniards as early as 1626. There is also mention in old writers of an expedition to them from Santa Fe in 1722; but it did not reach its destination. So far as I can ascertain the continuance of this intercourse in the early part of this century was in consequence mainly of the frequent incursions of the Pawnees into the Province of New Mexico for the purpose of stealing horses. These raids were a source of great detriment to the people of that province. Till quite recently horses or ponies bearing Spanish brands were common in the tribe, and were frequently traded in considerable numbers to the Arikaras. The Spaniards, not succeeding in protecting their property by force had recourse to repeated negotiations, hoping, apparently, in this way to conciliate the friendship of the Pawnees and thus avoid further losses. In 1824 a treaty to this end was formed, and is mentioned as occasion of great rejoicing to the people of New Mexico. They thought themselves relieved from a long-continued anxiety and annoyance. The treaty, however, seems to have produced little if any amelioration; for in 1834 emissaries thence again visited the Pawnees, but with no satisfactory results.

On the other hand their relations with the United States have always been friendly. Instances might be catalogued, no doubt in considerable

number, in which they have committed outrages. But if against these should be set a list of the wanton provocations that they have received at the hands of irresponsible whites their offences would be probably sufficiently counterbalanced. One incident may be given in illustration of this statement. In the spring of 1852 the Pawnees were reported to have flayed a white man alive. The facts were these: In a small California emigrant train was a young man, who repeatedly made boast that he should kill the first Indian that he met. One evening as the train was halting for the night on a small tributary of the Elkhorn, a *Pit-ā-hau'-ē-rat* squaw, from a village near by, came into the camp begging. Some of the emigrants carelessly rallied the hapless boaster as to the opportunity thus afforded to redeem his threat, and finally, in sheer bravado, he shot and killed the woman. When the band, on the following day, learned of the murder, the warriors pursued and overtook the train, and by their superior numbers compelled the surrender of the young man. After a council they ordered the train back to the scene, and there in the presence of his comrades, did flay the unfortunate man as reported. The stream on which this horrible transaction took place is still known as Raw-Hide Creek. One Indian who participated in this summary retribution is still living, and from him I gained this account, which has been sufficiently corroborated from independent sources. During the last fifteen years a battalion of Pawnee scouts, under Major Frank North, have been employed a large portion of the time by the Government against the hostile Dakotas, and in every campaign have won high encomiums for their intrepidity and soldierly efficiency.

In 1834 the villages of the tribe were located, the *Xau'-i*, on the south side of the Platte, twenty miles above the mouth of the Loup. The *Kit-kē-hak-i* village was eighteen miles northwest on the north side of the Loup; the *Pit-ā-hau'-ē-rat* eleven miles above it on the same side. Five miles above the last was the *Ski'-di* village. The sites of these villages were changed from time to time, as convenience or other special consideration might prompt, the average continuance in one place being not over eight or ten years. The *Xau'-i* and *Ski'-di* villages were never moved to any considerable distance from the locations named. The *Ski'-di* village, it is worthy of note, has always been situated to the west of the others, and they have a superstitious belief that this relative position must never be altered. Hence the term *tū'-ra-wit-u*, eastern villages, applied by them to the other bands. The *Pit-ā-hau'-ē-rat* village, for a considerable portion of the time, both before and since the date named,

was upon the Elkhorn, some distance east. The *Kit'-kē-hak-i*, as already shown, from their first discovery till Pike's visit, were settled on the Republican. This has given rise to the theory that in the northward movement of the tribe they stopped here, while the rest continued on. But there is reason for believing that before occupying this region they resided with the rest of the tribe on the Platte. They have the same tradition as the *Xau'-i* and *Pit-ā-hau'-ē-rat*, concerning the conquest of that country. There has been a tradition also that after the conquest they moved south for the strategic purpose of keeping the Kansas and Osages from the hunting grounds of the upper Kansas river. Their associations with the other bands during the time of the separation were always intimate; their interests and motives were one and their speech identical. The exact date of their return to the Platte is not known; but in 1835 men of the band, apparently not more than thirty-five years of age, stated that it occurred while they were children; probably about 1812.

One of the most important events of later Pawnee history was the missionary work among them during the years 1834-47. In the first of these years Messrs. Dunbar and Allis, already mentioned, visited the tribe with the intention of establishing a mission in it. Finding the immediate realization of their plan impracticable because of the absence of the Pawnees from their permanent villages, for a large part of the year, on their semi-annual hunts, they deemed it best, rather than altogether abandon the enterprise, to accompany them for a time on their various wanderings, with the double purpose of acquiring the language and familiarizing themselves thoroughly with Pawnee usages and character, and also of exerting whatever influence they might to induce the tribe to adopt a more settled manner of life. Mr. Dunbar traveled with the *Xau'-i* band, Mr. Allis with the *Ski'-di*. Dr. Satterlee, who joined them some time later, traveled with the *Kit'-kē-hak-i*. In February, 1837, he made a visit to the Cheyennes on the upper Arkansas, hoping to be able to bring about a treaty of peace between them and the Pawnees, and on his return in March was killed by a lawless trapper. After two and a half years spent with the tribe in this way, they were finally induced to accept the encouragements offered by the Government and missionaries, and seemed to evince a sincere desire to enter upon a more regular and fixed mode of living. A spot on Plum Creek, a small tributary of the Loup, was accordingly chosen in 1838 as the site of the mission and government establishment. Disturbances intervened immediately after, and prevented the execution of the design till 1844. In

that year the government establishment and mission were begun at the place chosen; a large farm was opened, mission buildings erected, and a considerable number of the *Xau'-i* and some of the other bands induced to fix their residence in the vicinity. The tribe all displayed a very friendly disposition, and so far as they were concerned the effort to advance their condition toward civilization was progressing most favorably. But unfortunately the entire enterprise had awakened the jealous suspicions and in the end roused the most persistent hostility on the part of the Oglala and Brulé Dakotas. Each year they invaded the region in full force, usually taking advantage of the absence of most of the Pawnees on their hunts, killing where they could, and destroying corn patches and all other property that they might discover. These continued depredations finally compelled the abandonment of the mission and farm in 1847, and the Pawnees forthwith reverted to their former life.

§ 12. *Tribal organization.* The tribal mark of the Pawnees in their pictographic or historic painting was the scalp-lock dressed to stand nearly erect, or curving slightly backwards, somewhat like a horn. This, in order that it should retain its position, was filled with vermilion or other pigment, and sometimes lengthened by means of a tuft of horse hair skillfully appended so as to form a trail back over the shoulders. This usage was undoubtedly the origin of the name Pawnee (*cf.* § 4). In the sign language of the tribe and other Indians of the plains the Pawnee is designated by holding up the two forefingers of the right hand, the symbol of the ears of the prairie wolf. The precise origin of this practice is a matter of some uncertainty. They claimed that the wolf was adopted of choice as the tribal emblem, because of its intelligence, vigilance and well known powers of endurance. Their enemies, on the other hand, interpreted it as a stigma upon the tribe because of their alleged prowling cowardice. The emblem probably originated from the name of the *Ski'-di* band. They being in advance of the other bands in the northern migration (*cf.* § 9), became known to the tribes about them as the wolves; and as the other bands arrived the sign was naturally made to include them also, and in this enlarged use was at length accepted by the Pawnees themselves. The *Ski'-di*, however, insist that their name has no etymological connection whatever with *Ski'-rik-i*, a wolf. Their explanation is that the Loup, *i. e.*, Wolf River, was long ago so designated from the great abundance of wolves in its vicinity. (Wolf River is not an infrequent designation of streams with Indians; as Wolf River in Kansas, also in Wisconsin.) From the fact of their location upon it

they became known as Wolf (River) Indians. Finally to most of the Pawnees themselves the real distinction between *Ski'-di*, i. e. *Ski'-ri*, and *Ski'-rik-i* was lost. This is unusually close Indian reasoning, but not altogether conclusive.

The tribe, as already indicated, consisted of four bands: *Xau'-i*, or Grand; *Kit-ké-hak-i*, or Republican; *Pit-ā-hau'-i-rat*, or Tapage; *Ski'-di*, or Loup. The English names given are all of French origination. The first was applied to the *Xau'-i* as being the head band, and also the most numerous. The exact origin of Republican, as applied to the second band, I never learned. There has been a tradition that it was first suggested by the semi-republican system of government observed among them when first known; but this feature was no more marked with them than among the other bands. It is also said to have been applied to them because of their having formerly resided upon the Republican River; but *vice versa* the stream was in all probability so named from the band (*cf.* the Kansas River from the Kansas Indians, the Osage from the Osages, etc.) Tapage (also Tappage and Tappahs) is of unknown origin. In the treaty of 1819 they were designated as the *Noisy* Pawnees, which I presume was then the supposed meaning of the name *Pit-ā-hau'-i-rat*. In the treaty it is spelled *Pit-av-i-rate*. *Tapage* is the French substitute for *Noisy*. Forty-five years ago they were known as the Smoky Hill Pawnees, from having once resided on that stream in western Kansas. In the summer hunt of 1836 they pointed out to Mr. Dunbar some of their old villages. The name Loup is already sufficiently explained.

These bands were all further divided into sub-bands and families, each of which had its appropriate mark or token. This was usually an animal, as the bear, the eagle, the hawk, the beaver, etc.; though sometimes other objects, as the sun, the pipe, etc., were adopted. The separate lodges, and even articles of individual apparel, were usually marked with the token of the family to which the owner belonged. These subdivisions have now entirely disappeared, except as partially retained among the *Ski'-di*.

The government of each band was vested nominally in its chiefs, these ranking as head chief, second chief, and so on. In ordinary matters the head chief consulted his own pleasure in directing the affairs of the band. At other times he was assisted by a council called for special deliberation. In the exercise of this authority they were generally mild, but when occasion required, if persons of energy, they could be rigorously severe. Instances have been known where life was taken to secure obedience. A person persisting in willful insubordination was

pretty sure of at least a sound beating. Many of the chiefs used their influence steadfastly for promoting the welfare of their people, often making great personal sacrifice to that end, and proving themselves in reality the fathers of their people. Such chiefs exerted great power over their bands. On the other hand a chief was sometimes only such in name, being surpassed in actual influence by those of no recognized rank. The office itself was hereditary, but authority could be gained only by acknowledged personal accomplishments. Among some of the best examples of Pawnee chiefs may be mentioned *Pit'-ă-le-shar-u*, father and son (1841 and 1874), *Sa'-rě-chěr-ish* (1838), and *Těr'-ăr-it-ūk-ūs* (1869), of the *Xau'-i*; *Le-kit-kat-it* (1848), *Le-shar'-u-chěr-üks* (1867), of the *Ski'-di*; *Ti-ra'-wa-kūt-le-shar-u* (1873), of the *Pit'-ă-hau'-ě-rat*. (The dates given are the years of their several deaths.) During their chieftaincy the will of these men was law, and in many respects their characters were far superior to their surroundings.

Chiefs, when able, gave presents to their people freely, but were not accustomed to receive any in return. They were also, so far as possible, expected to provide food for the destitute in their bands. Hence a chief frequently had about him a considerable number of persons whom he fed, and in compensation used very nearly as servants. These parasites were usually among the most worthless of the tribe. While under the chief's eye they were tolerable, but in his absence their true nature instantly reappeared. Any stranger who had occasion to visit the tribe was sure on his departure to be waylaid by them, and, if not too strongly guarded, to be under some specious plea subjected to heavy tribute; and in case of refusal grossly insulted and perhaps injured. In such doings their dependence on the chief was used by them as a cloak for most arrant villainies. It is no doubt to this class of persons almost entirely due that the Pawnees have acquired so generally among the whites who have been in casual contact with them an unenviable notoriety as a tribe of vagrants and thieves.

Beside their usual functions, chiefs were often called upon to arbitrate in personal differences between members of their respective bands. Their decision in such cases was accepted as final. The government of the tribe was exercised by the concerted action of the chiefs alone, or assisted by tribal council. Until recently the *Xau'-i* have held the precedence, their head chief outranking those of the other bands.

Councils of a band or tribe could be called by the head chief on his own motion, or at the prompting of another. If the matter to be brought under deliberation was of great consequence, or involved

anything of secrecy, the council was appointed in a lodge, or at a place removed from immediate observation, and no one not personally entitled was admitted. In other cases any convenient place, indoors or out, that might be named, and those not strictly privileged to sit in the council could, if disposed, attend as spectators. The right to participate in tribal or band councils was a much coveted dignity. The call and time of assembling were duly published by the herald or crier of the chief. This functionary was one of the most conspicuous in a village. Quite often his voice was heard first in the morning proclaiming the order of the day. If during the day the chief wished to communicate to the band any important news or special order, it was made known through this dignitary, who for hours perhaps would promenade the village, or stand upon the top of some convenient lodge, announcing in set tone and phrase the intelligence. While making a proclamation he frequently took occasion to intersperse or append numerous advices and monitory appeals of his own, some of which he addressed to the young men, others to the old men, etc. He naturally, therefore, came to be regarded as a sort of preceptor in general duties. Each chief had his own herald. The council on assembling, after the usual preliminary of smoking, was opened by the head chief, or by some one designated by him. After his will had thus been made known, the discussion was thrown open to all present as members; but great scrupulousness was observed that there should be no infraction of their rules of precedence and decorum. Rank, seniority and personal prestige were all carefully considered in determining the order in which each one should speak. The speaker addressed the council as *a-ti'-ūs* (fathers), the word being repeated at the beginning of nearly every sentence. The members of the audience, on the other hand, felt perfectly free to accompany any speaker's remarks with expressions of approval, *lau!* or dissent, *ugh!* though the latter was more usually indicated by silence. After the discussion of the matter in question was closed, the opinion of the council was gathered, not by any formal vote, but from the general tenor of the addresses that had been delivered in the course of the debate. The result was then made public through the herald.

§ 13. *Physical Characteristics.*—The men were generally of excellent physique, of good stature and robust muscular development. The upper part of the body was frequently large in proportion to the lower extremities, but not so much so as to occasion deformity. The feet, as also the hands, were small, and in walking they were intoed. Obesity was not usual unless in advanced life. Congenital malformations were rarely

seen. This might in part be due to the fact that sickly children, who would be most likely to present such peculiarities, did not survive infancy. The hair was dark, coarse and straight; the eyes rather small, black and inclining to the lack-lustre type. The features, ordinarily well proportioned, were frequently of a very marked character and power. The mouth was a little large perhaps, and the lips thin. These, with the eyes, are the expressive features of the Pawnee face. Hence their proverb: "If you wish to know whether a man is brave, watch his eye; if you wish to learn whether he speaks the truth, watch his lips." The teeth were usually regular and remarkably good. I have seen old men, the crown of whose teeth was worn quite away, and yet they had not lost one. Toothache was scarcely known.

Their endurance was astonishing. Cases were numerous of sustained effort, which must seem incredible to those not personally conversant with the facts. Runners have been known repeatedly to travel over one hundred miles in twenty-four hours or less, without stopping on the way for sleep or nourishment. Their gait at such times was a swinging trot. Their power of abstinence was equally marked. Mr. Dunbar, while traveling with them, has known them in many instances to go without food three days, and utter no complaint, nor remit perceptibly anything of their wonted activity. On such occasions, to still the gnawings of hunger, they were accustomed to wrap a thong several times tightly about the waist. It should be added, however, that all such seasons of special exertion or denial were invariably succeeded by periods of recuperation, in which full compensation was made.

The women were considerably smaller than the men, those who would be remarked as large (by our standard) being extremely few. This was due no doubt in some degree to early marriage and child-bearing. Their life was one of constant toil. From early dawn till late at night they were incessantly at work. A Pawnee woman with nothing to do would be a strange anomaly. They cut and adjusted the wood used in constructing lodges and building horsepens; built the stationary lodges; pitched and took down the portable lodges; tanned the skins used in covering the latter (a work both tedious and painful), sewed them together and fitted them to the lodge; dressed the robes, which were many, both for home use and for trade; bridled, saddled, packed and led the horses on the march, and unpacked them on going into camp at night; made and kept in repair all articles of clothing, mats, bags, bowls, mortars, etc.; cut and brought all the wood for fires, much of it from a distance, on their own backs; made fires, did the cooking, dried

the meat, dug the ground, planted, hoed, gathered, dried and stored the corn. In short, whatever was done, other than grazing, watering and bringing in the horses (which were generally done by smaller boys), and going to war, killing game, smoking, holding councils and giving feasts (which belonged to the men) they did. When with the men in the lodges they occupied the most inconvenient part; in the winter the men enjoyed the fire, while they sat back in the cold. In girlhood many of them were quite good looking, active and bright, and when together in their work they were very loquacious and facetious; but their toilsome life and harsh treatment frequently rendered them ill-favored and morose.

The average duration of life was much less than with the whites; decrepitude began much earlier, and decline was more rapid. Probably few were to be found in the tribe who were really over sixty years old, though many had the appearance of it. Rheumatic complaints with the aged were frequent and very severe.

§ 14. *Social Usages*.—Children of both sexes associated indiscriminately till about seven years of age. Most of their time was spent in various childish sports; the girls made dolls, the boys rode sticks; both amused themselves fashioning all sorts of objects from mud, and aping the different phases of maturer years. After that age their occupations diverged. The boys began watching horses, learning to use the bow, hunting the smaller kinds of game, etc. At the age of sixteen or eighteen they aspired to appear as men, and as soon thereafter as their means warranted married. The girls were also busily engaged, under the tutelage of their mothers, learning the manifold details of their future life of drudgery. They rarely appeared abroad unless under her immediate care, or with some elderly female in charge of them. They attained puberty at about thirteen, and were usually married soon after. The qualities most desired in a young woman by a suitor were that she should be of good family, and that she should be well versed in household offices and in the manifold other duties of woman's life. Personal beauty, though it had its place and value, was of less consequence. The considerations most dwelt upon by the woman were the personal prowess, rising influence, skill in hunting and fine form of her lover.

When a young brave had decided to enter the married state, he put on his robe with the hair side out, drew it over his head so as to almost entirely conceal his visage, and in this guise walked to the lodge of the intended fair one, entered and sat down. No one addressed him, nor did he utter a word; but his object was sufficiently understood by all

concerned. Having sat thus in silence awhile, he arose and passed out. After the lapse of a few days he ventured to repeat his visit, wearing his robe as before. If on entering the bear-skin or other seat of honor was made ready for his reception, he was at liberty to disclose his face and be seated, for such a welcome indicated that his addresses were not unacceptable; but if he met with no such preparations, he might retire, as his attentions were not regarded favorably. If he was received, the young woman soon appeared and took her seat beside him. Her father also made it convenient to be at home. Between him and the suitor a conversation ensued, in the course of which the latter found occasion to ask his mind in regard to the proposed connection. The father replied guardedly that neither he nor his family had any objection to his becoming a son-in-law. He moreover advised the young man to go home, make a feast, invite in all his relatives, and consult them concerning the desirableness of the proposed alliance, adding that he would call in and deliberate in like manner with his daughter's kindred. It sometimes happened that the young woman was herself disinclined to the match, either because of a previous attachment, or from personal aversion to the wooer. If he was a man acceptable to her relatives, they usually made endeavor to overcome her repugnance by persuasion, in some cases even resorting to violence, cruelly beating her with their fists or sticks till consent was extorted. On the other hand, opposition might originate with the kin on either side. The personal and family history of each was sought out and fully canvassed by the relatives of the other. Those of the suitor might fail to find her family of sufficient position, or conclude her qualifications inferior; while her relatives were equally free to decide that he was not of desirable family, that he was not wealthy, or that some personal stigma was attached to him. In either case the matter was dropped, or further proceeding suspended till the objection was obviated. Sometimes in such cases, if the two young people were really lovers, they ventured to take matters into their own hands, and eloped, going to another band or to some friend, with whom their stay had been before arranged, and there remaining till a reconciliation was effected. If, however, after due inquiry, no cause of objection was raised on either side, the two families then proceeded to settle upon the price that the young man should pay. This custom of paying is almost universal among Indian tribes. The question has been raised as to whether the property that passes from the wooer to the father of the woman is really a price paid, or rather of the nature of a free gift. I wish I might assert the latter. But so far

as I have been able to learn, the facts all mark the transfer as purely commercial. The transaction is spoken of among the Indians themselves as buying, and the amount of property is always carefully determined beforehand—from one to six horses. The union then followed without further ceremony, other than a final feast given by the wife's father. The husband went to the lodge of the father-in-law, and lived there with his wife. A particular part of the lodge was allotted to him, and henceforth he was a member of that family. Such was the case with the eldest daughter. The others were given by the father to the son-in-law as they became marriageable, the father receiving a horse or two in return for each successive one. Hence the son-in-law usually spoke of his wife's sisters as wives, though they might yet be small children. The eldest sister was the principal wife, and ruled the younger, who seemed to be little better than domestic slaves, as it was a general rule among the Pawnees that, rank being equal, the younger should obey the elder. A younger wife, however, if a favorite with the husband, escaped most annoyance from this source.

Such was the ordinary course; but a man needed not necessarily confine himself to one family in taking wives. If his wife had no younger sisters, or from choice, he might look elsewhere. The only positive restriction as to where a man should marry was kinship. The rule was that relatives by blood could not marry; still ties of consanguinity were so intricate and confused oftentimes that the regulation became practically inoperative. In case a man did take an additional wife from a new family, the wooing was conducted the same as in the first instance, and at its consummation she went to her husband's home. Marriages of this kind, however, were not so favorably regarded, and in fact did not usually conduce to domestic quiet. Discord and quarrels between wives were frequent enough under the best circumstances, and experience seemed to indicate that sisters were more likely to live peaceably together than strangers. When quarrels did occur between wives, they might end with mere wrangling, or proceed to blows and tearing hair, unless the husband was disposed to interfere and restore quiet. A man rarely had four wives; three were not uncommon; many had two, but by far the larger number had only one. Long mentions one Pawnee with eleven wives, and a friend of mine knew a *Ski'-di* with eight; but such cases were exceedingly rare. From the fact that they were obtained by purchase, the number of a man's wives was in a certain sense an index of his wealth, *i. e.*, of the number of horses he owned, and with some men this was a provocative to take a new wife as

often as opportunity presented. Still there were frequent exceptions; men of rank and in good circumstances, who seemed to be living perfectly contented with only one wife. In such instances husbands have been known to evince a real affection for their wives, not deeming it too much to be found assisting them in their various labors. And this for an Indian is a great deal.

Separation of man and wife did not often occur. Infidelity on the part of the latter was almost the only cause that produced final divorce-ment. Usually, through principle or fear, wives were faithful. If a case of unfaithfulness was discovered, the punishment remained in the hands of the husband. The most common penalty was that the offending wife should be unmercifully beaten, and relegated back to her father's family. I never knew of a guilty woman being mutilated or killed, as is frequent among some of the southern tribes. The husband might retain the children or not, as he saw fit. Between him and the offending man, unless through the mediation of friends the offence was condoned, a life-long feud generally ensued. Sometimes a man, without assigning any specific reason, cast off a wife, but such conduct was not ordinarily sanctioned. On the other hand, a wife sometimes left her husband. In most of this kind of instances, if she had not eloped with another man, an understanding was before long effected, and they again lived together. The whole matter of the relation of the sexes must be judged with large allowances, for certain ways of thinking, to which they were educated, tended directly to cut away all idea of mutual obligation in it.

If a man died, leaving a wife and no children, or only small children, his relatives stepped immediately in and took possession of all his property. The destitute widow returned to her father's lodge, to be sold away anew. If too old, she was sometimes cared for, but too often was left to struggle through the remainder of life as best she might. If there were man-grown sons, they took the property and the mother with them, who, if not sold away again, remained as in her own lodge.

The offspring of a family was generally quite limited in number. Four children in a family was perhaps a full average. A family of eight children, seven sons and one daughter, was so unusual as to become famous as the *seven brothers*. This low rate of increase was no doubt in part due to the long lactation of children, three, and even four years, but largely also to the life of incessant hardship that the women underwent. I never knew of means being used to prevent child-bearing, and do not think that any such practices were generally known among them. On the contrary children were desired.

Accouchment was generally very easy. No special preparation seemed to be made, the woman continuing about her ordinary duties till the moment actually arrived. In traveling she simply fell out of the line, near water if possible, and in the course of two or three hours resumed her place, carrying the infant on her back. If in the village, she retired to some secluded spot near a stream alone, as before. Sometimes, at the birth of the first child, the mother was attended by a woman acting as midwife, *sku'-ra-u*; but the principal part of her service consisted in busily shaking a rattle, a gourd containing a handful of shot. After birth the infant was immediately washed, bandaged and fastened to the baby-board, *luts-it'-u*, where it remained most of the time for the first twelve or fifteen months of life. As soon thereafter as they could begin to walk, they were loosened from the board and allowed more freedom.


§ 15. *Dress*.—Boys were allowed to go without any dress, other than such bits of clothing as they might pick up, till about six years old. Girls, after three years, were covered with a skirt. The dress of both sexes was quite simple. That of the men consisted of a girdle about the loins, to which was attached the breech-cloth, and from which depended the buckskin leggins covering the thighs and legs. On the feet were moccasins. In winter the body was wrapped in a buffalo robe or blanket; in summer a light blanket, or a thinly dressed skin was worn. But in warm weather they often went without either of these. Moccasins and breech-cloth alone were considered indispensable; the former, because without them traveling on the prairie was impossible, the latter from considerations of modesty. The dress of the women consisted of moccasins, leggins, tightly laced above the knee, and reaching to the ankles, a skirt covering from the waist to below the knee, and a loose waist or jacket suspended from the shoulders by straps. The arms were bare, except when covered by the robe or blanket. The garments of the women, other than the moccasins, were made, if the wearer could afford it, of cloth, otherwise of some kind of skin, dressed thin and soft. The making and keeping in repair of moccasins was a ceaseless task. The last thing each day for the women was to look over the moccasins, and see that each member of the family was supplied for the ensuing day.

The head of the men was close shaven except the scalp-lock. This was dressed as before described (*cf.* § 12). The beard and eyebrows were kept carefully pulled out. The instrument used for this purpose was a spiral coil of wire, about an inch in diameter and two inches long. It

was held closely against the face, and by pressing the coils together the hairs were caught and pulled out. Much time was spent in this work, and great pains taken to prevent the beard or eyebrows from showing at all. The hair of the women was allowed to grow long, and usually hung in two braids at the back. The part in the hair was kept smeared with vermilion, especially with girls and young women. Men and women also sometimes wore a handkerchief or other cloth tied about the head like a turban.

Paint was an important part of the toilet, particularly with men. Young women sometimes used vermilion quite freely on the face, but with men in full costume paint was indispensable. There was no special guide other than individual fancy in its use for personal ornamentation. Sometimes the entire person was bedaubed, but more usually only certain parts, especially the face and breast. When painting the whole body, frequently the nails, or the notched edge of a sort of scraper, was drawn over the body, producing a peculiar barred appearance. Sometimes the figure of certain animals, as the totem of the family to which the person belonged, was conspicuously painted upon the body. In the religious and ceremonial dances various kinds of fantastic and grotesque designs were exhibited. After killing an enemy the lower part of the face might be painted black. The paints used were vermilion, or, if this was not procurable, a kind of clay was burned till it assumed a bright red hue, and then pulverized. Red ochre was also obtained in certain localities on their hunting grounds. Sometimes a white clay was also used. A yellow paint was gathered from the flowers of a species of *Solidago*. All paints, when used on the person, were prepared with buffalo tallow; when for ornamenting robes, they were mixed with water.

The full-dress toilet of a young brave was a matter of serious and protracted study. His habiliments might be few, but the decoration of his person was a slow and apparently not unpleasing process. With his paints mixed in a dish before him, and the fragment of a mirror in his left hand, he would sit for hours trying the effect of various shadings and combinations on his face and person, wiping off and reapplying the pigment with seemingly inexhaustible patience when the effect was not satisfactory. No devotee of fashion ever labored more assiduously to produce striking results in dress than some of these Pawnee braves. Quite a common recreation, after a self-satisfying adornment had once been secured, was to ride leisurely about the village or camp, and complacently permit those of the common throng to lose themselves in admiration.*



§ 16. *Personal Names*.—Children were named by their parents soon after birth. In the selection of names they did not seem to be particularly solicitous, usually taking such as most readily suggested themselves, as *I'-cus* (Turtle), *Ki'-wük* (Fox), *Kit'-uks* (Beaver), etc.; or from some peculiarity early noticed, as *Ka'-tit* (Blackey), *Tük-ä* (Whitey), etc.; or after some distinguished person. A great many names were originally mere nicknames, suggested by some physical mark or deformity, as *Cos-kuts* (Bignose), *Püks'-pä-hüt* (Redhead), *Tat'-pä-huts* (Humpback), etc. Many of these names were so appropriate that they lasted through life, though the person might have another name familiar to all.

After performing any special exploit, a man had a right to change his name, if he preferred. Names were sometimes thus changed several times during life. The first such occasion was a great event with a brave. The new name might be chosen as commemorative of the exploit performed, but not necessarily. For instance, a chief succeeded in stealing a number of horses from the Dakotas. As it happened several of the horses were spotted, accordingly he took the name *Us'-ä-wük-i* (Spotted Horse). Another man, having brought back several horses from a like foray, took the name *A'-rus-ä-ter-üs-pi* (Horse Hunter). Sometimes the name was derived from an individual characteristic, as *La'-ri-kuts-ka'-tit* (Black Warrior), *Sa-ri-xër'-ish* (Angry Chief), etc. But quite usually the new name was selected from mere caprice, or with an idea of its special personal fitness, as *Tër-ür-it-ük-üs* (Shooting Fire), *Le-kits'-kats* (Grey Eagle), *Pit'-a-le-shar-u* (Chief of Men), etc. When the name was finally decided upon, in order to have it, as it were, officially sanctioned, a crier was hired, by the bestowal of a horse or other adequate compensation, to proclaim throughout the band that the person in question (giving his old name) should henceforth be known as (giving the new name). The formula used in making the announcement was quite prolix, and but few of the criers were able to go through it correctly.

§ 17. *Relationship*.—The family organization and degrees of kinship were not so fully developed by distinct terminology as in some Indian tribes. The only attempt hitherto made to exhibit the Pawnee system of relationship is to be found in Morgan's Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity. The following will perhaps serve to illustrate their usage in this respect:

A-ti'-üs, my father; *as*, your father; *i'-as-ti*, his or her father.

A-ti'-rä, my mother; *üs'-üs*, your mother; *ish'-as-ti*, his or her mother.

A'-tip-ät, grandfather, also *i'-pak-ti*.

A'-tik-ä, grandmother.

Great-grandfather was the same as uncle; great-grandmother the same as grandmother.

Ti'-wat-xir-iks, uncle, but only on the mother's side; on the father's side they were fathers. Aunts were mothers.

Tau'-ür-i, husband, or wife. This word is now almost entirely obsolete. The terms now used are: (wife speaking) *ti-kuk'-tük-u*, he is married to me; or *li-kuk'-tük-u*, who is married to me; *i. e.*, he is married to me, or I am his wife. (Husband speaking), *tüt'-i-lük-tük-u*, I am married to her; or *lut'-i-luk'-tük-u*, to whom I am married; *i. e.*, she is my wife, or I am her husband. The general expression would be *lük'-tük-u*, he or she is married to (naming the person to whom); *i. e.*, he is —'s husband, or she is —'s wife. There is a loose usage sometimes heard, which makes *pit'-ä*, man, and *xap'-at*, woman, with the appropriate possessive pronouns, stand for husband and wife; but this locution holds about the same place in Pawnee that *my man* or *my woman* would in good English.

Kus'-tau-i-xu, brother-in-law, or the same as father-in-law.

Sko'-rüs, sister-in-law, but wife's sisters were wives.

Father-in-law was the same as brother-in-law, or (man speaking) *lüt'-ut-kak-u*, I to him am son-in-law, or father-in-law; or *li-kut'-kak-u*, he to me is son-in-law, or father-in-law. (Woman speaking), *ti'-kut-sko'-rüs*, he to whom I am daughter-in-law, or sister-in-law; *i. e.*, my father-in-law, or brother-in-law. Mother-in-law (spoken of man), *xus-tit-ut'-kak-u*, the old woman he has in his lodge, *i. e.*, his mother-in-law; (spoken by daughter-in-law), same as father-in-law. Son-in-law was the same as brother-in-law, or (man speaking) same as father-in-law. Daughter-in-law, *sko'-rüs*, or (daughter-in-law speaking) same as father-in-law.

Tik'-is-u, son.

xu'-üt-i, daughter.

} *pi'-rau*, child.

I'-ra-ri (man speaking), brother; (woman speaking), *i'-räis-ti*.

I'-ta-ri (man speaking), sister; (woman speaking), *i'-ra-ri*.

Läk-ti'-ki, grand-son, grand-daughter, grand-child.

Ti'-wät, nephew, niece, but only on sister's side; otherwise they were same as children.

Cousins they had no distinctive term for. Cousins by a father's brother were the same as brothers and sisters; by aunts (on father's side), they were same as fathers and mothers; by mother's brother, they were same as children.

Tër-a'-ki, twins.

From this exhibit it will be observed that even in designating the simpler degrees of relationship, the terminology becomes in certain

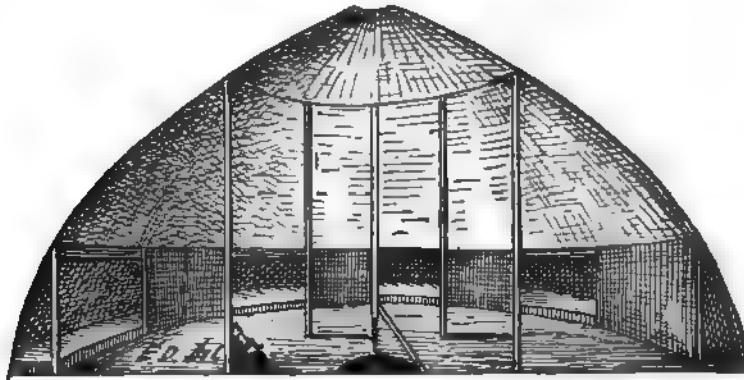


cases indeterminate. Some of the terms given are not names at all, but descriptive phrases, seeming to indicate that even in some of the most usual relations there is an almost entire lack of reflective generalization. Much more will this be the case when they attempt to trace out the remoter degrees. The answers made by the most intelligent Pawnees, when questioned concerning degrees, direct or collateral, remoter than those given, are conflicting and altogether unsatisfying. Hence it is self-evident that a considerable number of the terms given by Morgan are of no special value.

§ 18. *Lodges*.—These were of two patterns, so utterly unlike in appearance and construction that it would scarcely seem possible that they should both be the work of the same tribe. There was the ordinary skin lodge used while on their hunts. The frame consisted of from twelve to twenty smoothly dressed poles, sixteen feet long. After a good set of these poles had once been secured, they were carried on all their travels, just as any other necessary furniture. When a lodge was to be pitched, three of these poles were tied together near the top, and set up like a tripod. The cord with which these three poles were tied was sufficiently long for the ends to hang to the ground. The other poles, save one, were successively set up, the top of each resting against the first three, while the lower ends formed a circle, from twelve to seventeen feet in diameter. The tops were then bound together securely by means of the pendant cord. One edge of the covering was now made fast to the remaining pole, by means of which it was raised up and carried round the framework so as to envelop it completely. The two edges of the cover were closed together by wooden pins or keys, except three feet at the extreme top, left open for a smoke-hole, and an equal space at the bottom for an entrance. The spare pole was attached to one edge of the cover at the top, so that the smoke-hole might be closed or opened at will. The skin of a bear or some other animal was fixed to the outside of the lodge, immediately above the entrance, so as to hang down over the latter as a sort of door. Inside the fireplace occupied the centre of the lodge. About it were spread mats, which served as seats by day and couches by night. All furniture not in actual use was packed on the outside next to the lodge walls. The covering of the lodge was one continuous piece, made up of buffalo skins nicely fitted together. In tanning, these skins were dressed so thin that sufficient light was transmitted into the interior even when the lodge was tightly closed. When new they were quite white, and a village of them presented an

attractive appearance. Sometimes they were variously painted, according to the requirements of Pawnee fancy.

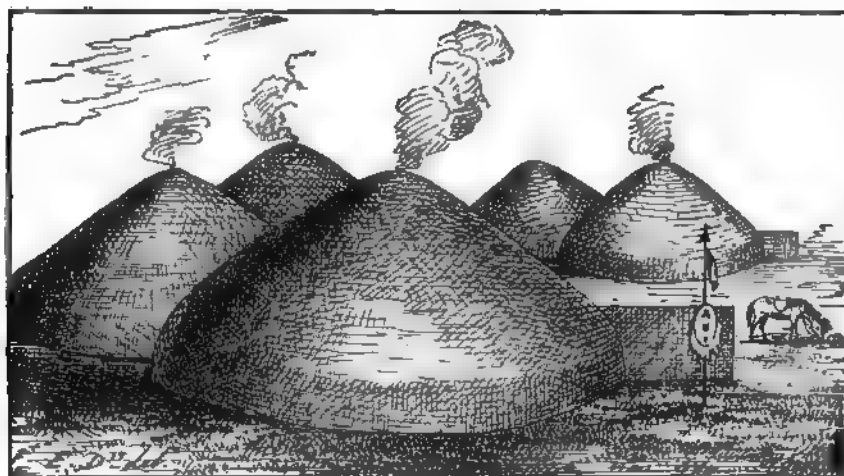
The other was the large stationary lodge found only in their permanent villages. The construction was as follows: The sod was carefully removed from the area to be occupied by the lodge. In the centre an excavation, three feet in diameter and five inches deep, was made for a fireplace. Lieutenant Pike states that the entire area was excavated to a depth of four feet. This is a mistake. The accumulation of loose soil immediately about the lodge, during the process of construction and subsequently, did, however, sometimes produce an apparent depression inside. The soil taken from the fireplace was carefully placed in a small ridge immediately about its edge. The entire



area as thus prepared was then repeatedly beaten with mallets, or billets of wood prepared for the purpose, in order to render it compact and smooth. About the fireplace, at a distance of eight feet from the centre, a circle of six or eight strong posts, forked and rising twelve feet above the surface, was set firmly in the ground. Outside of this circle, at a distance of nine feet, was set another circle of posts similar, but standing only seven feet high, and the same distance from each other. In the forks of the posts of the inner circle strong poles were laid, reaching from one to another. Similar poles were likewise laid on the posts of the outer circle. Two feet outside of this circle a small ditch, two inches deep and three wide, was now dug. In this ditch, at intervals of four inches, were set poles, two or three inches in diameter, and of sufficient length to just reach the poles on the posts of the outer circle. These inclined poles formed the framework of the walls of the lodge.



Poles, of like size and at equal intervals, were now laid from the lower cross poles to the upper, but reaching so far beyond the latter that between the upper extremities of these poles a circular orifice, about two feet in diameter, was left as a skylight and smoke-hole. These poles formed the support of the roof. Willow withes were then bound transversely with bark to these poles at intervals of about an inch. At this stage the lodge had some resemblance to an immense basket inverted. A layer of hay was now placed upon the framework, and the whole built over with sods, the interstices in the sodwork being carefully filled with loose soil. The thickness of the earth upon the roof was about nine inches, on the walls considerably more. The external appearance of a lodge as thus finished was not unlike a large charcoal pit. The entrance was through a passage twelve feet long and seven wide. The



sides of this passage, which always faced the east (as did also the entrance of a skin lodge), were constructed exactly as the walls of the lodge; the top was flat and heavily covered with turf. Over its inner extremity, where it opened into the lodge, was hung a skin as a sort of closure. The lower part of this was free, so that it might be easily thrown up by those passing in and out. Inside, till a person became accustomed to the dim light, all seemed obscure. Near the fireplace was a forked stake, set in an inclining position, to answer as a crane in cooking. The ground about the fire was overspread with mats, upon which the occupants might sit. Next to the wall was a row of beds,

extending entirely around the lodge (except at the entrance), each bed occupying the interval between two posts of the outer circle. The beds were raised a few inches from the ground upon a platform of rods, over which a mat was spread, and upon this the bedding of buffalo robes and other skins. Partitions made of willow withes, bound closely together with bark, were set up between the ends of adjacent beds; and immediately in front of each bed a mat or skin was sometimes suspended to the poles of the roof as a sort of curtain, to be rolled up or let down at pleasure. Furniture, as arms, clothing, provisions, saddles, etc., not in use, was hung upon different parts of the framework, or variously bestowed about the interior.

Several families usually lived in one of these lodges. Though each family had its particular part of the dwelling and the furniture of each was kept separate, anything like privacy in conversation or life was impossible. What one did, all knew. Whenever a member of any one of the families cooked, a portion of the food was given to each occupant without distinction of family. They were also very accommodating, borrowing and lending freely almost any article they had.

The dimensions given in the preceding description are those of an average lodge. The actual proportions of one taken as of ordinary size were: Diameter, 39 feet; wall, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; extreme height of roof, $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet; length of entrance, 13 feet; width, 7 feet. Some of these figures might be considerably larger or smaller. One lodge measured was only 23 feet in diameter; another was 56 feet. Among the remains of an old *Ski'-di* village on the Loup one of the lodges seems to have been 200 feet in diameter. The tradition is that it was a medicine lodge.

As may be readily inferred, the building of one of these fixed lodges was an undertaking involving much labor. The timber quite frequently was procurable only at a distance, and with their facilities its adjustment was a tedious process. And yet, after all the outlay necessary in its construction, it was occupied a comparatively small part of the year, probably not over four months. The remaining eight months they were absent on their semi-annual hunts. Still these fixed residences were of great benefit to them. They preserved alive the idea of home, and were undoubtedly one cause of the tribe's retaining a sort of fixity and regularity in their yearly life which otherwise might have been relinquished long ago. On sanitary grounds their brief yearly continuance in these dwellings was no doubt fortunate. The ventilation in them was very defective, and continuous occupation would in all probability have been a fertile source of wasting disease.

This large lodge was also used among the other branches of the Pawnee family, though in the south its construction was somewhat modified. Catlin represents the Arikara lodges as conical, with no projecting entrance. This is a mistake. Their lodges were essentially the same as those of the Pawnees. Among the southern branches the framework was similar, but instead of a covering of turf they were heavily thatched with straw or grass. Marcy, in his Exploration of the Red River, gives a cut of a Wichita village in which the lodges are represented as conical. This pattern was in use, but the other was the more common.

§ 19. *Agriculture.* Gallatin is quoted as asserting that the Pawnees did not raise sufficient corn to whiten their broth. What his authority was I do not know, but the whole statement is incorrect. The Pawnees have often been remarked as cultivating corn much more extensively than any of the adjacent tribes. The same is also true of their kinsmen, the Arikaras, though they, unlike the Pawnees, made it an article of barter to neighboring Indians. Each family among the Pawnees had its own corn patch, containing from one to (in some cases) three acres. One of the most noticeable features about their permanent villages was these scattered corn patches, usually along the contiguous water courses, though sometimes as much as four or five miles distant. Where not protected by the bank of a stream or other natural defense, they were enclosed by a sort of fence formed of bushes and branches of trees skillfully woven together. Many of the patches were provided with look-outs, or small platforms elevated on a framework of poles, upon which one or more persons were stationed much of the time to prevent birds or animals from injuring the growing grain. In the spring, as soon as the frost was out of the ground, these patches were cleared up and planted. The corn was hoed twice, the last time about the middle of June. Immediately thereafter they started on the summer hunt and remained away till about the first of September, when the young corn had attained sufficient maturity for drying. This (roasting-ear time) was a specially busy season. After providing a good supply of fuel, fires were built about the patches, and the squaws and children were occupied from early morning till nightfall in gathering, roasting, shelling and drying the corn. The corn after picking was thrown in armfuls into the fire and roasted, still in the husk. The husks were then removed, the kernels cut from the cob with the sharpened edge of a clam shell and spread upon outstretched blankets or skins till dried by the rays of the sun. It was then stored away in skin bags for future use. The

work of drying usually continued as long as any corn was to be found in fit condition. Whatever corn was not dried was allowed to ripen till October, when it was gathered and cached.

The corn patches at the drying season present a very picturesque surrounding. In one direction squaws are coming in staggering under immense burdens of wood and leading lines of ponies equally heavily loaded. In another the store of wood is already provided, the fires brightly burning, in them corn roasting, and near by other corn drying, while children passing busily to and fro are bringing loads of ears from the patch. The atmosphere is saturated with the pleasant odor of the roasting and drying corn. When roasted in this way the corn seems to retain a fineness of flavor which is quite lost when cooked after our method.

Besides corn they also cultivated pumpkins and squashes in considerable quantities. When drying the corn these were collected, cut in long, thin strips, hung upon poles till dried and then stored away with the corn.

§ 20. *Manufactures.*—The manufactures of the Pawnees were comparatively limited, and in the main did not extend beyond the supplying of the ordinary wants of daily life. Stone implements, as axes arrowheads, hammers and scrapers, are found about the older village sites, and indicate that they once made use of such tools. After intercourse with the whites was established they soon supplied themselves with these articles of a more useful make. Some of their later productions deserve mention. The constructive industry of the men was confined principally to the making of arms, bows, arrows, shields and spears. These were all objects in which they took great pride. The favorite material for bows was *bois d'arc* (*Maciura Aurantiaca*). When these could not be obtained hickory or coffee bean (*Gymnocladus Canadensis*) was used. The name *ti'-rak-is*, bow, seem to indicate that bows were once made of bone, the ribs of the buffalo or other large animal, skillfully fitted and wrapped throughout with sinew. Forty years ago bows of this kind, and also of elkhorn were occasionally found in use. Choice bows were sometimes made of red cedar, and if carefully used answered well, but were extremely liable to be shattered by any rough handling. The making of a good bow was a task involving long and painstaking labor. It was wrought into shape only a little at a time, being repeatedly oiled meanwhile, and constantly handled to keep the wood pliable. When finished the bow was sometimes wrapped with sinew and its strength thereby greatly increased. The string was of



sinew from the back of the buffalo. As soon as the sinew was taken from the animal the particles of flesh adhering were scraped off and the minute fibers carefully separated. The best of these were selected and twisted into a string of uniform size and elasticity. One end of this string was fastened securely in place upon the bow, and the other furnished with a loop so adjusted that in an instant, as occasion required, the bow might be strung or unstrung. Much labor was also expended in the construction of arrows. The shafts were made from sprouts of dogwood (*Cornus Stolonifera*) of a year's growth. After cutting the bark was removed and the rods were rubbed between two grooved stones, held firmly together in one hand, till reduced to a proper size and smoothness. The head made of hoop iron was then inserted in one end of the shaft and bound in position with sinew. The back end of the shaft was now furnished with a triple row of feathers attached by means of glue and sinew, and the end notched to fit the bow-string. With a small chisel-like instrument three slight grooves or channels were cut along the shaft between the head and the feathers and the arrow was complete. Various reasons were assigned for this channeling. Some claimed that it caused the arrow to adhere more firmly in the wound; others that it was simply designed to facilitate the flow of blood. The manufacture of arrows, as of bows, was a slow and irksome process. Three or four were probably the limit of a day's work, even after the rough material was already at hand. So exact were they in making them that not only were the arrows of different tribes readily distinguishable, but even individuals could recognize their own arrows when thrown together with those of others of the same band. Disputes sometimes arose after the slaughter of a herd of buffalo as to whose some particular carcass rightfully was. If the arrow still remained in the body the question was easily decided by drawing it out and examining the make of it. Some Indians made two kinds of arrows, one for hunting and another for war. In the latter the head was so fastened that when an attempt was made to draw the shaft from a wound, the head was detached and remained in the body of the victim. The Pawnees never used such. When once he had possessed himself of a good bow and a supply of arrows, the Pawnee was as solicitous in the care of them as a hunter would be of a choice rifle. The bow, if not in actual service, was kept close in its case, and the arrows in the quiver. Great pains were taken that they should not become, by any chance, wet, and much time was spent in handling them that the bow should not lose its spring and the arrows should not warp. The average

length of the former was four feet, of the latter twenty-six inches. The bowcase and quiver were made of skin, dressed to be as impervious as possible to moisture. The usual material was elk skin. Indians who could afford it sometimes made a quiver and case of the skin of an otter or panther. In removing a skin which was to be used for this purpose from the carcass, care was exercised that every particle of the skin, that of the head, tail, and even the claws, should be retained, and appear in the case when finally made up. Cases of this make with their heavy coating of fur were virtually waterproof, and were very highly prized.

The manufacture of all other articles of use was left entirely to the women. They made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being properly burned was quite serviceable. They wove mats of rushes, and baskets of osier and bark. With the aid of fire they shaped mortars and bowls from blocks of wood. They also made dippers and spoons of the same material, though the latter were more usually made of buffalo horn. Combs, or rather hair-brushes, were made from the awns and stiff fibers of a species of coarse grass (*Stipa Juncea*). From a species of sweet scented grass necklaces, some of them very beautiful, were braided. The fragrance of these was very pleasant, and seemed to last for a long time. Canoes were rarely made or used by the Pawnees. One of the processes in which the women of this tribe especially excelled was the dressing of buffalo hides. Robes as prepared by them were ordinarily very superior to those of other tribes. Frequently the robes were quite curiously painted with various decorations. Such robes were made from the skins taken in the winter hunt when the hair was long and closely set. The skins of the summer hunt were tanned and used for covering the traveling lodges, for articles of clothing, and for bags, thongs and lariats. Ropes were also braided from the mane of the buffalo taken from robes in tanning, and were considered very valuable. In making moccasins and clothing generally Pawnee women did not produce as fine work as was to be found with some other tribes.

Toys for the diversion of children were simple in construction and limited in variety. Poppuns, similar to those used by white children, and whistles of wood or bone were usual playthings. With girls dolls of different patterns were common. It might naturally be surmised that such articles were originally borrowed, at least in idea, from the whites, but this was certainly not the case.

JOHN B. DUNBAR



¹ The colonelcy in the Spanish army (of Mexico) indicates a close relation between the Caddos and the Mexican authorities. In February, 1822, a delegation of two chiefs visited the city of Mexico to congratulate the government and Gen. Iturbida upon the establishment of the national independence. Both these facts tend to show that for some reason the Spanish had maintained an intimate intercourse with the tribe. Considering the small number of the Caddos since known to the United States, it would be quite reasonable to conclude that their motive was to control the influence of the Caddos among the adjacent tribes.

² Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, in his "Relation of All Things which Have Been Seen and Known in New Mexico, as well by Sea as by Land, from the Year 1538 to 1626," says (§108 *ad fin*): The Ercansagues (Arkansas) inhabit that section of the country which, at 46° North Lat. and 162° of Long., extends obliquely to the shelter formed by certain mountain sides and to a river (the Platte) which flows northeast (?), southeast and incorporates with another (the Missouri) which discharges into the Mississippi. They form part of the Pananas, and are subject to the French of Louisiana.

Some writers claim that De Soto and Coronado on their famous expeditions both penetrated to the Pawnees. Col. Simpson in his paper on Coronado's march (recently published in the Am. Rept. of the Smithsonian Institution) concludes that it may have extended as far as (what is now) eastern Kansas. Still I have not been able to learn that there are any indisputable data for this conclusion, nor any statements in the original narratives that refer necessarily to the Pawnees. De Soto, also, after crossing the Mississippi may have reached the Pawnees; but the mere names that a Spaniard would give in a rapid march are feeble data to identify a tribe without other corroborative notice. The remotest point in De Soto's trans-Mississippi journey was the people of Tulla, who by some for a certain reason are supposed to have been a branch of the Dakotas. Turning south from there, after crossing the Cayas (Kansas or Arkansas) he came upon the Quipanas, who are described as occupying a town in a rough, hilly region, (possibly the Quapaws of the Ozark mts.) This name Quipanas (the regular Spanish term for Pawnees was Pananas) is not far from Panis, Paniassa and Panimaha; but the thread of itself is too slight to warrant any positive assertions.

Tonty, *Voyage au Nord*, seems to have visited the Pawnees, but gives no new particulars. Hennepin, *Voyage en un Pays plus grand que l'Europe*, speaks of them as known and extravagantly magnifies their number. He represents them as living in twenty-two villages, the least of which contained 200 cabins, or lodges.

³ Rev. S. L. Riggs informed me that the error of this map of De Lisle's was frequent in the French maps of 150 years ago. In them the Pawnees were commonly placed too far north, beyond the Cheyenne River and about the head waters of the Yellowstone. Marquette's map locates the Pawnees too far south, unless it refers only to the Wichitas (Pawnee Picts). The map in Le Clerq's *Gaspésie* (1691), Hennepin's, De Lisle's (1700), Joutel's (1713), and De la Potherie's (1721) omit the Pawnees altogether.

⁴ *A' Li hit! K'us'-ke-har-u. K'ur-üs-u-ras id-i t'üs-ku-ra-w'isk-u? Laü-i-lük-u-ru-t'üs.*

"Aha, you Ponca! It was (pretended) peace. Did you find what you was laughing at me about? You meant fight!"

The keen satire of the interrogation is exquisite. It conceives of the Poncas as quietly laughing in their sleeves, during their ostensibly amicable visit, in anticipation of the summary retribution that they expected to inflict upon their oppressors.

⁵ The garments described in the text are those of ordinary wear. Indians who were able often had beside a partial or full suit for special occasions. In the preparation of some of these a great outlay was made, and a vast amount of labor expended. A jacket, made like a shirt, or

beaver or otter skins, and ornamented with beads, was highly coveted, and was beyond the command of any but the privileged few. The finest article of Indian apparel I ever saw was one of these jackets made from four otter skins. The body was formed of two pelts, and each arm of one. The skin of the head, tail, feet and even the claws of all the animals were preserved intact in the garment, and the whole richly trimmed with beads. Similar garments were also made of fine cloth, fringed with swan's down, and heavily beaded.

An article of dress in great request was a circle or chaplet of eagles' feathers worn on the head. The feathers were set in a band of dressed skin, which fitted closely about the head, and supported them in an upright position. The feathers were usually variously tinted, and constituted a most prominent part in a Pawnee costume. If the owner could afford it, a trail, with a single or double row of feathers, was appended to the head band, and passed down the back quite to the ground. An excellent illustration of such a head-dress may be seen on page 266 of Mrs. Carrington's *Absarako*. (The same cut is also given in Colonel Dodge's *Plains of the Great West*.)

Besides all the articles mentioned, the person might be decorated with manifold ornaments, according to the ability and caprice of the wearer. An illustration of the more ordinary Pawnee dress may be found on page 264 of the first volume named above.

RETURN JONATHAN MEIGS

COLONEL OF THE CONNECTICUT LINE OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

This meritorious officer of the Revolution—a sketch of whom appears to be called for to relieve his memory from a lately published libel—descended in the fifth generation from Vincent Meigs, of Devonshire, England, who, migrating to America, became one of the founders of the town of East Guilford, Connecticut, in 1637-8. After the early settler came three John Meigs's, father, son and grandson, then Junna Meigs, first magistrate of East Guilford, and finally Return Meigs, father of the Revolutionary Colonel. The descendants of Vincent to-day are numerous and scattered throughout the States.

In his journal of the Quebec expedition, Colonel Meigs gives December 28, 1740, as the date of his birth; and in noting the return of the anniversary, he makes the comment that his brief career of prosperity and adversity called only for the "warmest gratitude." We hear of him before the war at Middletown, Connecticut—his birthplace—as a respected tradesman, citizen and militia officer. His first commissions in the latter capacity are still preserved—that of October 11, 1772, making him Lieutenant, being signed by Governor Trumbull as "Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut in New England." On the 18th of October, 1774, the Governor commissioned him Captain of "a military company or trainband in the town of Middletown, to be known by the name of the Company of Light Infantry in the 6th Regiment of the Colony." It was this company that Captain Meigs led to Boston immediately upon the Lexington alarm of April 19th, 1775. The great stir throughout the eastern colonies on the following days must have been a movement after his own heart, if we may judge from his prompt action in marching out.

In the organization of regiments for service, after the alarm, Captain Meigs was made Second Major of Colonel Joseph Spencer's Second Connecticut State Regiment,¹ which was posted on the right wing at Roxbury. For a few months the troops there had little to do beyond drilling and watching. In September and after, Major Meigs saw service of a more active and trying sort, as he was detached in that month to take part in the famous expedition against Quebec, through the Maine wilderness. Good officers were needed for the enterprise, and





Handwritten signature or text, possibly "J. M. Smith", located below the portrait.

the brilliant record most of them subsequently made for themselves is evidence of the care with which they were originally selected. Judge Henry, of Pennsylvania, one of the detachment, describing some of the leaders, says: "Majors Meigs, Febiger and Bigelow were excellent characters." The expedition, consisting of eleven hundred men, was divided into four divisions, one of which was placed under Meigs's charge, and what experiences it met with from day to day we have from the Major's own pen. Among the good services he rendered the historian at least, throughout the march, was the keeping of his well known journal of its incidents, which may be regarded also as quite a model for exactness, clearness and brevity, although the writer made no pretensions to literary ability.*

The details of the Quebec enterprise, the hardships encountered and its final misfortune, are familiar. Fort Western on the Kennebeck river, fifty miles from its mouth, was the last rendezvous before the command struck into the forest, where on the evening after the start the Major makes this brief note in his journal: "At three o'clock P. M. [Sept. 27, 1775] I embarked on board my battoe with the third division of the army, consisting of 4 companies musketmen, with 45 days provision, and proceeded up the river, hoping for the protection of a kind providence." The four companies were Captain Dearborn's, of New Hampshire; Ward's, of Rhode Island; Goodrich's, of Massachusetts, and Hanchett's, of Connecticut. The journey was trying in the extreme, and none but resolute and cheerful spirits could have pushed on to the end. Meigs throughout was active and full of hope; sometimes reconnoitering, sometimes clearing the rough portages, now building a block house, and again distributing provisions and money to the entire detachment. By November 1st they were not yet out of the wilderness, and the men were suffering. "This day," writes the Major, "I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them except to encourage them. One or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with a good appetite, even the feet and skins." Arriving finally, opposite Quebec and joined by Montgomery, the command prepared for the storming of the town. Preliminary attempts to compel its surrender were of no avail. On the 9th of December a battery was erected before the St. John's gate, and a party of one hundred men, which Meigs accompanied, covered the artillerymen while they bombarded the place. On the 11th, the Major continues: "I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The weather extreme cold. I

froze my feet." But the Quebec garrison only laughed at the pop-gun cannonade. Montgomery and all his officers saw that if the place was to be taken at all, it must be by surprise and storm. How Meigs regarded the attempt he tells us in a few lines: "It is now in agitation to storm the town, which, if resolved, I hope will be undertaken with proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigorously executed." When decided upon, he adds: "The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise."

The assault on the morning of December 31st, the failure, the fall of the brave Montgomery and the capture of nearly the entire expeditionary party that marched by way of the Kennebeck—all matters of common history—are mentioned with some particularity by Meigs, as well as by other officers engaged. The Major brought up the rear of the attacking column led by Arnold, Greene and Morgan, and was with them in the thick of the fighting as long as it lasted. They began the real work about five o'clock A. M., and at ten were compelled to surrender, as Meigs observes, "with much reluctance." The death of Montgomery seems to have deeply affected the Major, who but two days before had dined with the General, and spent an agreeable afternoon and evening at his quarters. What he says of him in his journal is historically interesting, and also reflects the sincerity of a friend's tribute. The extract, not often quoted, will have its freshness for some readers:

"His honour Brigadier-General Montgomery was shot through both his thighs and through his head. His body was taken up the next day. An elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the next Thursday after. I am informed that when his body was taken up, his features were not the least distorted, but his countenance appeared regular, serene and placid, like the soul that late had animated it. The General was tall and slender, well limbed, of genteel, easy, graceful, manly address. He had the voluntary love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army. His death, though honorable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced brave general, whose country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. His sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed."

It would seem that after the surrender, Major Meigs, although confined in the Seminary at Quebec with his fellow prisoners, was specially favored by the British commander, General Carleton. He was selected two days after to return to the American camp for the officers' baggage, was again permitted to go out on a similar errand, and in May following

he was released on parole and returned to Connecticut. On this point Captain Thayer states in his journal, under date of the 15th, that Carleton himself called on Meigs, and promised that he should start "in a few days to Halifax on his way home."¹ It is probable that the reason why such indulgence was granted the Major is that hinted at by Washington in a letter of August 8, 1776, to the effect that the Major, as he had been informed, was paroled "in consequence of his saving the life of a British officer either nearly connected with or much esteemed by General Carleton."² Although Meigs says nothing about this act of protection, he does state in his journal, that on the day of his capture at Quebec he dined with Captain Law, the British Chief Engineer, whom he (Meigs) had taken prisoner early in the assault, but who was released when the American party in turn was compelled to surrender. As Law also treated him with marked "politeness" and consideration, the inference seems legitimate that he felt himself under some special obligation to Meigs, and that it was he to whom Washington refers as the officer saved by the Major. However this may be, Major Meigs was paroled on May 16th, and started for home on the following day in company with Captain Dearborn, who had received the same favor in consequence of continued illness. The manner of their departure is thus told in Dearborn's manuscript journal:³

*"May 10, 1776.—*Majr Meigs has obtained Liberty of the Genl to go home to New Engd on his parole.

*"May 16.—*At one o'clock P: M: Mr. Levens came to see me & to my great Joy, informed me that the Genl had given his consent for me to go home on Parole, and that we should sail this afternoon.—at 5: of the clock the Town Major came for Major Meigs & myself, to go to the Lieut-Governor to give our Parole,—the verbal agreement we made was that if ever there was an exchange of Prisoners, we were to have the benefit of it, and until then we were not to take up arms against the King.—after giving our paroles from under our hands, we were carried before the Genl. who appeared to be a very humane, tender-hearted man. After wishing us a good voyage & saying he hoped to give the remainder of our officers the same Liberty, he desir'd the Town Major to conduct us on Board.— We desired leave to visit our men in prison but could not obtain it—after getting our baggage & taking leave of our fellow prisoners we went on board a schooner, which we are to go to Halifax in, but as she did not sail to-day, we were invited on Board the Admirals ship, where we were very genteely used, and Tarried all night."

Two months later, July 16th, they arrived at Portsmouth, and at sunset Dearborn reached his family at Nottingham. It was six days

later, July 22d, before Meigs arrived at his home at Middletown.* In September following, their Quebec comrades also returned on parole and on or about January 1st, 1777, the greater part of them, including Meigs, Lamb, Morgan, Febiger, Potterfield, Thayer and others, were regularly exchanged, the exchange being announced in the papers of the day by order of General Washington.

Into the particulars of Meigs' subsequent career it is hardly necessary to enter; being generally well known to readers of revolutionary history, an outline will suffice. Upon his exchange Governor Trumbull and his council appointed him Major of Colonel Samuel Wyllys's continental regiment, then forming under the new establishment in Connecticut.' But on February 10th, 1777, Washington approved his appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel of one of the additional sixteen regiments to be raised at large, of which Henry Sherburne, of Rhode Island, was to be Colonel.* The chief's endorsement was satisfactory, Meigs' character "as a Soldier and an Officer," he writes, "being good and such as deserves notice." The new Lieutenant-Colonel repaired to Providence and then to Connecticut again, where half his regiment was to be recruited.

It was while at New Haven temporarily in General Parsons' command that Colonel Meigs soon after was detailed to undertake the Sag Harbor expedition, which though of minor proportions, was executed with such despatch and success as to bring him the thanks of Congress and draw attention to his military capacity. For rapid work few similar enterprises can rank with it. Taking two hundred and twenty picked men and officers from Parsons' regiments, and embarking them in thirteen whale-boats, Meigs left New Haven on the 21st of May and proceeded to Guilford, some ten miles to the eastward. There he made his final preparations, reduced his command to one hundred and seventy men, and at one o'clock P. M. on Friday, the 23d, he started across the Sound under convoy of two armed sloops. Arriving near Southold, L. I., at six in the evening, fifteen miles from Sag Harbor on the other side of Long Island, the party, still further reduced by guard details to one hundred and thirty, carried eleven of the whale-boats across the neck of land to the bay beyond, rowed to within a short distance of their destination, landed at 2 A. M., formed and marched "in the greatest order and silence," rushed with fixed bayonets on the guards in the village, burned twelve sloops and brigs and an armed vessel at the docks, with a large quantity of hay, and securing ninety prisoners, immediately returned by the same route—Meigs having thus, as General

Parsons reports, "in 25 hours, by land and water, transported his men full ninety miles, and succeeded in his attempts beyond my most sanguine expectations, without losing a single man, either killed or wounded."

In appreciation of this quite brilliant exploit, Congress passed a resolution highly complimentary to the Colonel and his command, and voted the former an elegant sword "to be provided by the commissary general of military stores." Through the failure either of the commissary or the stores, no sword was provided until nine years later, when it was forwarded to Colonel Meigs, at Middletown, accompanied with the following letter, as transcribed from the original:

"War Office of the United States,
New York, June 2d, 1786.

Sir,

The United States in Congress Assembled were pleased by their resolve of the 7th of July, 1777, to express their just sense of your merit and of the officers and soldiers under your command, for the distinguished prudence, activity, enterprise, and valour, in an expedition to Long Island, and to direct that an elegant sword should be presented to you for your conduct on the occasion.

I have the honor, Sir, to transmit the sword to you, as a perpetual evidence of the enterprize in the direction of which, you have displayed such military talents, and of the approbation of the highest authority of the United States.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs.

H. KNOX."

Promotion naturally followed, and on the 24th of September, 1777, after being stationed on the Hudson during the summer, part of the time in Fort Montgomery, Meigs was appointed by Trumbull full Colonel of the sixth continental regiment from Connecticut, whose first Colonel, William Douglas, of Northford, another excellent officer, had died in May previous." The regiment was raised largely from New Haven County. During the two years following Colonel Meigs and his men formed a part of the force which guarded the Hudson highlands and the Connecticut border, and also assisted in building the permanent works at West Point. In the summer of 1779 the regiment took part in all the marching and countermarching coincident with the enemy's movements up the Hudson and their raid along the Connecticut coast. The Colonel, himself, however, was selected by Washington to command one of the light infantry regiments for the campaign, and the

next we hear of him is in connection with the famous storming of Stony Point on the night of July 15th, 1779. Meigs on that occasion, it will be remembered, commanded the Third regiment, composed of the eight Connecticut light infantry companies, which formed the centre of the main attacking column under Wayne—the leading regiment, composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians, being under the command of Meigs' old Quebec companion, Colonel Febiger. Massachusetts light infantry, under Major Hull, followed Meigs, while the left column was headed by such choice officers as Colonel Richard Butler, of Pennsylvania, and Major "Jack" Steward, of Maryland, with Major Murfree, of North Carolina, making a diversion in front. Wayne's little army of some thirteen hundred men was made up of the very *elite* of Washington's camp, and the dashing manner in which it captured Stony Point covered it with as much glory as soldiers could desire. Meigs, like all the rest, did his part well, following Febiger, according to orders, close up to the works, when he filed off rapidly to the right, and formed in the rear of the enemy to prevent any attempt to escape by the river." In his official report of the affair Wayne says: "Colonels Butler, Meigs and Febiger conducted themselves with that coolness, bravery and perseverance that will ever insure success."

Upon the disbandment of the Light Infantry in December following, Colonel Meigs, whose reputation was now a most enviable one, returned to his regiment, and in the spring of 1780 had temporary command of the brigade to which he was attached. While acting in this capacity, a portion of the Connecticut line gave practical expression to the general discontent in camp respecting the quality and quantity of rations, pay and clothing, by refusing to do duty until their grievances were attended to. Colonel Meigs no sooner heard of the attempted insubordination than he took prompt measures to suppress it and restore order and discipline in the line. When Washington was informed of what had happened he reported the matter to Congress, mentioning Meigs' timely action, and also wrote the following commendatory note to the Colonel himself, the original of which is in the possession of one of his descendants :"

"Head Quarters, 26th May, 1780.

Sir,

I am exceedingly happy to hear that matters are again reduced to a state of tranquility in the Brigade under your command. I am very much obliged to you for your exertions upon the first appearance of a proceeding of so dangerous a nature and for your conduct throughout the whole of it. Mutiny, as you very

properly observe, cannot in any case be justified, but still, if the Commissaries, by a partiality of Issues, have in any degree given ground of complaint, they shall be called to account and made to answer for it.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Yr most obt Servt,

Colo Meigs.

GO. WASHINGTON."

[Addressed—"Colo. Meiggs, Commd. 1st Connct Brigade.—Go. Washington."]

On the discovery of Arnold's treason, Meigs' regiment was one of several that were hurried off with all speed from the camp below to the protection of West Point.

The year however closed without any important occurrence along the Hudson, and the new year of 1781 began with the reorganization of the army by the reduction of the number of regiments required from the several States. Connecticut's eight were consolidated into five, and many changes were made in the assignment of line and field officers to command them. Four colonels retired honorably on January 1, 1781, and among them was the subject of this sketch—Colonel Meigs—who had been continuously in the service of the country for nearly six years.* During that time he had exhibited all the qualities of a good soldier—patience, tact, skill, enterprise, and personal courage in an eminent degree—and had fought, as he expressed it, only for "a common cause."

The career of Colonel Meigs, after the close of the war, is sketched quite fully by Hildreth, in his "Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio." Going west with the pioneers of the Ohio Company as a surveyor, he assisted in opening up the country, held judicial offices at times, and, in 1801, was appointed by President Jefferson agent for Indian affairs in the Cherokee Nation, and agent of the War Department in the State of Tennessee, and retained these appointments until January 28, 1823, the day of his death. An interesting scrap of history as well as a deserved tribute to his memory appears in the obituary notice of the "Veteran" (printed at the time in broadside form), a part of which is as follows:

... "He was one of the first settlers of the wilderness which has since become the State of Ohio, having landed at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingam rivers with the earliest emigrants. A government for the North Western Territory had been prepared by an ordinance of the Congress of 1787. Governor St. Clair and the Judges of the Territory had not arrived. The emigrants were without civil laws or civil authority. Col. Meigs drew up a concise system of regulations, which were agreed to by the emigrants, as the rule of conduct and preservation, until the proper authorities should arrive. To give these

regulations publicity, a large oak, standing near the confluence of the rivers, was selected, from which the bark was cut off, of sufficient space to attach the sheet on which the regulations were written ; and they were beneficially adhered to until the civil authorities arrived. This venerable oak was, to the emigrants, more useful, and as frequently consulted, as the oracle of ancient Delphi by its votaries.

"During a long life of activity and usefulness, no man ever sustained a character more irreproachable than Col. Meigs. He was a pattern of excellence as a Patriot, a Philanthropist, and a Christian. In all vicissitudes of fortune, the duties of religion were strictly observed, and its precepts strikingly exemplified. The latter part of his life was devoted to the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of the country, for which purpose he accepted the Agency of the Cherokee Station ; and in the discharge of his duties he inspired the highest degree of confidence in that nation, by whom he was emphatically denominated 'THE WHITE PATH.' In all cases they revered him as their father, and obeyed his counsel as an unerring guide.

"His death is a loss to the country, and especially to that Station. His remains were interred with the honors of war, amidst a concourse of sincere friends, and in the anguish of undissembled sorrow. His death was serenely happy in the assurance of Christian hope."

Unfortunately, and, we may say, inexcusably, the honorable name of Meigs is attacked in Judge Thomas Jones' contemporary account of the Revolution, recently published under the auspices of the New York Historical Society.⁴ The aspersions, in the nature of the case, can be easily refuted, and indeed would hardly call for refutation, but for the respectable source of the work in question. Judge Jones—to put the case briefly—having been a devoted loyalist during the revolution, endeavors to bring that movement into disrepute by exposing, as he imagines he does, the true character and inner history of certain men and transactions upon the American side. Thus General Washington, Colonel Meigs and Colonel Lamb, of the artillery, are severally accused of having broken their military paroles and proved themselves generally as men without any sense of honor. Of course in each case the charge fails completely. Colonel Meigs, for instance, we are told undertook the Sag Harbor expedition before he had been exchanged as a Quebec prisoner. But as Colonel Samuel B. Webb, one of Washington's aids, sent an official notice to one or more newspapers,⁵ under date of January 10th, 1777—four months before the expedition—that Meigs had within a few days been regularly exchanged, Judge Jones must, posthumously, be compelled to retract. Meigs, in fact, refrained from

visiting Washington in camp, lest that act itself might be construed into an infraction of his parole; much less would he resume camp duties. The point is set at rest by the letter referred to, which runs as follows:"

"Head Quarters in Morristown, Jan. 10, 1776 [1777].

I have it in command from his Excellency, General Washington, to request you will publish the following list of gentlemen, officers and volunteers, who are released from their paroles, which they gave General Carleton, by an exchange of others of the same rank and number belonging to the British Army.

I am, &c.,

SAMUEL B. WEBB, A. D. C.

Majors *Meiggs*, Bigelow; Captains Lamb, Tobham, Thayer, Morgan, Goodrich, Hanchett; Lieutenants McDougall, Compton, Clark, Webb, Feger [Febiger], Heth, Savage, Brown, Nicholls, Bruin, Steel; Ensign Tisdal; Volunteers Oswald, Duncan, Lockwood, McGuire, Potterfield, Henry."

Another charge made by the Judge is more offensive and equally false, the charge, namely, that Meigs, before the war, was a hardened character, having once been tried and convicted in New York as a counterfeiter and sentenced to be hanged, but subsequently pardoned by Governor Tryon, on the petition of Governor Trumbull and the entire Legislature of Connecticut. On its very face this charge is impossible and monstrous. Can it be assumed that such a character would have been permitted to hold positions of responsibility and trust soon after his pardon, either by Trumbull or Washington? Judge Jones probable recollected the circumstance that while he was Recorder of New York, in 1772, a man by the name of Meigs was tried, convicted and pardoned, as stated above, and then, when writing his account a few years later, concluded that the revolutionary colonel was none other than the felon of 1772. But had he taken the trouble (as he was in justice and honor, as a Judge and narrator, bound to do) to consult the records and make sure of his identity, he would have found that the criminal in question was one *Felix* Meigs, described in the Colonial records of this State as a "boatman" of New York and native of Connecticut." It is fortunate, as well as somewhat singular, that all the important documents in the case, including affidavits of the prisoner's friends, and the official correspondence between Tryon, Trumbull and Lord Dartmouth are preserved in manuscript in the archives of New York and the papers of the Connecticut Governor. The case may be called one of "mistaken identity;" but when made by a judge who in his official career

must have had occasion to remind juries or parties at law that personal characters are not to be recklessly assailed, the mistake appears unpardonable. The fair reputation of Colonel Meigs thus survives all the libellous imputations which Judge Jones hands down as facts of history. Many other of his pretended facts could be disposed of as effectually.

The subordinate officers of the Revolution, those below the grade of Brigadier, merit a more particular notice and appreciation than, as a body, they usually receive. So few general officers were killed or died during the contest, that really capable colonels were without the opportunity of advancement. In a larger army there could have been little doubt of their rapid promotion. Colonels Butler, Stewart, Putnam, Scammell, Laurens, Hamilton, Webb, Cilley, Meigs, Ogden, Olney, Van Courtlandt, William Washington, Lee, Febiger, Tallmadge, Horry, Ramsay and others, for instance, could not have failed to figure far more conspicuously in a struggle of such proportions as the late civil war. The misfortune of the individual, however, proved a great advantage to the cause. Washington found himself in time supported by a superior corps of officers down to the lowest grade. Among regimental commanders he had men fit to be generals, and among captains not a few who could handle regiments with skill. About many of them little is known.

HENRY P. JOHNSTON

References.—1. Hinman's Connecticut, p. 166—2. Meigs' journal was first published in the Mass. Historical Collections, second series, vol. II, and more recently in separate form, with notes by Mr. Chas. I. Bushnell, of New York—3. Thayer's journal in R. I. Hist. Collections—4. Force, 5th series, vol. I., p. 853—5. Dearborn's journal in possession of the Boston Public Library—6. Sparks' Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. I., p. 265—7. Hinman, p. 407—8. Magazine of American History for Feb., 1879, p. 121; also Trumbull MS. papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 10, p. 38—9. Parsons to Washington in Hildreth's "Lives of the Early Settlers of Ohio," p. 532—10. Hinman, p. 489—11. Col. Febiger's MS.—12. This letter and the preceding one from Gen. Knox in possession of Col. Meigs' grandson, Hon. R. J. Meigs, Washington, D. C., to whom the writer extends his thanks for favor of copies—13. MS. Note Book, Inspector of the Conn. Division—14. Jones' "History of New York During the Revolutionary War," vol. I., p. 180-182—15. Conn. Gazette, New London, Jan. 31, 1777—16. Documents Colonial Hist. of New York, vol. VIII., p. 338.

Note.—Colonel Meigs had three brothers—Hon. Josiah Meigs, graduate of Yale College, first President of Georgia University, and Surveyor General of the United States; John Meigs, Captain Continental Line; and Giles Meigs. Among his children was Gov. R. J. Meigs, of Ohio, afterwards Postmaster-General. Major-Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, the present Quartermaster-General of the Army, is grandson of the Colonel's brother, Josiah Meigs. The painting from which the accompanying portrait of the Colonel was taken, represents him in his 79th year, and is in possession of his great grandson, Mr. Meigs Whaples, of Hartford. Another original picture or copy is in Washington.

DIARY OF A FRENCH OFFICER

1781

(Presumed to be that of Baron Cromot du Bou.g,
Aid to Rochambeau.)

*From an unpublished Manuscript in the posses-
sion of C. Fiske Harris, of
Providence, R. I.*

Translated for the Magazine of American History

II

FROM PROVIDENCE TO KING'S FERRY.

JUNE

June 14—I left (Boston) in the even-
ing for Providence, and slept at Dhe-
dem (Dedham), where I found the re-
inforcement of seven hundred men which
came by the convoy, and were on their
way to join the army; for want of a bed
I settled myself on a chair.

June 15—I left at four o'clock in the
morning for Providence, where I ar-
rived at eleven. There I found the army
encamped, as I have stated, since the
eleventh. Providence is a pretty enough
little town, quite a business place before
the war; there is nothing of interest
in it except an extremely beautiful hos-
pital. Two rivers meet there and flow
together to the sea.

June 16—17—18—I remained there.
The first division, or rather the first regi-
ment, that of Bourbonnais, with M. de
Rochambeau and M. de Chatelus, en-
camped in the evening at Waterman's
tavern; we found the roads very bad,
and our artillery had great difficulty in
following us. The troops marched very
badly this day.

Side Note.—The 18 the Bourbonnais marched
(M. de Rochambeau); the 19 Deux Ponts (M. de

Viomenil, Barón); the 20, Soissonois (Count de
Viomenil); the 21, Saintonge (M. de Custine).
March of 15 miles.

June 19—We continued our route,
and came to Plainfield, the roads still
quite bad, many stragglers; the baggage
and artillery arrived; there is at Plain-
field a superb position for twelve or fif-
teen thousand men; it is beyond the vil-
lage about a mile and a half on the road
from Providence.

Side Note.—March of 15 miles.

June 20—We came to Windham. The
village is very pretty, and there is also a
very fine position this side of Wind-
ham, about a mile distant. The troops
marched much better. The baggage
arrived very late because of the bad
roads. A very fine river flows by here.

Side Note.—Nine men deserted from the regi-
ment of Soissonois and one from Royal Deux-
Ponts.

March of 15 miles.

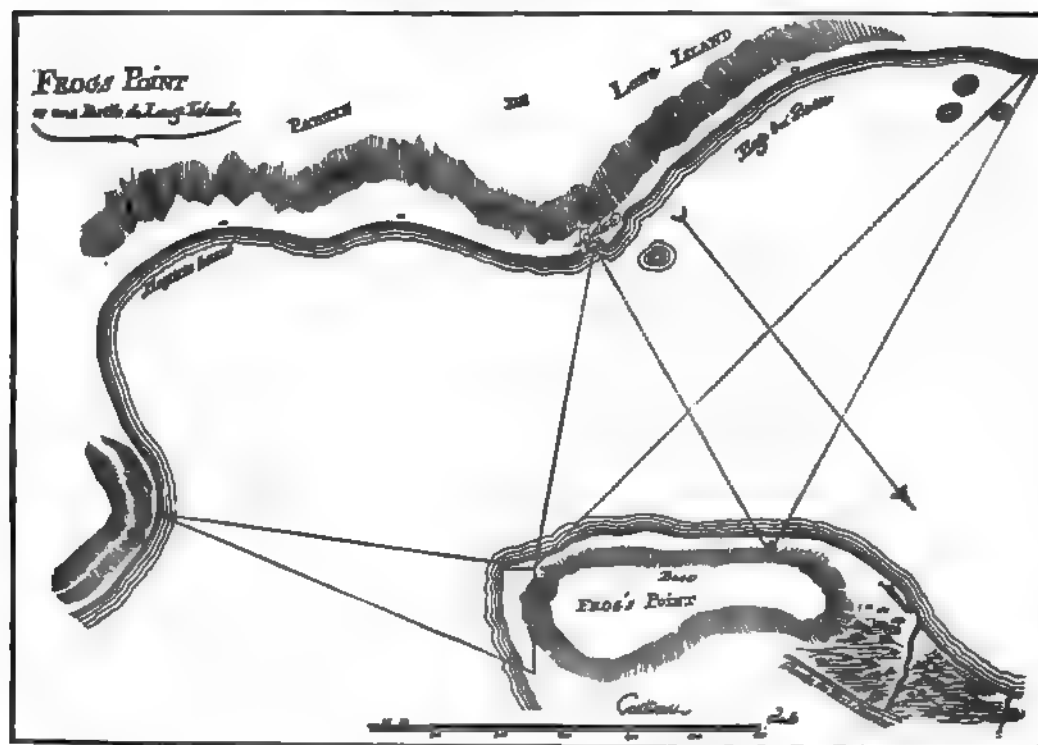
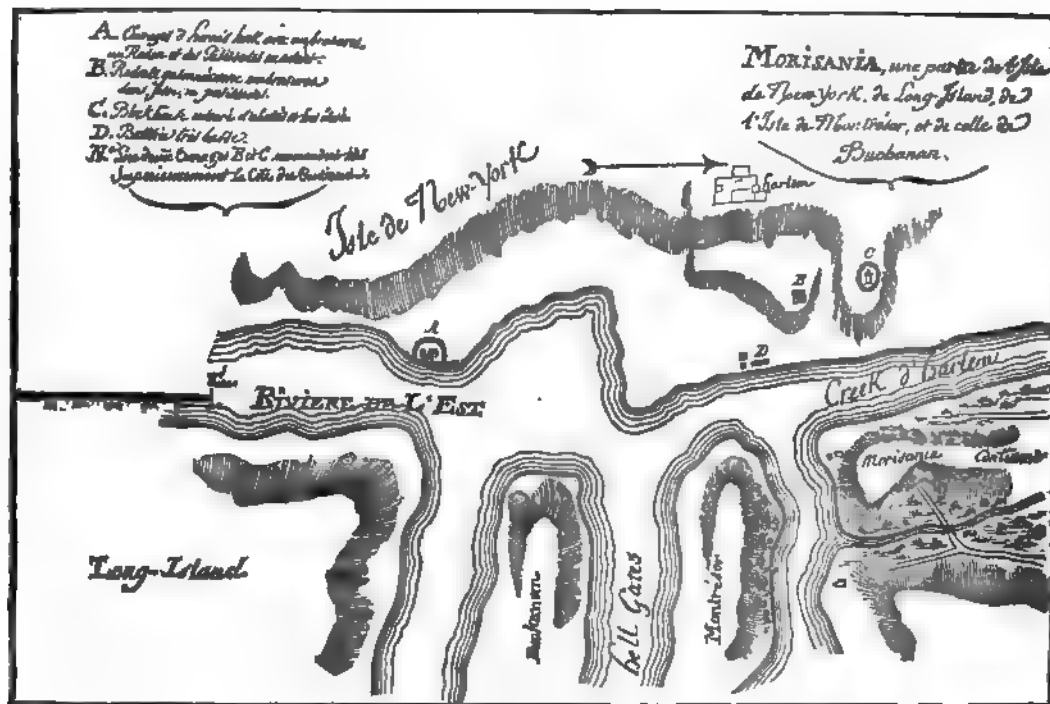
June 21—We came to Bolton with the
greatest difficulty imaginable, so frightful
were the roads. The country all the
way from Providence is covered with
woods. At Bolton the view is very
pleasing.

Side Note.—The host of M. de Rochambeau
was a minister at least six feet three inches in
height. This man, whose name was Cotton, of-
fered the wife of a grenadier to adopt her child,
to secure his fortune and to give her for herself
thirty Louis in money. She repeatedly refused.

June 22—We reached Hartford easily
enough; the road although heavy, was
even.

Side Note.—We received news which in-
formed us that the Stanislas was the only vessel
of the convoy which had not arrived.

June 23—24—We halted there to rest
the troops and to make the necessary re-



pairs to the artillery and baggage. Hartford is quite a considerable place, divided by the River of the same name, large enough for vessels of some size. One of the banks is called East Hartford.

June 24—In the afternoon I went to see a charming spot called Weathersfield, four miles from East Hartford. It would be impossible to find prettier houses and a more beautiful view. I went up into the steeple of the church and saw the richest country I had yet seen in America. From this spot you can see for fifty miles around.

Side Note.—March of 12 miles.

June 25—In the morning the army resumed its march to reach Farmington. The country is more open than that we had passed over since our departure, and the road fine enough. The village is considerable, and the position of the camp, which is a mile and a half from it, was one of the most fortunate we had as yet occupied.

Side Note.—March of 13 miles.

June 26—In the morning we went to Baron's Tavern; the day's march was not fatiguing; the roads were very fine.

June 27—We left in the morning for Breakneck, which we had the greatest difficulty in reaching. The roads being difficult because of the mountains, our artillery was greatly delayed, and only arrived at nightfall.

Side Note.—Breakneck is the English for *Casse-cou*; it well deserves the name from its difficult approach. The village is frightful and without resources. I noticed some mills, by means of which several planks are sawed at the same time.

March of 13 miles.

June 28—We went to Newtown, the first four miles which we marched were like those of the evening before, but the rest were fine enough. We arrived in good season, our baggage also.

Side Note.—We saw on the road several trees not known in France; the tulip tree, the bunch cherry, etc.

In the evening an Aid-de-Camp of General Washington arrived at Head-quarters, who told us that the American Army opened the campaign on the 26th.

June 29—30—We halted at Newtown, and should not have left it until the 2d of July but for the orders which M. de Rochambeau received from General Washington to hasten his march.

Side Note.—Newtown is a place of small importance; all its inhabitants are poor. Our camp was very well placed there.

Five men of Bourbonnois deserted.

March of 15 miles.

JULY

July 1—We left very early in the morning in order to reach Bridgebury, but instead of marching by regiments we were formed into brigades and marched in this order. In the evening news arrived from the American general, which again changed our plans, for, instead of marching to Crampon (Crompond) as we had proposed,

July 2—In the morning we left for Bedford (Bedford). The Legion of Lauzun, which up to that point had marched to the left of us, joined us there; we took a position from which it was impossible to drive us. Our camp this side of Bedford (Bedford). The grenadiers and chasseurs beyond the village, and the legion of Lauzun in advance, and we had still further in front of us one hundred and sixty American drag-

oons. Washington arrived and encamped his army a few miles to the right of us ; From this moment we may consider our campaign as opened ; we are distant at the furthest fifteen leagues from New York. We learned on arriving at Betford (Bedford) that the evening before a party of English dragoons burned some houses at a short distance from the village, which had itself been badly used some little time before. This is a very small place, and it was with difficulty that we could find room for the small headquarters of our first division. Our generals only found lodgings, and those horrible. In the evening the Legion of Lauzun left for Morrisania with orders to surprise Delancy's Corps if possible.

Side Note.—The second division left the same day to march from Newtown to Richbury. (Ridgebury.)

We had trouble enough to bring up all our baggage, there being some mountains, and the day's march very long.

March of 19 miles.

July 3—The army marched to North Castle, where it encamped in an excellent position, although less military than that of yesterday. Our Second Brigade joined us in the afternoon ; it made twenty miles in this day's march, and has not had one day's rest since leaving Providence. It is impossible to march better than it has done the entire distance, or to show greater willingness ; It is true that Messieurs de Custine and the Vicomte de Noailles set the example by marching the entire distance on foot at the head of their regiments.

Side Note.—A fine march of 5 miles.

July 4—5—We halted the 4 and 5 at

North Castle, to which place Messieurs de Fersen and de Vauban, to whom M. de Rochambeau had given permission to follow the Legion, returned ; they told us that Delancy's Corps, which they had expected to surprise at Morrisania, was at Williamsbridge, and informed of our approach, for at the moment they appeared they saw about three thousand English debouch in several columns, which compelled them to recross a stream, and fall into line of battle behind General Lincoln, who was in charge of another expedition, which was not successful, losing four men killed and fifteen or sixteen wounded. The Legion fired a few shots, but there was no one killed or wounded.

July 5—General Washington came to see M. de Rochambeau. Notified of his approach, we mounted our horses and went out to meet him. He received us with the affability which is natural to him and depicted on his countenance. He is a very fine looking man, but did not surprise me as much as I expected from the descriptions I had heard of him. His physiognomy is noble in the highest degree, and his manners are those of one perfectly accustomed to society, quite a rare thing certainly in America. He paid a visit to our camp, dined with us, and later we escorted him several miles on his return and took leave of him.

July 6—We left very early in the morning to make a junction with the American Army, and encamped on the White Plains at Philipsburg ; we had already suffered terribly on our journey from the excessive heat of this country, but it is impossible to be more troubled by it than we were this last day.



GENERAL WATERBURY
Commanding the Light Infantry beyond the line

FIRST LINE
General WASHINGTON, Commander in Chief

COLONEL SHELDON
Commanding his Legion outside the line

LEFT WING**Major-General LORD STIRLING****SECOND BRIGADE, MASS****Brigadier-General PATTERSON**

5th Mass

Col. Putnam
Lt.-Col. Newhall
Major Ashley

Lt.-Col. Comm'd'g Sprout
Major Maxwell
Major Gibbs

Col. Sheppard
Lt.-Col. Mellon
Major Rice

Lt.-Col. Comm'd'g Brooks
Major Darby
Major Bill Porter

FIRST BRIGADE, MASS**Brigadier-General GLOVER**

7th Mass

Col. Vose
Lt.-Col. Vose
Major Pettengill

RIGHT WING**Major-General HEATH****SECOND BRIGADE, CONN****Colonel SWIFT**

4th Conn

Col. Butler
Lt.-Col. Gray
Major Prior

2d Conn

Col. Swift
Lt.-Col. Johnson
Major Woodbridge

FIRST BRIGADE, CONN**Brig-General HUNTINGTON**

3d Conn

Col. Webb
Lt.-Col. Huntington
Major Willis

Lt.-Col. Comd'g Shearman
Major Smith
Major Throop

Col. Durkee
Lt.-Col. Grosvenor
Major Clift

SECOND LINE**Major-General LINCOLN****THIRD BRIGADE, MASS**

6th Mass

Lt.-Col. Comm'd'g Smith
Major John Porter
Major Spurr

3d Mass

Col. Crenson
Lt.-Col. Hull
Major Oliver

Major-General HOWE**Brig-Gen. DUPORTAIL**

The Park of Artillery

Major-General PARSONS**— BRIGADE NEW HAMPSHIRE**

10th Mass

Col. Tupper
Lt.-Col. Fernald
Major Knapp

2d N. Hamp

Lt.-Col. Comm'd'g Read
Maj. Wait
Maj. Morell

1st N. Hamp

Col. Scammel
Lt.-Col. Dearborn
Major Scott



More than four hundred soldiers dropped down, unable to march further, but by halts and care all reached their haven at last, and we went into camp, our right resting on the left of the American Army in a perfectly good position, where we would be extremely glad to have M. Clinton come to seek us.

Side Note.—March of 17 miles; quite fine road, except some high hill sides as we arrived.

The baggage and artillery arrived very late.

Three men of Deux-Ponts deserted.

July 7—8—The mornings were passed in an exchange of friendly visits. In the afternoon of the 8th General Washington reviewed the two armies; we went first to the American army, which may have amounted to four thousand and some hundred men at the most. It seemed to me to be in as good order as possible for an army composed of men without uniforms and with narrow resources. The Rhode Island regiment, among others, is extremely fine. We went thence to the French army, which, though unpretending, has quite another style. The Americans admit it; they all seemed to be delighted as well as their General.

Side Note.—There are a great number of negroes in the army, and some very young men.

July 10—In evening the *Romulus* and three frigates, which left Newport under the command of M. de Villebrune, came down the Sound as far as Huntington bay. The guard ship, which is supposed to carry 44 guns, withdrew on their approach, and the other small vessels fled up the bay. The Pilots, who little understood their business, did not dare to go in at night, which prevented M. Dangel, who had two hundred and fifty men under his command on board,

from making a night landing at Oyster Bay point, where the fort of Lloyd's (Lloyd's) Neck is, and caused him to postpone his operations until the morning of the next day. He executed the plan but found the fort more strongly held than he expected, and its defences quite different from what he had been informed; he was obliged to withdraw after a sharp cannonade and a severe musketry fire; he had four men wounded, and reembarked, having totally failed in his movement.

July 11—We visited the Legion of Lauzun, which is encamped at Chatterton (Chatterton) Hill, two miles distant on our left. The Americans were quite as much pleased with it as with the rest of the army.

July 12—M. de Rochambeau went to Dobbs' Ferry, three miles from headquarters, directly on the right of the American army. I accompanied him, and at last had a sight of this famous North River. It is about two miles wide at this point. The shore opposite to that upon which we were is covered with steep rocks and woods. The Americans were at this very moment busy in the construction at Dobbs' Ferry of a Redoubt and two batteries beneath it, I do not know of how many pieces; we afterwards made the rounds of the parks of the two armies, and found them all in the best possible order.

Side Note.—We received news that the *Stanislas*, the only vessel of the convoy which did not arrive, had been captured.

July 14—The weather was frightful, that is it rained very hard; I went with M. de Rochambeau to dine with General Lincoln, where also were General

Washington, Messrs. de Viosmenil, de Chatelux and de Lauzun. There were conferences enough to give me the impression that within a very short time some movement will be made; in fact at five o'clock in the afternoon M. de Rochambeau made his preparations for a march. The first brigade, the heavy Artillery and the Legion received orders to hold themselves in readiness to leave; the *Retraite* was to serve for the signal to move, but a quarter of an hour before the moment of leaving, the order was countermanded by General Washington, who it seems thought the weather too bad. I do not know whether this was the real reason, nor do I know what was the purpose of the march, but it is certain that the rain had fallen so heavily all the afternoon that it would have been difficult to march the troops.

July 15—Caused us in one way more regret than the preceding day—from the countermanding order of the day before we were expecting to march from one moment to another; at nine o'clock in the evening we had heard several cannon shots in the direction of Tarrytown, followed immediately after by a musketry fire. The Marquis de Laval caused the alarm to be beaten in the camp; two signal guns were fired by the artillery. As I was certain that the General had sent no order, I did not doubt for an instant that it was a signal agreed upon, or that the camp was attacked, but the mountain brought forth a mouse; it was a false alarm. M. de Rochambeau mounted his horse and rode to the camp to call in the troops. We were all in on our side, but hardly

arrived when an aid-de-camp of General Washington came to ask of M. de Rochambeau two hundred men, six twelve pounders and six howitzers to go to Tarrytown, to which point two English frigates had come up. General Howe (Howe) marched from his side with the Americans, but hardly were our troops and artillery ready to leave when I was myself sent with counter orders, and all returned to camp; For what reason I do not know, General Howe continued his march.

July 16—At five o'clock in the morning a fire from the frigates at Tarrytown caused a repetition of the error of the night before. It was supposed that the two cannon shot were fired by the American army, but this error was soon repaired. At half past five an aid-de-camp of General Washington arrived and asked for two twelve pounders and two howitzers to march to Tarrytown; as I was on duty I awakened M. de Rochambeau, who directed me to carry the order to M. Daboville, and told me at the same time to take this artillery to Tarrytown. I confess that I was enchanted; it was the first occasion upon which I could hope to hear the sound of cannon. I carried the order immediately. At seven o'clock the artillery was ready and left. We arrived at Tarrytown at eleven o'clock, and found the two frigates and a galley still there. During the night they had captured a small vessel, laden with flour and clothing for Sheldon's Dragoons, and they had put nearly all their crews into their boats to attempt a descent and carry off the rest of the supplies which were at Tarrytown; but a sergeant of the Regi-

ment of Soissonnois who was there with twelve men kept up so brisk and direct a fire that he prevented the landing; a half hour later the Americans arrived, who lost a sergeant and had one of their officers severely wounded. On our arrival the Americans placed two eighteen pounders on the right of Tarrytown, and we placed ours on the left. We fired a hundred cannon balls, which must have done them some injury, as we saw several of them strike on board. In fact we compelled them to withdraw; they only replied to us by some balls, which passed extremely near our ears, near enough to cause several persons to dodge, but which did no harm. One ball struck a half foot beneath one of our pieces in the barbette of the battery, and threw the dirt about our heads; I was enabled to judge from what I saw that these gentlemen are brutal enough, but less dangerous than they appear. Tarrytown is four miles above Dobbs' Ferry, and the river is a little wider there. Near Tarrytown begins the Tapan Sea or the Sea of Tapan (Tappaan). It is so called because at this place the river widens considerably.

July 17—In the afternoon I was between Tarry-town and Dobbs-Ferry where I again found the two frigates which I had left the evening before; they had just fired some cannon shot again and received some, but there was no danger in it; they went up in the evening above Tarrytown.

Side Note.—On the morning of the 17 the Legion left its camp to march to Bed-house (Bedford).

The night of the 17 to 18 M. Norteman an officer of Lauzun's Legion

while on a patrol with six hussars was killed by some of Delancey's Dragoons; several pistol shots were exchanged. The infantry advanced to support the hussars but the enemy disappeared under cover of the woods and of the night.

Side Note.—At the moment when the officer was killed his horse returned at full gallop to the Legion. The hussars on vidette cried out to him three times *qui vive*, and for very good reasons receiving no reply, fired and killed the horse stone dead.

July 18—M de Rochambeau made a reconnoissance close up to New York but he could not take us with him; hence I can not think of this day without the deepest regret.

Side Note.—They saw all the works of the enemy on York-Island, and perfectly distinguished five or six little camps which supported them, the largest of which was of two battalions.

July 19—The Frigates which were between Tarry-town and Dobbs-Ferry came down to make Kingsbridge; they were sharply cannonaded on their passage; two shells thrown on board set fire to one of these vessels, and one of the prisoners they had made on the night of the 15 to 16, taking advantage of this moment of disturbance, jumped into the water and came to us; he told us that they had lost several men by the different cannonades. I hope that this little lesson will give these English gentlemen a distaste for this kind of pleasantry.

Side Note.—Two spies were arrested in the camp, both French.

July 21—In the evening the *Retraite* served as a general signal for moving, as it was to have done on the 14. The first Brigade, the grenadiers and chas-



seurs of the four regiments, marched. The American division under General Lincoln also left its camp. We marched all night.

Side Note.—The Legion of Lauzun marched on its side also, so that the army moved in three columns.

The Marquis de Chatelux commanded this detachment.

July 22—We arrived at five o'clock in the morning upon the brow of the hill which overlooks Kingsbridge. We were ten hours on the march, the roads being very bad and the artillery following with difficulty. I imagine the surprise of the English to have been considerable when they saw us arrive, for they could have had no idea of our march. The American army and ours made a junction four miles above from Kingsbridge. I was astonished at the manner in which they marched; a perfect silence and order reigned, to which they added the greatest possible celerity. The two armies drew up in line of battle on the heights beyond Kingsbridge, as I have described, the Americans took the right, a battalion of Grenadiers was posted on a little eminence beyond the left, which we held. Several English dragoons came out immediately to reconnoitre us and send us a few musket balls; the different forts saluted us also with a few cannon shot, but they did us no harm. An American regiment was sent forward to capture a Redoubt, and marched under the fire of the cannon in the best style possible; one of their officers had his thigh taken off by a ball. After having reconnoitred the position in front of us, M. de Rochambeau and his Excellency crossed the Harlem

River to take a look at the opposite side; In this little reconnoissance there was again a slight cannonade. Thence they recrossed the river, took up the route of the morning, and pushing forward, reconnoitred the length of the Island as far as New York. Some Frigates in the North river also sent them a few shot; they then fell back upon Morrisania, where the cannonade and musketry fire was repeated with a little more vigor. The Count de Damas had a horse killed under him; four refugees were taken.

M. de Rochambeau then returned to camp, after having been twenty-four hours on horseback.

July 23—At half-past five in the morning we mounted again to make a reconnoissance of a part of Long Island which is separated from the continent by the Sound; several vessels which were there fired upon us without doing us any harm. We returned thence to Morrisania to examine again a part of the island on our way back. I need not mention the sang froid of General Washington, it is well known; but this great man is a thousand times more noble and splendid at the head of his army than at any other time.

Side Note.—We passed the morning at Westchester Creek, and on our return we found a little English vessel which the Americans had set fire to. The tide had risen since we crossed and the current was very strong. The dragoons who served as escort to General Washington all swam over. We had unsaddled our horses and crossed on the parapet of a broken bridge.

I cannot help remarking that to my great surprise many depredations were committed by the French. The hussars pillaged many houses, and even the grenadiers and chasseurs had a

hand in it. This conduct was severely censured, and they were punished by several hundred blows of the stick.

July 24—Two men of Lauzun's Legion deserted.

July 26—I went to Dobbs' Ferry, where I found the Redoubt, which I had seen begun, completed; it was built by M. Duportail, and with the greatest possible care. The Batteries begun were also completed; that for cannon can carry eight, and that for the shell guns as many. The Americans have one on the other side of the river of two pieces of cannon.

Side Note.—In the evening a shot fired by one of the Legion killed a cannoneer of the same corps, who was reading in his tent.

July 29—M. de Rochambeau told us that he had some time before intercepted letters from Lord Cornwallis, by which he had learned his plan of campaign for the army; that he had just received some further letters which announced that the Lord had embarked at Portsmouth with his troops to return to New York. The same day we made the rounds of the posts, which we found in good order, and we went quite a distance.

July 30—There was an extensive foraging expedition which met with no opposition. We heard in the afternoon of the arrival of Lord Cornwallis at New York with two or three thousand men. His army must be about forty-five hundred strong, or nearly. He left some men at Portsmouth, and sent some troops also to Charlestown, which leads to the belief that he could not have brought to Clinton a more considerable reinforcement.

Side Note.—Up to the present time there have been foraging expeditions every third day, and all have passed very quietly.

Two small English forts have been taken by two American parties of the same force, in the Sound, as high up as Mary Neck (Mamaroneck).

July 31—M. de Rochambeau, after the arrival of Cornwallis, thought it advisable to send the Battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs of the Second Division to take the position on Chatters-town (Chatterton) hill which had before been occupied by the Legion of Lauzun, in order to strengthen his front; he also sent there two pieces of cannon.

Side Note.—To-day five English deserters came in; they are the first, but several Hessians had come in before; as for us we have been fortunate enough to lose hardly any one.

Only three men have deserted from the Legion, one of whom had committed a theft.

AUGUST

August 1—A very heavy foraging expedition was made twelve miles from here, on the shores of the Sound at Mary Neck (Mamaroneck). It was in no way disturbed; considerable detachments were sent forward to protect it.

August 2—An English deserter came in, who assured M. de Rochambeau that the troops lately arrived at New York were a part of the garrison of Pensacola; the Spaniards, after the capture of the town, having given permission to the English to retire wherever they chose, always under the condition not to serve against their allies. They came to New York, and General Clinton placed them on Long Island. With such a capitulation as this the capture of Pensacola is of more hurt than benefit to the Americans. The report of the evacuation of Virginia by Lord Cornwallis proves false.



The arrival of these troops gave rise to it.

Side Note.—Four men deserted from Lauzun's corps, all four farriers.

August 4—There was a foraging expedition in the direction of Mary Neck (Mamaroneck), which passed off very quietly.

Side Note.—Two deserters came in, one English, the other Hessian.

August 5—About twenty sail, of which two or three frigates, were seen in the Sound about as high up as New Rochelle; we supposed that the enemy desire to make a foraging expedition.

August 6—I went to the Sound with M. de Rochambeau, and we plainly saw the ships which had been reported to us the evening before; there were thirty-three, but all small, and no vessels of war.

Side Note.—In the last few days fifteen waggoners have deserted. This is the name given here to drivers of vehicles.

August 7—Two deserters came in.

Side Note.—A man of the Bourbonnois, who had committed a theft, fearing he would be whipped, killed himself.

August 8—Letters from M. de la Fayette announced the departure of Cornwallis; he must have embarked the 26th. We do not know where he has gone.

Side Note.—Two men deserted, one from the Soissonnois, the other from the Artillery.

August 10—A foraging expedition was made closer to the enemy near the Sound than any of the others. On the arrival of the detachment of the Legion which protected it, eight or ten refugees were seen, whom it was impossible to come up with, except one who was killed. It passed off very quietly. A man was ar-

rested who was putting off for Long Island, and who had a passport from Clinton.

Side Note.—Six men of the Legion deserted, four of whom were a patrol, and two others separately.

Two deserters came in.

August 11—In the evening a woman of doubtful virtue was arrested on her way from New York at the advanced post, and who, under the pretext of searching for her father, according to her story, a soldier in the army, came in with intentions not quite so pure; She was locked up for safe keeping to repose from the fatigues of her journey, which she had made on foot, and was afterwards shaved.

Received the same evening letters from M. de la Touche, commander of the Hermiene, in which he sends word that in company with the Astree, commanded by M. de la Perouze, he had taken a vessel (*hyath*) of fourteen guns and four merchant vessels; they are in pursuit of the rest of a convoy. We had news also that the American vessels had taken an Englishman and carried her into New London, and that eighty thousand pounds Sterling had been refused for her.

Side Note.—Desertion is a kind of epidemic malady at New York; for I only speak in this Diary of the deserters who come in to our Camp. Some come in nearly every day to the American camp of whom we know nothing, but it is to be feared that this contagion may reach the Legion in spite of all the pains taken by the Duke de Lauzun, who, it may be said, without injustice to the Colonels of the army, is he who does his duty most thoroughly, and sets the best example of subordination.

Six deserters came in, four Hessians, two English.



NORD de l'Isle de NEW-YORK.

A. Fort Washington.
B. Fort Lauroville.
C. Fort Tryon.
DE. Ligne continue d'un fort à l'autre de l'Isle.

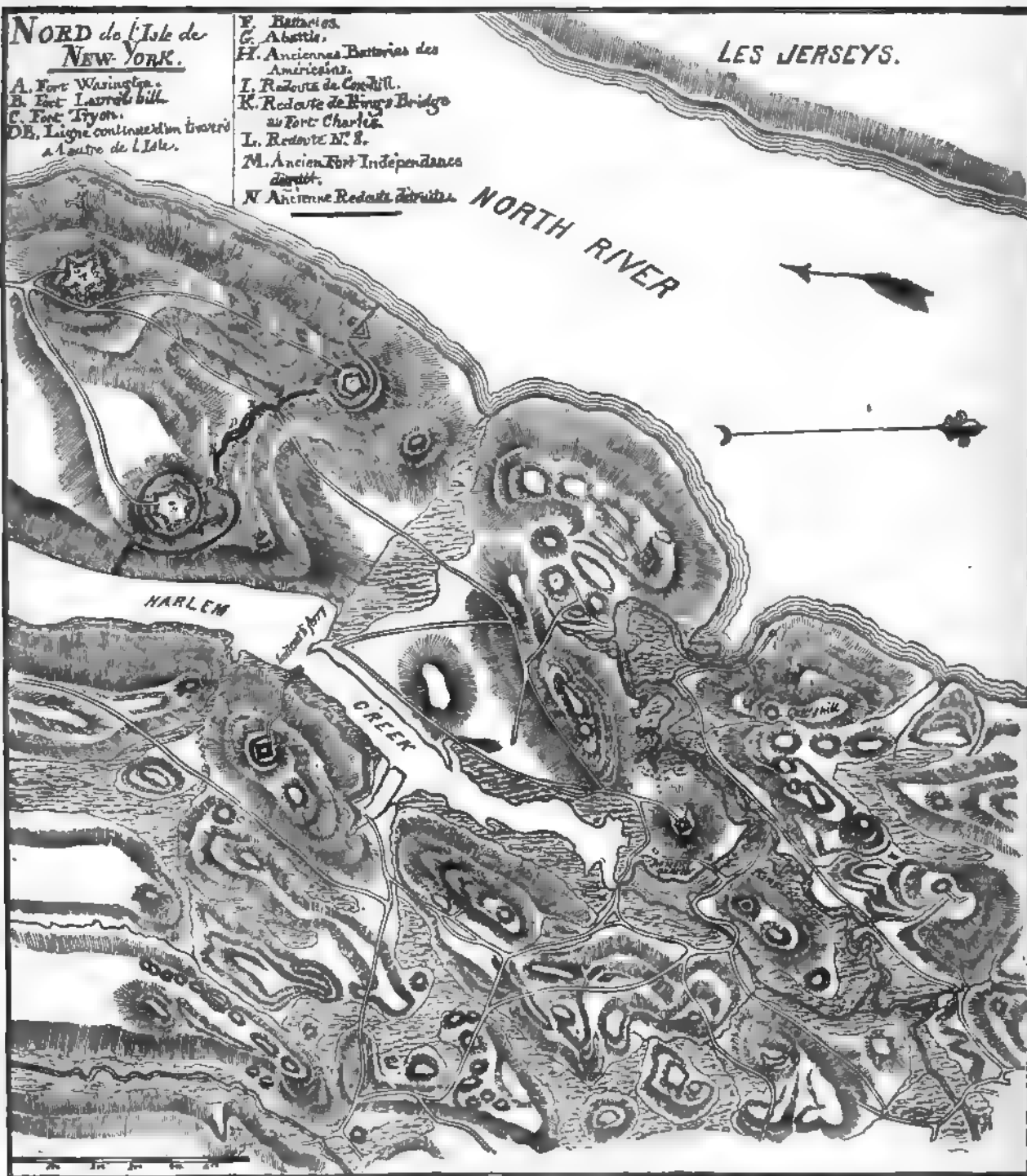
F. Batteries.
G. Abatis.
H. Anciennes Batteries des Américains.
I. Redoute de Con-Jill.
K. Redoute de Kings Bridge au Fort Charles.
L. Redoute N° 8.
M. Ancien Fort Indépendance détruit.
N. Ancienne Redoute détruite.

LES JERSEYS.

NORTH RIVER

HARLEM

CREEK



ments were made for the passage of the River by all the trains and troops, quite a difficult matter, there being but few boats.

August 23—As the Headquarters remained at Peskill (Peekskill), there being at King's Ferry only the single house which belonged to the man who owns the Ferry,

Side Note.—So far the Legion has marched behind us, but from this time it becomes our advance guard.

March of 13 miles.

M. de Rochambeau was not willing to pass so near West Point as nine miles, without seeing it. He left by boat at eight o'clock in the morning to visit it with General Washington and several officers. I mounted a horse and went by land, in order to arrive as soon as he. I rode by a fair enough road as far as the Continental Village, which consists at the most of eight or ten huts of the kind the inhabitants build here when they begin to clear the land of a Continental Village; the roads to West Point are very hilly and extremely difficult, because of the great quantity of rocks and rolling stones. It passes Mandville (Mandeville), a little place of four or five houses, and then descends by a very narrow gorge to the West Point Ferry. About a half mile this side there is a plateau of considerable extent, on which some troops could be deployed, but this place, as well as the road by which I came, and another road which debouches on this plateau, are swept by the fire of two redoubts, built on two high mountains, which are called the North and South Redoubts. When the Ferry is reached West Point is seen in

front, composed of six different forts, rising the one above the other; several batteries are also posted on the bank of the river; as the river makes a very considerable elbow at this spot and returns, so to say, upon itself, it would be very difficult for a Frigate to get by; a chain has also been placed here; a little Island, called Constitution Island, at this point, has also some batteries upon it, the fire from which crosses those from the forts, and a vessel which endeavored to break the chain would be utterly destroyed. All these different forts, except Fort Putnam, which is in masonry, are of wood. Their parapets are very low; palisades have been constructed to remain lowered on the parapet so long as cannon is fired upon the besieged, and which can be lifted at the moment of an assault, but I have heard them condemned by several officers who should thoroughly understand fortifications, and who believe that a parapet of four feet and a half would be much better than one of two and a half with this kind of fortification. The first fort met with on debarking at West Point is Fort Clinton, which is a square bastion. It entirely overlooks the river, and is constructed on a rock, which rises from it, but on reaching that a piece of flat ground is found, where the Park of Artillery is posted, which forms a very extensive and fine place d'armes; above it rise Fort Putnam and others. The great fault which connoisseurs find with West Point is that the fortifications are too much extended, and that, being of wood, they are very combustible, but this spot is very strong from its position alone. It is one of the finest imaginable. We found on the plateau of which I



have been speaking nearly four or five hundred men in line of battle, a large part of whom invalids. These troops compose the Garrison, but at the signal of alarm the militia of the country rally and greatly increase it.

I was obliged to return by the road which I took in the morning, that on the other side of the river being impracticable, and came back by Peekskill, thence to King's Ferry, which I crossed, and went to Headquarters, which was three miles distant, on the other side of the River.

Side Note.—At King's Ferry is Fort Lafayette or Werplanck (Verplanck), which is very small.

August 24—M. de Rochambeau went to the Ferry to give some orders, and on our return we passed by Stoney Point, which is directly opposite King's Ferry. It overlooks the spot where the landing is made, and is built upon a rock; it is a square earth work with a double row of abattis. The trains of Bourbonnois had passed in the morning, and the Regiment encamped at three o'clock in the afternoon at three miles from King's Ferry.

Side Note.—M. de Rochambeau received letters from M. de Choisy, who reports having embarked with his troops on the 21st. He has with him about five hundred men. One hundred remain at Providence, under command of M. Desprez, Major of the Deux Ponts, to guard the store houses and the hospital. We do not know where M. de Choisy is going.

Side Note.—The Second Division crossed the North River on the 25th to take the camp we occupied the day before.

NOTE.—The maps which accompany this article are all taken from the originals attached to the French manuscript. They are evidently tracings from army maps of the period.

NOTES.

DEACON SOLOMON BROWN—who shot the first British soldier wounded at Lexington, April 19, 1775. "The individual whose name heads this article, and a notice of whose death appeared in this paper, a short time since, was one of the oldest inhabitants of New Haven in this county, and died claiming the respect of all who knew him, for his virtues both as a man and a citizen. He was a man of strong natural powers, of great probity, of uncommon firmness of mind and purpose, of severe justice and of Christian candor and meekness. He held for many years, stations of public trust among his fellow-citizens, which he ever discharged with fidelity and promptness. He was an active and devoted Christian, and a father in the Church. He was in short one of that class of the community who are the support of the society, the pillars of the church, and the ornaments of the republic.

"Deacon Brown was a soldier of the Revolution, and bore a part in that memorable struggle, which should immortalize him in the annals of his country. He was a participator in the first battle for freedom on the plains of Lexington, *and has the unrivaled honor of having shed the first British blood in defence of American liberty, at the battle of Lexington on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775.*

"This battle was the opening scene of the bloody drama which closed with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and in this scene the subject of this notice stands forth the most prominent actor. He wrote in blood the first word in the charter of *American freedom.*

Let his name be registered among the noblest of his country's benefactors and heroes, and honored by posterity as the most dauntless of their heroic sires. Deacon Brown served five years in the revolution as a sergeant of artillery, and encountered all the perils and hardships of that memorable and glorious struggle. He died mourned by his friends, lamented by the church, and respected by all. To those that came after him he has left the legacy of an honest name, a guiltless example and a well spent life. He came down to the grave "like a shock of corn fully ripe," his body rests with the great congregation of the dead, and his beatified spirit has gone we trust to the "bosom of his Father and his God." Peace be to the memory of the just and good."

Middlebury, Vt., Free Press, about 1830.

A writer in the Historical Magazine, III., 113, 1859, makes a similar claim for *Ebenezer Lock*, as having shed the first British blood on the 19th of April, 1775. The claim of Solomon Brown rests on the evidence of an eye witness. The Rev. Mr. Mauzey in his reminiscences of Lexington, (N. E. His.—Gen. Reg. XXXI. 377), mentions Elijah Sanderson, a participant in the exciting events at Lexington, who testified that "he saw blood where the British column stood when *Solomon Brown* fired on them." It is conceded that no British soldier was wounded on the 19th of April, 1775, before Pitcairn fired on the militia who were assembled on the green at Lexington, in front of the meeting house. It is also conceded that at least *one* British soldier if not *two* were wounded and that *none* were killed before the march

from Lexington to Concord. It is in evidence that Brown was there, that he did fire on the enemy, and did wound one. The writer who advances Mr. Lock's claim, states too much for his claimant. He says, "Lock worked valiantly for some minutes, *bringing down one of the enemy at nearly every shot. Up to this time not a shot had been fired elsewhere by the rebels.*" A statement utterly at variance with every other account of that day's proceedings.

Solomon Brown was a brother of Captain Oliver Brown, the inscription of whose tombstone will be found [Magazine of American History, III., 376.] He was a descendant of Peter Brown, of Windsor, Conn., who was a son of Peter Brown, the Mayflower emigrant, 1620. Beyond these facts I can learn nothing of his history.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Brownsville, Pa.

PAINE'S RECANTATION.—The discussion between the editor of the New York Observer and Col. Ingersoll, has attracted attention to a scarce pamphlet printed at New York bearing the following title: "The Recantation; being an anticipated Valedictory Address of Thomas Paine to the French Directory. New York, Printed for the Author, 1797." Many of the opponents of Ingersoll suppose this to be a genuine recantation of Paine, and prize it very highly; it is rumored even that an enthusiastic clergyman at the West threatens to reprint it.

This pamphlet was written by Donald Fraser, a schoolmaster, who resided for many years in William Street, New



York City. He was the author of the "Columbian Monitor," 1794, "History of all Nations," 1807, "Interesting Companion," and other works of an educational character. His son, Captain Donald Fraser, served with distinction in the war of 1812, and was later attached to the New York Custom House.

W. K.

A SONG OF THE REVOLUTION.—The following stirring song was written during the period of the American Revolution by Colonel Robert Munford, of Mecklenburg County, Virginia. Its patriotic sentiment neutralizes all lack of literary polish.

Come on, my brave fellows, a fig for our lives,
We'll fight for our country, our children and
wives.

Determin'd we are to live happy and free ;
Then join, honest fellows, in chorus with me.

Derry down, down, &c.

We'll drink our own liquor, our brandy from
peaches,

A fig for the English, they may kiss all our
breeches.

Those blood-sucking, beer-drinking puppies re-
treat ;

But our peach-brandey fellows can never be beat.

Derry down, down, &c.

A fig for the English, and Hessians to boot,
Who are sick half the time with eating of crout,
But bacon and greens, and Indian corn-bread,
Make a buck-skin jump up, tho' he seem to be
dead.

Derry down, down, &c.

Come on, my brave fellows, &c.

PETERSFIELD.

MARRIAGE FEE IN IOWA TERRITORY
IN 1840.—Mr. Crosby in his valuable
work, "The Early Coins of America,"
published in Boston, 1878, on page 25,

under the head of "Silver Currency in
Massachusetts," adds a foot note to the
text, upon "the use of furs, grain and
fish¹ for purposes of exchanges."

As an old settler, having resided in
Iowa while it was yet a part of Wisconsin,
I would like some verification of the
statement. In 1840 I was District At-
torney for the middle of the three dis-
tricts into which the Territory was di-
vided, and practiced in about half of the
counties then organized. Our popula-
tion then was about forty-two thousand
(as it had been less than half that at the
date of its organization in 1838). I
never saw or heard of a goat or sweet
potato in the Territory at so early a date,
and judging from the value of a goat
and a bushel of sweet potatoes at the
present period, three of the first or four
of the latter would have paid many mar-
riage fees, than \$2.00 prescribed by
statute.

I published in some of the daily pa-
pers of our State the above quotation
from Mr. Crosby's work, and invited re-
sponses as to its correctness. All of
my correspondents who were residents
of Iowa Territory in 1840, state their
belief as to the goats, that there were
not half a dozen goats in the Territory
(and they were not in one place that
they could have been exchanged for
such purpose), and their knowledge as
to sweet potatoes, that at that date there
was not a bushel in the Territory. Mr.
Crosby must have greatly erred in that
statement. T. S. PARVIN.

Iowa City, Jan. 12, 1880.

¹ "In Iowa Territory, in 1840, the marriage
fee was three goat skins or four bushels of sweet
potatoes."

QUERIES

LABRADORE TEA.—Will some of your New England readers please inform us what herb was referred to in the following extract from a letter dated *Branstable, Feb. 19, 1768*: "A few Days past a Number of our Branstable Ladies paid me a Visit—dress'd all in Homespun, even to their Handkerchiefs and Gloves, and not so much as a Ribband on their heads: They were entertain'd with Labadore Tea—all innocently cheerful and merry. In order to recommend themselves, as the Ladies had done in some other Places, towards Night we had the Company of some of the chief Gentlemen of the Town, who all drank Labradore Tea." Branstable is no doubt intended for Barnstable.

PETERSFIELD.

CLAIRMONT.—At the foot of West 125th street, in this city, on a commanding eminence, rising from the North River bank, stands an ancient mansion, which was once the residence of Lord Courteney. This place, the situation of which affords a peculiarly fine up-river view, is now city property and forms part of the Riverside Park. Will some better posted reader of this Magazine give the record of this old property? W. H.

REMSEN — POLHEMUS. — Will some reader of the Magazine of American History acquainted with the genealogy of these Long Island families furnish me with ancestral record of *Isaac Remsen*, born April 14, 1734, and of *Lamatie Polhemus*, his wife, born May 18, 1733?

The elaborate tracings of these families in Riker's Annals of Newtown men-

tions neither of these, unless this Isaac is the son of Isaac who was born in 1710, and was himself the father of James Remsen of New York City. If this be the case, the family record of Isaac and Lamatie Remsen as I have it is incorrect, unless *Jacob* and James were convertible names. I presume from a family name, that Lamatie Polhemus was a daughter of *Cornelius*, who is said on page 344 to have settled at Hempstead and left a family. They lived at Hempstead.

R. S. ROBERTSON.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN OPERA IN NEW YORK.—Can any of your readers inform me where I can find a copy of a volume with this title which was printed in New York in December, 1833. It was written by Da Ponte. The name of the publisher I do not know. It is not to be found on the shelves of any of the New York libraries.

G. C. M.

Newport, R. I.

CONNIPION.—This word, used sometimes in connection with fits, as connipion or connipion fits, is common in New England and among the descendants of New Englanders in the State of New York. What is its origin?

PHILOLOGOS.

ANOTHER NEW ENGLAND SAYING.—Applied to anything extraordinary.—What is its precise meaning?

"This is the way to shave a mason—
Cut off his nose and put it in a basin."

PHILOLOGOS.



REPLIES

PICKETING.—(III., 760, IV., 70.) You will find a definition of the punishment of *picketing* in Webster's Dictionary.

"Punishment which consists in making the offender stand with one foot on a pointed stake."

Worcester, in giving the same definition, refers to London Encyclopædia, where no doubt a full description will be found.

W. C. F.

HOBOKEN.—(IV., 69.) The oldest official document in the Archives of New York is the Indian deed for Hoboken (Hobocan Hacking), dated July 11, 1630. In it Hoboken is called the "*land* called Hobocan Hacking," while in an Indian deed for Ahasimus, south of Hoboken, made November 22d of the same year, Hoboken is called an Island. I believe it was an island, as Manhattan is an island to-day, the Hoboken Kil and the Jan Evertsen Kil, with their marshes cutting off the communication with the mainland.

An old map of New Netherland, made in 1616 for the States General of Holland, settles the question definitely by giving Awiehaken, Hobocan Hacking and Ahasimus, now Union County, N. J., as a peninsula formed by the Hackensack (Hackingkasanig, Achkinkeshaky) and the Hudson.

B. F.

MARM GAUL.—(II., 755.) Possibly the explanation of "Marm Gaul" is to be found in the German, or earlier in the Icelandic. The Germans have a "Frau Halle," who is the bug-bear of children. "Breed's Hill" possibly mistook "Gaul" or "Gorl" for "Halle," or the trans-

formation of the word may have been effected for him already at the period referred to.

BUNKER HILL.

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE TO THE FLAG.—(III., 579, 761., reply to Commodore Preble.) My note (III., 579.) does not claim that the St. Eustatius salute was to the national ensign under its subsequent symbolism of the "*Stars and Stripes*," but to the "flag of the United States," *alias* in 1776 "the new flag of 13 stripes," the "flag of the Continental Congress," the "flag of the Colonies," etc. Neither does the Hon. Mr. Birney, U. S. Minister at the Hague, in his valuable historical communication of 1876 to Governor Prescott, then Secretary of the State of New Hampshire, assert more than this. Indeed, the chronological fact, therein for the first time fully enunciated and set forth in its contemporaneously regarded political significance, through appended copies of original documents, both English and Dutch, in the Royal Library of Holland, is found recorded in the Commodore's elegant volume (see "History of our Flag," p. 174), where the venerable John Adams, in a letter to Quincy in 1819, thus writes: "*The first vessel to obtain a salute from a foreign Power was the Andreas Doria at St. Eustatius in 1776,*"* etc.

True, our flag, like our Government itself, was then in a formative stage, but it was *de facto* as really our representative national banner, as in 1778, when streaming from the mast-head of the *Ranger*. So thought King George, who took umbrage at the Dutch Governor's salute, as making "his high and mighty government, to be the first public recog-

nizers of a flag till now unknown in the catalogue of national flags."

* Also in General Schuyler Hamilton's Discourse before the New York Historical Society, printed in volume — of this Magazine.

W. H.

REV. JONAS CLARK.—(IV., 69.) The Rev. Jonas Clark delivered a sermon on the first anniversary of Lexington in 1776, and a copy is in the Boston Public Library. It was reprinted in 1875.

Cambridge. JUSTIN WINSOR.

THE ROGERENES.—(IV., .) In reply to "Petersfield," in January number, I will say that the Rogerenes were a sect that appeared in New England about the year 1677. They were so named from their founder and chief leader, John Rogers.

Their principal distinguishing tenet was, that worship performed the first day of the week was a species of idolatry which they ought to oppose. In consequence of this they used a variety of measures to disturb those who were assembled for public worship on the Lord's day.

CLINT. F. SMITH.

Kokomo, Ind.

THE DIARY OF JOHN SHREVE (III, 664)—A later letter of Lieutenant John Shreve, the author of the diary printed in the September number of the Magazine bears directly upon the recently mooted question as to the place of André's burial. The letter shows a much more feeble hand than does his narrative. It is dated near Salem, Ohio, 1854.

"I will explain the reason of my opin-

ion respecting the disposal of Major Andre's remains. After he was dead he was taken down from the Gallows—he was laid in the coffin which remained in the waggon then under the Gallows. I at that time left the place and went to the camp. I was informed that the waggon left soon after, passing through the village, took the trunk and servant of Major Andre and proceeded to the landing and delivered them in the Boat then waiting there belonging to the British by permission.

"By what I saw and heard my opinion of the disposal of the remains of Major Andre was formed the very day of his execution. I did not wait thirty or forty years after the execution of the Spy, and gather scraps from the Minister of the Reformed German Church and from others. I did not see the grave near the Gallows. I did not know of his having been buried there."

The Reformed Minister was the Rev. John Demarest, who had claimed that the grave of André had been on his ground at Tappan. S. H. SHREVE.

SMITH'S CLOVE.—(III., 515, 695.) Dr. Thacher, in his Military Journal, thus describes this locality. "Smith's Clove is fine level plain of rich land, situated at the foot of the high mountains on the west side of Hudson River. It is about fourteen miles in the rear of the garrison at West Point, and surrounded on all sides by the High Lands. The few families who reside here find a profitable employment in cultivating the fertile soil." The army encamped there in June, 1779.

IULUS

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

HISTORY OF MARYLAND, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY. By J. THOMAS SCHARF. Three volumes. 8vo. J. B. PIET. Baltimore, 1879.

In the winter of 1876 the Legislature of Maryland passed an act providing for a State subscription to J. Thomas Scharf's History of Maryland to the number of three hundred copies, at ten dollars each, when published by him, provided any three Judges of the Court of Appeals should certify under their hands that said history is a faithful History of the State of Maryland, and deserves the patronage of the State." In accordance with this act, we find that on the 24th of July, 1878, the State Librarian, having the certificate of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, subscribed for three hundred copies of J. Thomas Scharf's History of Maryland. We are not informed how the Judges of the Court of Appeals could in July, 1878, "certify" to a work which was not published until December, 1879, or how the State Librarian could, under the above act, subscribe for three hundred copies of the History of Maryland eighteen months *before it was published*. However, the generous and unprecedented action of the Legislature enabled Mr. Scharf to publish his history, which is claimed to be "not only the best and only complete history of Maryland, but one of the best histories extant of any State in our whole confederacy." Great stress is laid upon the amount of material collected, the newspapers read, the pamphlets bought, the original documents copied, etc. Of course no history can be written without materials, any more than a house can be built without bricks and mortar. But documents, pamphlets and newspapers do not of themselves constitute history. They must be collated, digested and woven into a picturesque and connected narrative. Mr. Scharf has gathered together a mass of valuable material; he has displayed great industry; he has gone over much ground. But when he undertook to produce an harmonious whole out of his various and scattered materials, he failed.

The first volume of this History of Maryland opens with the settlement of Virginia, and whole chapters are copied from Captain John Smith's history; then follow long extracts from Captain Henry Fleet's "Journal of a Voyage to Virginia," taken from Neill's "Founders of Maryland," the Charter of Avalon is given in full (from "Chalmers' Annals"), the historian alleging as a reason that "most of histories of America vary in the dates which they assign to Sir George Calvert's patent for

the Province of Avalon;" but after reading six closely printed octavo pages we find the *date is not given after all*. We read far into the first volume before the history of Maryland is actually begun, but in the meantime we have long letters from Sir George Calvert, which are so unimportant and so uninteresting that they might have been compressed into a few lines. When the history is fairly begun, we have copious extracts from "Father White's Narrative," which was printed seven years ago for the Maryland Historical Society.

As a "son of Maryland" Mr. Scharf takes a just pride in showing, from Bancroft, Davis, Spenser and other Protestant historians, that "religious toleration was the uniform policy of Lord Baltimore and his government," adding that "nothing can rob Calvert and his band of colonists of the fame of founding the first settlement where conscience was free, and where, while persecution was raging around them, a sanctuary was established, in which Protestants found a refuge from Protestant intolerance." Yes, the charter of Maryland, anticipating by one hundred and forty years some of the most striking features of the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the glorious principles, until then unknown in the world, of civil and religious liberty, and has been truly pronounced one of the noblest of the works that human hands have reared—the most glorious proclamation ever made of the liberty of thought and worship.

In the first volume we are told how the Swedes settled Delaware, how the Dutch from New Amsterdam attacked them, how Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor, sent Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, the "Underschout," to the Governor of Maryland, and we have six pages of extracts from "Heermans' Journal." We are next given an account of William Penn's settlement of Pennsylvania; then follows a long and tedious discussion of the boundary controversy between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and between Maryland and Virginia, ending with the report of the Boundary Arbitrators, made in January, 1877. Much space in this volume is devoted to the Rebellion of John Coode, and documents bearing on it are quoted at great length; we have "Barbara Smith's Narrative," "Peter Sayer's Report," and various addresses to King William. Notwithstanding these voluminous papers, the author fails to make luminous this important chapter in the history of Maryland. Turning to McSherry's History of Maryland, we find this affair told in a few clear sentences. Coode was at the head of an association, formed in 1680, whose object was the "defense of the Protestant religion, and the as-

serting the rights of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland." They succeeded in getting possession of the province, and forwarded to the King an account of their proceedings, filled with accusations against Lord Baltimore and his government, which posterity has pronounced unjust. The King sustained the acts of the revolution, and, at the request of Coode and his followers, took the government of the colony into his own hands, appointing Sir Lionel Copley Governor in 1691.

More than one-half of the material used in the first volume of this history is taken from papers in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. These valuable papers were copied by the office boys of the historian, and were not compared with the originals. The last part of this volume is made up of a history of Braddock's Defeat, and an account of the exciting events that preceded the revolutionary war.

The second volume opens with a description of the manners, customs, amusements, etc., of the people of Maryland during the last century. The historian says: "The Maryland colonists were not a well educated people—they thought more of horse-racing and cock-fighting than they did of books, * * * our people were not fond of reading, nor have they ever become so." We are also informed that the settlers of Maryland were "kinsmen of Robin Hood." It would require a clever genealogist to trace this relationship. The causes that led to the American revolution are detailed at length—the Stamp Act, the Tea Duty, the Boston Port Bill, etc. Pages of newspaper extracts are given, containing reports of meetings which took place in various counties of Maryland prior to the revolution; the names of all the delegates are furnished, together with the resolutions adopted. Then follows a pretty full history of the revolutionary war, from the time that Washington assumed command of the Continental Army down to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, comprising 284 pages of this "history of Maryland." We learn that Washington was nominated by Thomas Johnson of Maryland to be commander-in-chief of the American forces; that Maryland was the first State in arms for the patriot cause, and we are supplied with a long list of the militia for the various counties. Notwithstanding all this patriotic enthusiasm, we are informed that "Maryland at this juncture had nothing so much at heart as a happy reconciliation with the mother country, * * * regarding such reconciliation as their highest felicity; so did they view the fatal necessity of separating from her as a misfortune next to the greatest that could befall her."

The Maryland Line deserves all the praise that is bestowed upon it in this work, but we think the encomiums heaped upon the officers, who have descendants still living, are excessive and

fulsome. In contrast with the patriotism of Maryland, we have the apathy of the people of Virginia, who allowed their capital to fall into the hands of the enemy without firing a shot; with a militia of 50,000 men, Virginia contributed only 500 soldiers for the war. Her glory was civil, not military. While Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee and others were arousing the patriotism of the country by their eloquence in Congress, the Virginia militia were hiding in the mountains. As Maryland was the first State in arms, so she was the last. Captain Wilmot of Maryland, while attempting to cut off a party of the enemy's woodcutters on James Island, South Carolina, fell into an ambuscade, and was killed. This was the last blood shed in the war.

"At the close of the Revolution," says Mr. Scharf, "Maryland found herself with a doubtful future before her—she was entering upon a new and untried career." This may be said of all the original thirteen States; and we give it as a specimen of the author's historical acumen. Every address presented to Washington during the war and after the war is given in full, together with Washington's replies.

Towards the close of the second volume, we have a sketch of the insurrection in St. Domingo. We are told that "on the 15th of May, 1791, a decree was passed by the National Assembly of France, that all people of color residing in the French colonies, and born of free parents, were entitled to the same privileges as French citizens." The passage of this decree awakened a spirit of insubordination among the slaves in St. Domingo, which finally broke out in an insurrection the 20th of August, 1790. So the insurrection broke out nearly a year before the decree was passed which caused it. There is another chronological mistake in this same volume (p. 398). In speaking of John Eager Howard, Mr. Scharf says his "grandfather was implicated in Monmouth's Insurrection and to escape his father's displeasure, came to America in 1667." As Monmouth's insurrection did not occur until 1685, it would have been impossible for Howard to have been engaged in it if he came to America in 1667. Either he did not come here in 1667, or he did not engage in the insurrection. These are rather strange errors for a historian to make who claims such accuracy as to state that, "if the patient investigation of weeks resulted in fixing a single uncertain date, he has held that his labor was rewarded."

In a sketch of Washington's administration an account is given of the Baltimore privateers during the war of 1812, and during the South American war of independence, concluding with a reference to the Confederate steamers Alabama and Shenandoah. The privateers being disposed of, we are transported back to the year 1794, and entertained with a history of the

Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania. We are informed that "one Bradford, a native of Maryland, was commander-in-chief of the insurgents," and that the State troops were commanded by General Samuel Smith, "the hero of Fort Mifflin in 1776, at this time the able representative of Maryland in Congress."

The second volume closes with the retirement of Thomas Jefferson from the Presidency and the declaration of war with Great Britain in 1812. In answer to a resolution of the Legislature of Maryland that he should be a candidate for a third term, Jefferson said: "If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first attempt of prolongation beyond the second term of office."

The third volume begins with the war of 1812, during which Baltimore gained considerable notoriety by the number of privateers that were fitted out at that port. A long account of the battle of North Point, and the bombardment of Fort McHenry, is followed by a history of the national air, the Star Spangled Banner. These, with the Mexican war and the civil war, make up most of the third volume. The portion relating to the civil war consists chiefly of military orders, proclamations by the Governor of Maryland and the Mayor of Baltimore, newspaper accounts of battles, etc. The author claims that he has not looked at any event in a partisan spirit, but the reader finds much more interest manifested, and much more space given to the Marylanders who fought against the Union than to the Marylanders who fought for it. Mr. Scharf accuses McSherry of being "an advocate and a panegyrist rather than a historian," but no person can read the present volumes without being struck by the eulogiums pronounced upon all sorts of people, from heroes and statesmen down to newspaper editors and railroad presidents. We do not think it dignified in a historian to bestow marked and excessive praise upon living persons, especially when they occupy high official positions. Yet this is the language which the historian of Maryland uses in speaking of the recently inaugurated Governor of the State: "He is sincere, frank and generous, and combines in most remarkable harmony the dignity, grace and reserve of the thorough gentleman, with that winning good humor that genial approachableness and that cheerful courtesy, which are so needed in a governor, and yet so seldom witnessed." Such language would be unbecoming even in a biography; in a history it is shocking.

If the historian, instead of filling hundreds of octavo pages with copies of official documents, newspaper extracts, presidents' proclamations and governors' messages, had used the facts contained in the material, so industriously collected, and given us a connected and interesting narrative of events, with correct and striking portraits of the principal actors, his work would have been a valuable contribution to American history. But the general reader will be deterred from reading this history of Maryland from its size, and the student will fail to derive much benefit from it on account of its defective arrangement.

EUGENE L. DIDIER.

THE HUMAN SPECIES. By A. DE QUATREFAGES. 16mo, pp. 448. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

It is considerably more than a century since Pope informed an attentive world that "the proper study of mankind is man." Anthropology, however, can hardly be said to have existed before the present century. There are glimmerings of its coming in the classification of Linnæus and the deductions of Buffon, both of whom were of the earlier half of the last century, but it was not till 1805 that Cuvier laid down the basis of the new science in his famous lessons of comparative anatomy. There is now a chair of anthropology in the Museum of Natural History at Paris, which is worthily filled by M. de Quatrefages, who in these pages lays down the principles of the science with a precision not to be found in the works of his illustrious predecessors.

The first great subject of interest is that of the origin of the human race, upon which the scientific world is divided into the two camps of Monogenism and Polygenism. The Adamic doctrine of the Mosaic creed was first attacked by Le Peyrère in 1655, but the weight of opinion is still in its favor. Buffon and Linnæus, Cuvier and Lamarck, Müller and Humboldt, while differing in others, agree on this point, and M. de Quatrefages shares their opinions.

Next in importance comes the Age of the Human Species. Here we find the belief that man has been contemporary with the vegetable and animal species which have long been considered as fossils. To the persevering efforts of Boucher de Perthes is owing the proof of this existence.

Primitive man and the formation of the human race are carefully studied, and it is noted that man has passed through two geological epochs, changing with the changing conditions of the world about him. The centre of his appearance may be no longer in existence.

On the original localization of the human species the doctors still further disagree; the Darwinists admit the perpetual instability of specific

forms and their *transmutation*, while the no less illustrious Agassiz believed in their absolute *immutability*. Yet, strange to say, the extremes of these beliefs meet in an equally exclusive morphology. Agassiz has not only accepted the French doctrine of the centres of creation, but reproduces the polygenistic theory of Le Peyrère, which gives man the whole world as his original home. De Quatrefages agrees with Agassiz as to the centres of appearance of man, but rejects the theory which attaches a human race to every centre of appearance as a local product of that centre, and his argument seems to be conclusive.

Here we must leave this pleasing while profound research. The volume is the twenty-seventh of Appleton's International Scientific Series.

THE PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS OF THE LITTLE MIAMI VALLEY. By CHARLES L. METZ, M. D. From the Journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, October, 1878. Pp. 10.

The gradual disappearance of the aboriginal earth-works in the Valley of the Little Miami, the result of cultivation, building and change of grade, prompted the preparation of a chart, giving the location of the works and mounds in Columbia township, and of those in Anderson and Spencer townships, near the river. They are situated in groups, and so designated in the charts. They are four in number. No better service could be rendered to the cause of archaeology than this.

THE RECORD OF THE PROCESSION AND OF THE EXERCISES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT (MONDAY, JULY 17, A. D. 1878). Erected by the people of Hanover, Mass., in grateful memory of the soldiers and sailors of that town, who died in the war for the preservation of the Union. 8vo, pp. 103. A. WILLIAMS & CO. Boston, 1878.

The war record of Hanover was a creditable one. She sent two hundred men to the support of the Government of the Union, one-eighth of her population, the full fighting quota. On the occasion here described the Governor of the State was present, and numerous addresses made a part of the proceedings.

LOCUSTS AND WILD HONEY. By JOHN BURROUGHS. 16mo, pp. 253. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

Here is a delightful companion for a summer's

stroll through green lanes and leafy alleys for a morning hour under the vales at Sharon, or a sea view on the Newport lawn. The name truly carries with it a suggestion of the wild and delectable of the physical world, and its chapters, true to its name, are so many interpreters of the mysterious and wonders which Dame Nature is always ready to display to her votaries. What suggestiveness indeed in such captions as Pastoral Bees, and Strawberries, Speckled Trout, Buds and Birds, and a Bed of boughs. Who that has ever been in the wilderness can forget the myriad voices which make night musical, the songs of the trees, the threatening sweep of the wind over inland lakes, the roar of the waterfall and the patter of the infant showers; or who the incense of the young clover, or the invigorating odor of the salt meadow. All these and a thousand more of the delights of the country find mention here, and that the gratification may not be unprofitable, a thousand pretty lessons of life are taught by the ways and habits of the birds and bees. Take it with you, reader, and muse upon it under the trees of the Adirondacks, or swaying on the bosom of the Thousand isles. Or read it at home, and dream that you are there. The stuff such dreams are made of is priceless.

HISTORY OF PAUL REVERE'S SIGNAL LANTERNS, APRIL 18, 1775, IN THE STEEPLE OF THE NORTH CHURCH. With an account of the tablet on Christ Church and the monuments at Highland Park and Dorchester Heights. By WILLIAM W. WHEILDON. With heliotype of Christ Church. 8vo, pp. 64. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston, 1878.

This is the other side of an interesting local question as to who displayed the signal light from Christ Church. Mr. John Lee Watson, in a paper entitled "The true Story of the Signal Lanterns," published in 1876, claimed that John Pulling, a vestryman of Christ Church, was the original Jacobs who, at imminent peril, gave the signal to Revere. In his remarks upon laying this (Dr. Hatton's) communication before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Chas. Dean leaned apparently to the opinion of Dr. Watson, that Pulling is entitled to the credit of the action. Mr. Wheildon, however, emphatically denies that it was Pulling, and insists that it was Robert Newman who held out the lanterns. He concludes that—1st, the signal lanterns were in pursuance of an agreement between Revere and Charlestown gentlemen; 2d, that the lanterns were shown in the North Church (Christ Church) steeple; 3d, that they were shown by Newman, the sexton of the church. We shall watch this discussion with interest.



RAMBLES ABOUT PORTSMOUTH. First series. Sketches of Persons and Localities and incidents of two centuries, principally from tradition and unpublished documents. By CHARLES W. BREWSTER. Second edition. 8vo, pp 381. Published by LEWIS W. BREWSTER. Portsmouth, N. H., 1873.

RAMBLES ABOUT PORTSMOUTH. Second series. Sketches of Persons and Localities and Incidents of two centuries, principally from tradition and unpublished documents. By CHARLES W. BREWSTER. With a biographical sketch of the author, by WM. H. T. HACKETT. 8vo, pp. 375. Printed and published by LEWIS W. BREWSTER. 1869.

We are glad to invite attention to this standard work, in which the stories and traditions of Portsmouth are recited in the style of rambling narrative, which is so well adapted to supply the color, which set histories rarely have, and the personal details which shed side-lights upon events and the actors in them. Mr. Brewster was a native of Portsmouth, a descendant of the pilgrims of the Mayflower, Elder William Brewster, and like his worthy ancestor a Puritan in the true sense of the word. His long experience as the editor of the Portsmouth Journal, and an easy, limpid narrative style well fitted him for the successful accomplishment of his task to give the inner history of his native town. These fully supplement "Adams' Annals of Portsmouth," the well-known older chronicle. Mr. Brewster died in 1868, soon after the publication of the second series, and before the issue of the second edition of the first by his son.

The first series begins with the visit of the first rambler on the shores of the Piscataqua, Martin Pring, who sailed from Bristol, England, with a ship, the Speedwell, of fifty tons, and thirty men, and a bark, the Discoverer, of twenty-six tons, and thirteen men, fitted out, under the patronage of the Mayor of the city, to prosecute the discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. They first landed at the Penobscot islands, then sailed to the mouths of the Saco, Kennebec and York rivers, and then to the bay on which Portsmouth stands. The author's rambles lead the reader through the chief places of interest, which he not only describes, but illustrates with sketches of the incidents connected with them, to the close of their volition. Here we find sketches of the families of Portsmouth and their residences—the Wentworths, Livermores, Atkinsons, Parkers, Chauncys, Brewsters and Langdons. Portsmouth was

the scene also of Daniel Webster's early practice in the law, and first political career.

The second series is on the same plan, and with the exception of the earlier period of discovery and settlement, goes over the same ground, with additions of later incidents. Of peculiar interest in these days, which recall the assistance given by the fleet and army of France to our revolutionary sires, is the account of the visit of the Marquis de Chastellux in 1782, when the King's fleet lay at anchor in the harbor, just prior to its departure. The Marquis and his companions, M. de Vaudreuil and M. de Riorus of the French navy, were entertained by Mr. Langdon and Colonel Wentworth. In this volume there are sketches of the families of Sherburne, Pickering and Down.

The tourist and the antiquary will be alike repaid by a perusal of these charming volumes. But they are so well known that our praise is superfluous.

A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. By Miss E. S. KIRKLAND. 16mo, pp. 398. JANSEN, McCLURG & CO. Chicago, 1770.

Beginning with Gaul before Christ, the young reader is carried through forty well arranged chapters to the Third Republic. The facts are all here and tell their own story in an attractive style. The narrative runs smoothly, while the interest of the student is constantly heightened by descriptive passages, which in their detail bring the reader in close relation with the scenes and characters portrayed. As we have before observed in noticing works of this character, women are instructors by nature. Their patience of detail peculiarly fits them for the education of youth. Miss Kirkland is here at her best, grouping her facts in a picturesque manner, and permitting them to tell their own story, without doctoral moralization. History is quite as interesting as romance when thus related, and the surest way to cure the morbid appetite for the yellow covered literature, which is weakening the intelligence and demoralizing the nature of our youth, is to popularize such books as this.

DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE NORTHWEST, WITH THE HISTORY OF CHICAGO. By RUFUS BLANCHARD. Part I, complete in itself. 8vo, pp. 128. R. BLANCHARD & CO. Wheaton, Illinois, 1879.

Chicago is the oldest Indian town in the west of which the original name is retained. Its history naturally involves an account of the three conquests of the country in which it is situated. The first of the six parts covers the history of

the French conquest from the exploration of the St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier, and closes with a narrative of Bouquet's expedition, from an account printed by T. Jefferies, London, in 1766. This covers a period of great historical interest, concerning many of the details of which there has been controversy. Day by day, however, materials to control individual statements are being brought to light. Mr. Blanchard has made use of the best materials, and put them together in an attractive way. We hesitate to question the correctness of the origin of the name given, but we refer Mr. Blanchard to La Salle's account of the rivers and peoples discovered by him in 1681-2 (*Mag. o Am. Hist.*, II, 619), in which he will find the word *Chucugoa*, which means, "the Great River." This seems conclusive.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY. Comprising the facts and incidents of nearly two hundred years, from original contemporaneous sources. By Rev. GEORGE MORGAN HILLS, D.D. 8vo, pp. 739. WILLIAM S. SHARPE. Trenton, New Jersey, 1876.

The extreme favor with which this valuable historical work, from the pen of the learned and accomplished Elder of St. Mary's Parish at Burlington, has been received by students and the reverend clergy renders any commendation at our hands superfluous. It is certainly one of the most important contributions to the history of New Jersey and the ecclesiastical Church that has appeared.

Leaving England in 1677 with the blessing of King Charles II., a party of Quakers sailed from the Thames in the ship *Kent*, as commissioners from the proprietors of the West Jersey lands. After landing at the Swedish settlement at Rackoon Creek, they pushed inland to Chygres Island, which became the site of the town of Burlington. Soon after the laying out of the town Friends monthly meetings were settled. This was done the 15th of the fifth month, 1678. Two months later a burying ground was "paled in" for the Society, and in 1682 a meeting house was erected near the site of the one now in High street.

In 1701, on the death of King William, Anne remained sole sovereign of the Kingdom of Great Britain. Zealously devoted to the Church of England, among her first acts was the issuing of instructions to Lord Cornbury, who then governed the colony of New Jersey, to order the orderly keeping of existing churches, the building of new and the regular performance of Sunday exercises, and the administration of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church

of England. The same year the Society for propagating the Gospel sent out their first missionary, Mr. Keith, who joined to himself the chaplain of the Centurion, the ship in which he crossed the Atlantic, as his companion and advocate. They arrived in Burlington from Boston, and preached in the Town-House on Sunday, November 1, 1702. Soon after two hundred pounds was collected, a parcel of land presented, and in April, 1703, according to a letter of Mr. Talbot, the corner-stone of St. Mary's Church was laid by him. In a subsequent letter, May, 1703, Mr. Talbot writes that it was on Lady-day that the corner-stone was laid, and 'we called this church St. Mary's, it being her day.' The church built and furnished, the Society petitioned Lord Cornbury for a patent, and it was by him incorporated under the name of Saint Anne's Church. In 1709 it received a legacy of land from one Thomas Leciter under the same name of Queen Anne. This confusion of names, which apparently implies that there were two parties in the church, Jacobites and Hanoverians in the last century, or, in modern parlance, high and low churchmen, runs through its history. On the same page Dr. Hills records the presentation of a silver alms basin "for the use of the St. Mary's Church," and "an abstract of the proceedings of the Ministers, Ch: Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church," both of date 1745. In 1765 Mr. Campbell, the Rector, petitioned the Government concerning the lands bequeathed by Leciter unto "the Church of St. Anne in Burlington, now Saint Mary's." Nor was the difference arranged in the last century. The land on which the new structure stands, the work of Richard Upjohn, the eminent ecclesiastical architect, was bequeathed by Paul Watkinson "to the use of the Church called St. Anne's Church," but it was consecrated as St. Mary's, 10th August, 1854. We doubt whether the ecclesiastical history of the country affords a parallel to this curious struggle for a name.

The Church did not progress in the Jerseys with the rapidity which its fervid adherents desired, and found steady opposition to its formation from the Quakers of the colony, so that an increase of its dignity by the establishment of an Episcopal See of the Church of England appeared to be the only remedy to the Reverend John Talbot and his neighboring ministers of Philadelphia, but the Assemblies of the colonies were everywhere averse to legal church jurisdiction from England, and it was not until 1798 that a convention of the Episcopal Church assembled, when Rev. Uzal Ogden was elected Bishop for New Jersey.

In a recent article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* the Rev. Mr.

Hills sets up the claim that John Talbot, the founder of the Burlington church, was consecrated a Bishop in 1722 "in a clandestine manner," and brought over to America his Episcopal ring. To this an answer lately appeared in *The Living Church*, rejecting the theory, and denying the authenticity of the proofs. We shall return to the subject under another heading.

excellent addition to this valuable class of literature. It is extremely gratifying to notice the increasing interest of students to matters of local detail, and the preservation of town records, in which Massachusetts still leads the way in this country. Now that public interest is so greatly awakened in all that belongs to the old, this excellent example should be rapidly followed in other States.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF SUTTON, MASS., FROM 1704 to 1876, INCLUDING GRAFTON UNTIL 1735, MILLBURY UNTIL 1813, AND PARTS OF NORTHBIDGE, UPTON AND AUBURN. Compiled by Rev. WILLIAM A. BENEDICT and Rev. HIRAM A. TRACY. Published for the town. 8vo, pp. 837. SANFORD & Co. Worcester, 1878.

This history of the town of Sutton was prepared by order of the citizens in town meeting, under the direction and supervision of a committee, of which Mr. B. L. Batcheller of Sutton is the chairman. The origin of the name Sutton is unknown, but it is supposed it was given in honor of a friend of one of the original proprietors. The land was granted and the township erected by Governor Dudley in 1704. It was a tract of eight miles square, lying between the towns of Mendon, Worcester, New Oxford, Sherburne and Marlborough, embracing within its limits an Indian reservation, four miles square, called Hassanimisco.

The plan of the work is novel and exceedingly convenient in its divisions. Part I. gives the annals of Sutton, as found in the records of its town meetings. Part II. introduces the reader to the homes of Sutton, full of local detail and interest. Part III. supplies its ecclesiastical and educational history. Part IV., an account of its industrial enterprise and its manufactures of hand-cards and combs and agricultural implements. Part V. is wholly genealogical; here we find numbers of well-known early Puritan names. Part VI. closes the volume with a military, civil and statistical record, in which it may be seen that Sutton was ardent in the revolution, and represented in Colonel Larned's regiment on the right wing of the army at Boston. Jonathan Holman of Sutton was the Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Militia in the county of Worcester, which was known as the Sutton Regiment. A list supplies the names of all the officers and men from Sutton in the revolutionary war. A list follows of those who served in the war of the rebellion.

Some views and photographs complete this elaborate and well edited volume, which is an

WALTHAM PAST AND PRESENT; AND ITS INDUSTRIES. With an historical sketch of Watertown from its settlement in 1630 to the incorporation of Waltham, January 15, 1738. 55 Photographic Illustrations. 4to. THOMAS LEWIS, Landscape Photographer, Cambridge, 1879.

The purpose of this compilation the author announces is to condense within the limits of a popular sketch, the important facts in the history of this ancient town. The photographic illustrations add peculiar interest for all those who are familiar with the topography and appearance of the town whose fame has been earned the world over by its practical demonstration of the superiority of Waltham-made watches, the parts of which are interchangeable at any distance from the original workshop.

Watertown, the parent of Waltham, was marked out by Winthrop in 1730 for settlement. Contemporaneously with Charlestown, Boston, Medford, Roxbury and Dorchester, wigwags and houses hastily thrown up, part of which were burned in the winter, were the beginning of Watertown.

Waltham was created into a separate and distinct township, January 4th, 1737-8, and it took its name no doubt from some one of six parishes in England, probably, as the author suggests from Waltham Abbey, a market town of the County of Essex, which was the birth place of John Eliot, and other New England worthies. While the volume is descriptive rather than historical, a short account is given of the contribution of Waltham in men and money to the several wars of the country. The buildings of interest and importance; churches, factories and residences are fully described. Christopher Gore, Governor of Massachusetts, was a citizen of Waltham, and had his mansion there. Excellent photographic portraits are given of this gentleman of the old school, and of Nathan Appleton, who, with Lowell and Jackson, were the founders of the great cotton factory which converted Waltham from an agricultural to a manufacturing town. In 1824 the first power loom was put in successful operation.



ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA AÑA,
PRESIDENT OF MEXICO,

From the Original by Paul L'Ouvrier, in the Collection of the N. Y. Historical Society.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

MAY 1880

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THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO

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THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
VOLUME 100 PART 1 2000

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there would have been no Austerlitz, and no Waterloo would have been needed to avenge it. With as much reason may we say: had there been no San Jacinto, there would have been no Palo Alto. and had there been no Palo Alto, it is highly probable there would have been no Bull Run or Gettysburg. The steps of the outcome I will endeavor to trace.

Successfully as the defensive campaign of 1836 in Texas terminated, the merit of its guidance by General Sam Houston has been a subject of fierce controversy. He had the peculiar traits which create blind partizanship and bitter opposition; his defenders had as little candor as his assailants, and he had less than either. Hence his merits and faults have been themes of exaggeration, the truth, as usual, lying between them. Had he conducted to victory a campaign against such fearful odds, and under the most distracting difficulties, without one oversight or error, he would have been more infallible than Napoleon; and had he achieved success without possessing ordinary courage and judgment, we would have to class him with those heroes of epic song whom the gods made invincible after leaving out the brains. Though a remarkable man, he was neither one nor the other of those impossible creations.


To make an account of the battle of San Jacinto fully interesting it is necessary to tell of what went immediately before it; but in sketching that forty days' campaign, for the purpose of giving my own views of certain points, I shall relate as briefly as is consistent with clearness all undisputed events which are to be found in detailed histories.

Houston had been appointed, in 1835, by the Provisional Government of Texas, a major-general of regular troops, with the right to command all volunteer forces which might be raised in the country, or come from abroad to offer their services; but the anarchy into which that government fell so neutralized his authority that he was unable, as he conceived, to exert any effective control over the command of Fannin at Goliad, the garrison of San Antonio, or the smaller bands of Johnson and Grant, on the Nueces. The result was they were never concentrated, nor subjected to the orders of a single head; they were consequently cut up in detail about the time that Houston took the field. Thus over seven hundred men were sacrificed without any gain to the cause of Texas. Had Houston been on the western frontier during the whole time that those detachments were there, performing no profitable service, he could possibly have saved them by effecting a concentration. His mere presence has sometimes accomplished no little; and had it been more continuously with those troops, he could probably have made his authority (curtailed though it was) sufficiently effective; but during much of the

time referred to he was in the east, seeking to secure the neutrality of the Cherokees and other Indian tribes in that section, whom emissaries from Mexico were endeavoring to stir up to hostility against Texas. He has been much censured, but more I think than he deserved, for his absence from the frontier at this juncture. The Cherokees were more formidable in arms and efficiency than any of the prairie tribes, and their hostility to Texas would put an enemy in the rear whenever invasion should assail the front. This would have been more ruinous than all the disasters I have just referred to as befalling the defenders of the west. The only man in Texas then likely to have sufficient influence with the Cherokee chiefs to secure the certainty of peace was Houston, who, while self-exiled from civilization, had been an adopted member and titular chief of that tribe. In his mission to the east he neglected what then seemed a lesser danger to avert a greater; yet had his time been properly husbanded he might, I believe, have attended sufficiently to both duties. He had from the first been anxious to take the field at the head of a regular force of over a thousand men, which the provisional government had authorized to be raised; and, not appreciating the impossibility of creating such a force promptly, he gave to that object some precious time which might better have been devoted to the volunteers already in the field.

Houston, as an elected member, joined the Convention of Texas, which assembled at Washington on the Brazos, on the 1st of March, 1836, and declared the independence of Texas the day after. His authority as General-in-Chief having been reaffirmed by the Convention, he left that body on the 6th of that month to take command of the few volunteers then mustering at Gonzalez. On that day the Alamo, where Travis commanded, fell with its last defender. The bands of Johnson and Grant, on the Nueces, had been cut to pieces about the time the Convention met; and Fannin, with his command, surrendered to Urrea, after an obstinate action, on the 20th, nine days after Houston arrived at Gonzalez, which was on the 11th.

At this time Houston was forty-six years of age—a man of robust constitution and imposing presence. He had served in the United States Army under General Jackson, and had been promoted from the ranks for gallant conduct in the Creek war; and though he resigned when a first lieutenant, two years after the peace of 1815, he had acquired a fair experience as a soldier, with such military instruction as could be obtained by a man of quick parts in Indian campaigns and at frontier posts. Of his erratic course after he left the army, and rose to high




civilian rank, it is not necessary here to speak. One of its demoralizing effects on him was the formation of intemperate habits, which however were not so strong or continuous as to impair his mental or bodily powers; and while in the field he always made a firm stand against a vice which he had often rallied against, and, in his latter years, entirely overcame. In his military character there was a strong element of caution, with enough reaction under it to keep off dangerous irresolution. If caution at times held him too rigidly, it was, in the situation he now occupied, an error on the safe side; and reaction in him was not likely to become recklessness. His plans of defence he kept to himself; but he evidently resolved to avoid bold aggressive strokes till sure he could rely on his men, or till the enemy's movements or other circumstances gave him a decided advantage. From the first he probably counted on the possibility of being obliged to retreat farther even than he eventually did, before attempting a decisive blow. The people of Eastern Texas turned out but feebly; the West seemed too weak to withstand the invasion; and among the plans which he perhaps thought necessity might impose on him was that of dragging the war to the doors of Eastern homes, in order to force their owners into the field. I believe, however, that nothing short of a defeat, or near overwhelming odds, would have driven him to this.

Gen. Houston found about four hundred fresh volunteers at Gonzalez, but desertion reduced them to three hundred and seventy-four when an exact count was made. Travis had announced his intention to signalize his continued possession of his fort by firing at a certain hour of each morning a gun which might be heard at Gonzalez. After the 6th those guns were no longer heard; and the surmise their cessation created was confirmed on the 11th by the arrival of two Mexicans of San Antonio, who reported the fall of the Alamo. This news was reaffirmed, on the 13th, by the arrival of Mrs. Dickenson and Travis's negro—inmates of the fort, who had been spared when the garrison was massacred. From them it was also learned that a body of about seven hundred Mexican troops, under Gen. Sesma, was approaching Gonzalez. Neither the numbers nor the morale of the raw force which Houston had taken command of justified him in attempting a stand at Gonzalez, for his men partook of the panic which already pervaded the population of the West. He accordingly retreated from the place, at midnight between the 13th and 14th, leaving in the village two of his best captains of scouts, with a small rear guard, by whom, either by or without Houston's orders, the place was reduced to ashes. The inhabitants had left, with the aid of

the troops. Two small guns were thrown into the Guadalupe, and some tents and other property were left behind at Houston's camp, owing partly to lack of transportation, and partly to the confusion which prevailed. Houston's first march was fifteen miles, to Peach Creek, where he met a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty-five men; but, as some additional desertions had occurred, this accession raised his total to no more than four hundred and seventy-four. The next day, on his march to the Colorado, he met a company of thirty-five men. His retreat was north-easterly, and, on the 17th, he reached Burnam's Ford, of the Colorado. Then, after remaining two days on the western bank, he passed over, and marched down the eastern side to a spot opposite to Beason's farm and ferry, having above and below his position a ford, which he kept guarded. There he remained till the 26th, receiving considerable increase of numbers.

Houston's force was composed of splendid material, but had not yet become an army, though the organization commenced at Gonzalez was completed, and the men seemed in fine spirits. It would not be easy in most other countries to find the same number of new, unselected men, who combined the same degree of personal bravery with equal skill in the use of fire-arms; but though a mass of mere individual efficiency may have the force of an avalanche while all feel a common spur, any perversion or rupture of the impulse is liable to convert its unity into a rope of sand. This force, in addition to its newness, had no government competent to support it, or enforce authority over it. It was liable to be demoralized by sympathy with a flying population, and was half paralyzed by lack of appliances needful to mobility and subsistence. Before the arrival of Col. Hockley, the Inspector-General, the Commander-in-Chief was the only officer of rank, if not the only one of any grade, who had been trained in a regular army, or had been in any extensive field fight—the only one probably who had a good idea of general staff duties; and the burthen of details which this threw upon the Commander might well unsettle the equipoise of the clearest head.

Gen. Sesma, with between seven and eight hundred Mexican troops, arrived on the western bank of the Colorado, nearly opposite to Houston's camp, at about the time it was occupied by the latter. This detachment included about ninety dragoons, and had with it two pieces of cannon. It was afterwards reinforced by about six hundred men, under Gen. Cos; but, as well as I can ascertain, they did not arrive till after Houston's retreat. The panic spread through the country by deserters, though it put many families on the road of flight, did not deter men



from mustering to the field ; and Houston's force became larger on the Colorado than it was at any other time before his victory. He intended, according to his dispatches of the period, to have crossed the river to attack Sesma, on the 27th, but the hopeful spirit of his men received a severe damper, on the 25th, in the news of Fannin's surrender, brought by a fugitive from the West. To allay the effect of this report, the General affected to disbelieve it, and caused the man who brought it to be arrested as a spy and panic-maker ; but the information deterred him from aggressive operations, and precipitated his retreat. He fell back from the Colorado on the 26th, without having made anything more than skirmishing demonstrations against Sesma.

Of the number of men in Houston's camp when he retreated contradictory accounts are given, varying from seven to sixteen hundred. Those estimates are doubtless exaggerations of weakness and strength ; but, from all I can learn on the subject, I think his force on the 26th must have exceeded a thousand men, and I cannot learn that Sesma's had yet reached eight hundred. I do not know on what day Houston attained to his greatest strength. Col. Hockley, his Inspector-General, reported the force to be over seven hundred on the 23d, and if it ever arose to thirteen hundred at that place, as is credibly asserted, the increase of five hundred and odd must have come in almost simultaneously with the report of Fannin's disaster. It would seem then that on the 23d Houston could have attacked Sesma with an equal, and on the 26th with a greatly superior force, though with ardor somewhat chilled. But even then the information from the West may not have been so great a damper as was the order to retreat. This depended on whether the bad news acted mainly as an irritant or a paralyzer. Considering what the same body of Texans, after much depletion, achieved a little later against nearly double numbers, we see plausible grounds for the assertion so often made that on this occasion Houston had too little faith in his men, and too little readiness to seize a golden opportunity. A defeat of Sesma then would have brought crowds of men to Houston's camp, and might have turned back invasion from the western bank of the Colorado. The belief that it could have been done still prevails among most of the old residents of Texas, and I strongly incline to the same opinion, but without being sure of its correctness. There were many other things to be considered besides parity or superiority of numbers, and some of those things could be appreciated only by a good observer then on the spot. Houston's untrained force was half made up of newly arrived detachments, and no part of it had been assembled over

three weeks or thereabout. Such an army cannot be handled readily and safely to seize the nick of time for a daring blow, and what Houston's men did at San Jacinto is no sure gauge of what they could have done on the Colorado. When he fought at San Jacinto his army was a month older than when it encamped at Beason's Ferry. A raw force composed of fine material and well commanded, if it holds together under difficulties, is sure, even with little training, to improve by that association which creates a sense of unity and gives consistence to the rope of sand. Under those circumstances a month can give to such material a very knitting growth. The time which reduced numbers, increased efficiency; and it is quite possible that the less than eight hundred who fought at San Jacinto were more morally potent against superior numbers than the thousand and odd on the Colorado would have been against a smaller force. Houston was evidently of opinion that his armed assemblage had not yet acquired a fitness for the risk. When not blinded by passion or prejudice he had a ready and keen insight into men; and this is a question in which we must leave him the benefit of a strong doubt.

Houston's course was still north-easterly, and on the 28th he reached San Filipe on the Brazos.

The convention which had declared the independence and framed the constitution of Texas, at Washington, on the Brazos, finished its labors after midnight between the 16th and 17th of March, by inaugurating the newly-elected President and Vice-President, David G. Burnet and Lorenzo de Zavala, and installing their cabinet. Thomas J. Rusk, afterwards a general in Texas, and later a senator of the United States, took the office of Secretary of War. The convention had been hurried to its closing work by the arrival of a courier on the evening of the 16th, with news of the fall of the Alamo and of Houston's retreat from Gonzalez. The aforesaid body made a final adjournment on the 17th, and, on the day following, the President announced by proclamation that the government would remove to Harrisburgh, a town on Buffalo Bayou, about eighteen miles above the inner shore of Galveston Bay, to which place the President and cabinet repaired three days later. Houston, in his correspondence of that period, censures this removal with more acrimony than candor, as if the executive department, with hardly a corporal's guard to back it, could take on itself the duty of an outpost. When the President left Washington, Houston was already crossing the Colorado, and a week later was on the Brazos, while not a Texan soldier stood between Washington and Goana's detachment then

moving that way. If all of Houston's retreats can be justified, that of the government may be excused.

San Filipe, the point to which Houston fell back from the Colorado, was on the west side of the Brazos, thirty odd miles below Washington, and was the place founded by Stephen F. Austin, the Empresario, as the official centre of his colony, being at the time now referred to the principal town of the Anglo-American section of Texas. Houston met a reinforcement of an hundred and thirty men a few miles east of the Colorado, but this petty gain did not make up for the new drain of desertion. Each retreat left a space of country open to the enemy, and men, whose homes were thus exposed, could not be kept in camp. Numbers left daily, some with and some without permission, to look to the safety of their families.

At San Filipe a garrison of an hundred and twenty men was left under Captain Moseley Baker, while a smaller company, commanded by Captain Wylie Martin, was sent about fifteen miles down the river to Fort Bend. These detachments were directed to take post on the eastern bank to defend the passage of the river, efforts being made, though without complete success, to secure or remove all boats which might be made available to the enemy. On the 29th Houston marched through mud and rain up the western side of the Brazos, and, after crossing Mill Creek, encamped on the 31st in the outer edge of the river woodland, at a place opposite to Groce's plantation, eighteen miles above San Filipe. There the soldiers buried the first and only one of their comrades who died a natural death during Houston's campaign; and though it was a short one, the fact seems remarkable, considering the amount of exposure and hardship the men endured. Houston's object in moving up the river was mainly to get a position where he could more easily communicate with Harrisburgh, and through it with Galveston bay; for the road to that landing, though longer, was over better ground from Groce's than from San Filipe. Groce's ferry, too, was the place where one of the main roads to the Trinity crossed the Brazos, and was as likely as San Filipe to be an objective point to the enemy.

Captain Baker, having taken his post on the eastern bank, received some false intimation of the enemy's approach on the 29th, and hastily caused the town of San Filipe, opposite, to be burnt, after removing from it the best of the provisions it contained. Whether this was done by General Houston's command or not, it was not done, as Yoakum asserts, by the inhabitants without authority. Baker ordered one of his

subordinates, Mr. M. A. Bryan, a nephew of General Austin, to execute the needless devastation; but as the youth expressed great repugnance to the task of destroying a place his distinguished kinsman had founded, the Captain transferred his order to another. Neither has Yoakum sufficient warrant for asserting that the incendiaries merely anticipated the enemy. Urrea occupied Matagorda then, and Brazoria soon after, without destroying either; and we do not know that Santa Ana would have burnt San Filipe had he found it standing. I am not aware that he had yet burned any dwelling on his route thither, but he was prompt in taking hints of this kind, and finding the sacrifice of Gonzalez by the Texans themselves reenacted at San Filipe, he followed their example soon after at other places.

Houston, after remaining two days at the last mentioned halting place, moved into the dense forest which lines the western bank of the Brazos, where his camp was for a while begirt by the inundation of the season. There he remained from the 2d till the 12th of April. At Groce's ferry he pressed for public service a steamboat called the Yellow Stone.

On the 7th, Santa Ana, with Sesma and his command, arrived at the site of San Filipe. Santa Ana, who was at this time the President of Mexico, had, in his presidential capacity of commander-in-chief, taken charge of the campaign in Texas, and now accompanied the advance. After cannonading Baker's position opposite to San Filipe for two days without effect, and finding that a passage of the river could not there be readily effected, he moved with a part of his force down to Fort Bend, where, while he occupied Martin's attention with a cannonade, he secured a boat by stratagem in that vicinity and crossed the river at Thomson's Ferry, at which place he ordered Sesma, with the rest of his command, to join him. Martin's and Baker's detachments, so soon as it was known the Mexicans had reached the eastern bank, moved off, and arrived safe at Houston's camp, which had been shifted to the eastern side of the Brazos. Houston had crossed the river at Groce's Ferry on the same day that it was passed by Santa Ana, thirty odd miles below.

This double pass over was the turning point of the campaign. At this time Urrea, who commanded the coast division, was at Matagorda with about 1300 men. Goana, with the uppermost division or detachment, had been ordered to march with a little over 700 men by way of a ferry above Washington to Nacogdoches, but had had his destination changed to San Filipe; he was now lost in the wilds between that place and Bastrop. The troops forming the centre division were part in the



the Brazos bottom his force was estimated by him and Colonel Hockley, in their letters, to number about seven hundred and fifty effective men, after one hundred and twenty had been left at San Filipe. On the day before Houston crossed the Brazos, a regular report of men in camp returned but five hundred and twenty-three effectives, though a reinforcement of eighty had arrived from the East. The situation told on the health of the men; and there were still some desertions. At Donahu's, however, the entrance of outlying detachments, the restoration of invalids, and some accession of fresh volunteers, raised the force to near eight hundred effectives, making near 1,000 in all.

The arrival of the Secretary of War in camp on the 4th of April had a good effect on the spirits of the men. They had full confidence in him; and it was soon evident that he and the General were in perfect accord. They consulted together on all important occasions; and this was the only quarter in which Houston had resorted to consultation. He was remarkable for the strictness with which he kept his own counsel; yet he was by no means a man of few words; and his proneness to irony and to mystifying questioners in a sarcastic way probably misled his hearers occasionally in regard to his own intentions.

In the war of recrimination, which some years later ensued, it was asserted that the army at Donahu's largely entertained a suspicion that Houston contemplated a retreat across the Trinity before striking a blow, that the Secretary of War had to issue to him a peremptory order to meet the enemy, and that his Adjutant-General found it necessary to frighten him from his intended course by a warning that his life would be in danger from the soldiery if he should take the eastward track. It was asserted, too, that he sent an order to the volunteers, then supposed to be mustering or arriving in Eastern Texas, directing them to halt and entrench on the Trinity. Some of those assertions were doubtless made by respectable men; but, in the discussions of those events, made long after they occurred, we find allegations evidently from a different kind of source. These are so positively and maliciously false,' that we must receive with caution others in which truth may have been aimed at but was distorted by personal animosity. It must be remembered that when Houston felt or inspired hatred it was not apt to be of diluted quality. The suspicion referred to undoubtedly existed, perhaps extensively; but I see no reason to believe that it was shared in by the Secretary of War or the Adjutant-General; nor do I believe that the former found any such order, or the latter any such threat advisable. I knew them both well at a later time, and never

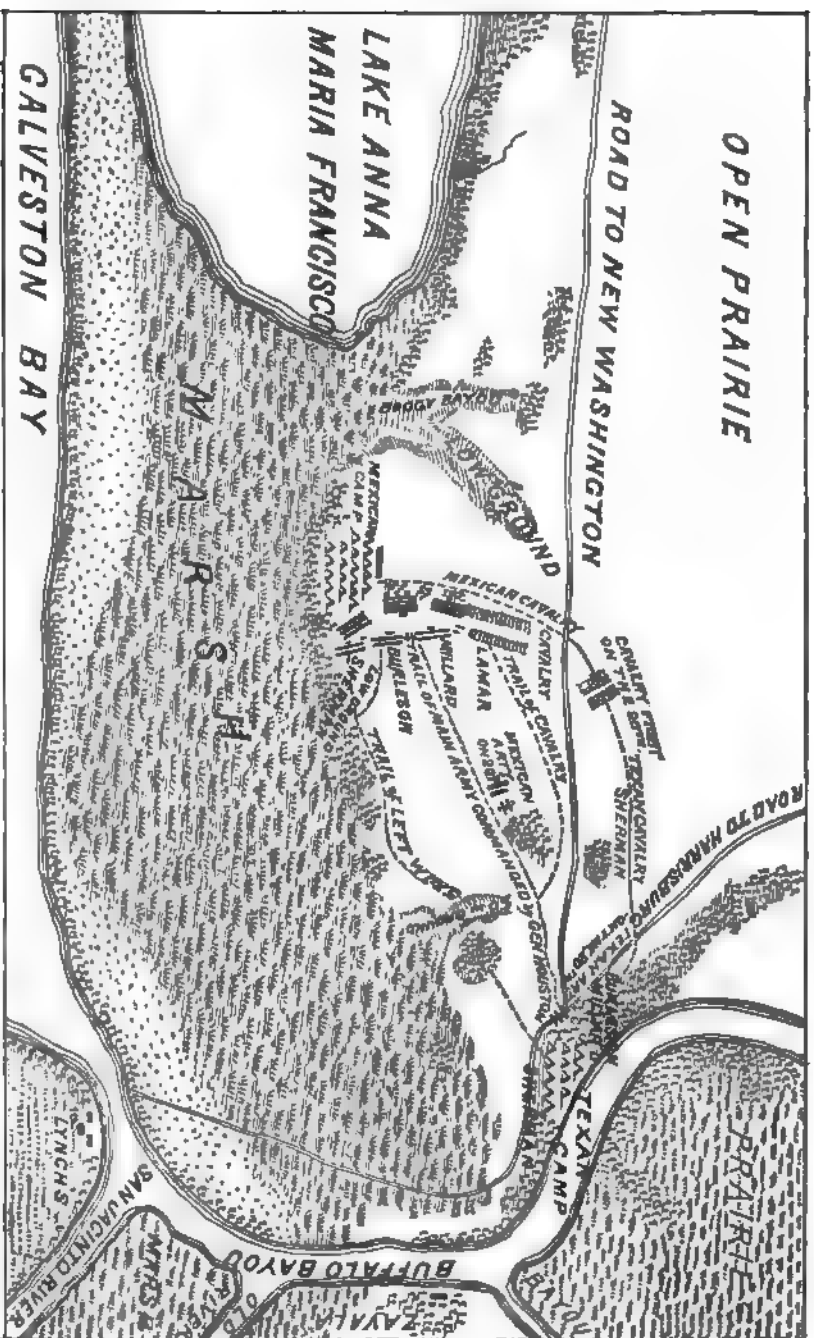
heard any allusion to the subject from either. Houston no doubt kept an eye on Eastern Texas, which might prove to be his last field for rally and retrieval, and some of his remarks or measures may have looked to that end. He sent Captain Wylie Martin with his company to the Trinity to aid and protect the fugitive families and do what the situation might require. He did not yet know of Goana's change of destination; and that General might turn his right, as Santa Ana did his left, and push on to Nacogdoches, where the presence of the invader could stir up the Indians, in spite of treaty pledges. Under the circumstances, Houston's order for halting new levies on the Trinity seems quite probable; for, though he expected to strike a blow shortly, until he knew precisely when and where it would be, it may have seemed more advisable to provide for a reserve than for reinforcement.

We can better judge of what he at this time intended from what he soon after did, and from what we know of the man, than we can from stories which have a strong flavor of spite as well as of legend. Inferring from the former premises, I am convinced that when Houston crossed the Brazos he was determined on a blow against the first enemy he could reach, without too much regard to disparity of numbers. The reproach of having heretofore observed too much caution was at length liable to goad him into observing too little. We can afford to allow him common sense and ordinary courage; and if he had both, he must have known that a fight would now be less perilous than flight. Had the situation been one which made farther retreat essential to the safety of the cause, he could not have been turned away from it without a jar or struggle which would have left an unmistakable mark on the recollections of the period. Strength of will he did not lack.

On the 16th of April Houston marched from Donahu's, southeasterly towards Harrisburgh. Santa Ana's move, made two days before, which was easterly, was a turning of Houston's left,⁹ and the march of the latter was a pursuit of the flankers on their left rear. Their routes running obliquely towards each other formed two sides of a triangle, and came to a point at the town aforesaid, leaving the head of Buffalo Bayou between them. Santa Ana, therefore, struck that stream on its right and Houston on its left bank. Though this movement was in the general direction of retreat, it was in effect an advance; and the spirits of the men rose with each step that brought them nearer to the enemy. As Houston's route was the longest, making fifty-five miles, it occupied

This was the arrival of General Cos, with a reinforcement of 500 men or a little more. Its approach and probable strength had been announced to Houston by his scouts; but he suggested to the officers and men about him that the exhibition they had seen was nothing more than a countermarch of some of Santa Ana's troops sent out of camp for a deceptive display. But the arrival was too obvious to leave any plausibility to the pretended surmise. In the course of the forenoon several officers waited upon the General and requested that a council of war should be called, which was at once done. The council met, consisting of Colonels Burlison and Sherman, Lieutenant-Colonels Somerville, Burnet, and Millard, and Major Wells, the field officers of the two regiments of volunteers, and the half battalion of regulars, which composed the infantry. The Secretary of War was also present. The question put to the council by the General was: "Shall we attack the enemy in his position or await his attack in ours?" Burnet and Wells who, as lowest in rank, were first called on for their views, were in favor of attacking the enemy; but the other officers preferred to wait for the attack; and with this the Secretary of War coincided. The reasons given were that their own position was a good one, while that of the enemy was fortified, and would have to be charged on through an open prairie by troops mostly without bayonets; and that, when raw militia are opposed to regular troops, it is safest for the former to act on the defensive. The advisability of providing a raft for crossing the bayou in case of defeat, was mentioned by some one, but, I think, was not discussed. The council was then dismissed, the General reserving his own opinion. That of the majority has the fault of allowing the enemy time for farther reinforcements. One was as much as could be prudently let into the slaughter-pen. This was the first council of war solicited or held during the campaign. There was that morning a revival of the old distrust in the ranks because more had not been done the day before, and the discontent of the men probably suggested the request made by the officers. But Houston a few hours later showed that he was more in harmony with the former than the latter.

Five or six miles above, where the two armies were encamped, Vince's bayou runs into the Buffalo on its right side. The branch, which was almost unfordable from its depth of mud, was crossed by what was known as Vince's bridge, over which both armies had passed in their downward march; and it had now just been crossed by Cos and his reinforcement. Over it was the only road from either camp to the Brazos. After the council was dismissed, Houston sent two of his best



SAN JACINTO BATTLEGROUND—From Jackson's History of Texas.

scouts, one of whom was Deaf Smith, a man of local fame, with orders to burn Vince's bridge. It was promptly done, and reported to the General just before the impending battle began. It was one of Santa Ana's oversights that the safety of that bridge was not guarded, but not, as I believe, an oversight of Houston that the burning was not done sooner. As he is charged with too much forecast, he would hardly have neglected to have it done the night before, had his object been to impede the arrival of the first reinforcement; and the man who did the burning, a confidential scout, would hardly have allowed the precaution to be forgotten, for he had an eye and brain as wary as his ear was defective.

After the council, Houston had directed some of his officers to ascertain the disposition of the men in regard to offensive operations, and found it favorable. He soon after took a more effective mode of sounding them himself. Approaching a spot near the bayou, where a crowd of soldiers as well as officers was assembled, he cried out to them: "Shall we fight now, or wait till to-morrow morning?" They had just heard with no little discontent of the disagreement of the council, and this appeal had electric force. The response was, "Fight now," and the repetition of it spread from one end of the camp to the other. It is worthy of note, that Houston assumed the offensive side of the late discussion, and put the question only in regard to time. Half an hour later a muster was ordered, and the troops were formed for action.

Houston's camp had Buffalo bayou in its rear; the junction of that stream with the San Jacinto bearing a mile or little less to his left. Santa Ana's camp fronted Houston's, three-quarters of a mile off, in a direction nearly at right angles with the bank of the bayou, the shore of Galveston bay being less than a mile to his right. A marsh occupied the space between the two camps and the bay. On the outer edge of the marsh was a strip of timber occupied by the Mexican right wing, consisting of infantry. His centre, composed of the same, was covered by a breastwork formed of pack saddles, packages, and anything which could be made available on the spot, his twelve-pounder being planted in a gap left in the centre of that barrier. His left was another body of foot, partly covered by the breastwork and flanked on the extreme left by his cavalry. These were the dispositions made of the troops when roused by alarm; but when Houston's force moved, Santa Ana and his staff, with about half of his men, were asleep; yet this, under the lights he then had, involved no irrational breach of caution. As Houston the day before stood strictly on the defensive, there seemed little chance of his now becoming the assailant of a strengthened force. Cos's men had

marched most of the previous night, and the commander ordered that they should be allowed to rest. The whole force, from the President down, had need of it; but the troops were encamped, and their arms were stacked in accordance with the formation above described, and the promptitude with which they stepped into it when called to arms, shows that in minor details they were well disciplined and commanded.

The locality of the Texan camp was favorable for making the needful dispositions unseen by the enemy. Colonel Burlison's regiment of volunteers formed the centre, Colonel Sherman's the left wing, and the two companies of regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Millard, the right. The two six-pounders with the artillerymen, nine to each piece, now commanded by Colonel Hockley, were placed between the centre and right; and the cavalry, numbering fifty, under M. B. Lamar, afterwards President of Texas, were on the extreme right. Colonel John A. Wharton, one of the most gifted and estimable men in the army, was the Adjutant-General. Secretary Rusk rode with the left wing. The regulars bore muskets and bayonets, the rest of the infantry rifles. The cavalry had sabres and pistols, and such guns as could be had most suitable to mounted men. As for costume, tattered and mud-varnished kersey, jeans, and greasy buckskin, took the place of uniforms; and the begrimed array, from the General down, might almost have envied Falstaff's ragged battalion. The whole force numbered seven hundred and eighty-three.* The ineffective portion and their guard, left with the wagons beyond the bayou, amounted to as many as two hundred. Hence Houston's whole number of men, in and out of action, was near one thousand. Sherman's regiment included a small company of Mexicans of San Antonio, commanded by Captain Seguin. This was the only contingent of native Texans; but, though most of Houston's men were natives of the United States, the assertion, often made, that the battle of San Jacinto was won by men who had lately arrived in Texas, is false. That description would have applied to Fannin's command, mostly made up as it was of companies which had within six months come already armed and organized from abroad. Houston's little army, however, had been wholly raised in Texas within about six weeks, and was composed mainly of men who had come to the country before the war. Santa Ana's force, including Cos's detachment, was reported by the former after his liberation as twelve hundred men, though in Texas it has generally been estimated at fourteen hundred. The truth, I think, lies midway between the two. A captured Mexican sergeant, afterwards in my service, and whom I have mentioned in a former article



(Magazine of American History, II., 1.) as to be relied on, informed me that he assisted in the commissariat on the morning of the 21st, and knew that the number of rations ordered for the whole command was thirteen hundred. Thereabout is doubtless the true number of the men.

Houston's order to advance was given at 3 o'clock. His three infantry corps, in double file, moved each by a flank till they entered a hollow, which covered them, when each body turned into line, and the whole line marched rapidly forward, driving in the enemy's videttes; the cavalry having already been sent to the front of the Mexican dragoons to draw attention. The cannon were kept a little in advance of the infantry, and when within two hundred yards of the enemy's breastwork opened an effective fire, and were run forward after each discharge, the last one being made within seventy yards of that barrier. The enemy's troops were already completely formed, and opened fire in response to the Texan artillery, while their music beat "no quarters." A sufficient proof that, sudden as the attack was, Santa Ana had time to make needful dispositions, is the fact that he transferred two light companies from his extreme left to his right, at double quick, after the firing commenced. As the ground of approach was an ascension, most of the Mexican balls and shot passed over the heads of the Texans, and did not give them the slightest check. Their advance now became a rushing but well-ordered charge, while the stunning war cry of "Alamo" rang from flank to flank—Houston all the while riding conspicuously from ten to twenty paces in front of the line. He was among the first who reached the barrier. With the exception of a few shots, the assailants reserved their fire till within forty paces, and then discharged a volley, before which shakos went down by the score, ranks were shattered, and drum and bugle silenced; the breaking force of that volley was never surpassed by bayonet or claymore. Almost in an instant, as it seemed, the men of the centre and right were over the barrier, and the Mexican twelve-pounder was taken with a load in it. But rapid as Burleson and Millard were, Sherman was ahead of them. His corps was the first to arrive within fitting distance and open fire, and he penetrated the wood on the Mexican right before the breastwork was stormed. The flight of that wing communicated disorder to the centre and left; Lamar had already charged and routed the dragoons, and the whole surviving force of Santa Ana was flying and scattering in eighteen minutes after the Texan charge commenced. Among the few on whom the Mexican shot told was General Houston, who, when near the breastwork, received a ball in his ankle. The flight of the Mexicans did what their

charge could not have accomplished; the moment they fled the Texans broke after them in equal disorder of pursuit, and Houston found it impossible to rally the volunteers. In vain he rode with his bleeding ankle among the fierce pursuers, crying "Halt! halt!" and following each command with a volley of curses. He succeeded at length in halting the two regular companies, and marching them back as a camp guard, when the pain of his wound compelled him to dismount, and have his boot cut from his swollen foot. Had those unruly victors run with broken ranks and empty rifles against a stout reserve of cavalry, it might have given a wide divergence to the course of local history.

The enemy fled in different directions. The mounted men and officers aimed for Vince's bridge, and finding it burnt, plunged into the bayou, where many of them were sabred and shot by Lamar and his cavalry before they could struggle through the tenacious mud. Santa Ana left his horse in the deep mire of that stream, and, like Sisera, "fled away on his *feet*," for then he still had a pair of them. Numbers of the fugitives took to the morass on the right and rear of the camp, and were there slaughtered in heaps. At first few or no prisoners were taken. Remembrance of the Alamo and Goliad rendered most of the victors merciless, and the few officers who sought to restrain them, did it at the peril of their own lives. Colonel Almonte had kept brokenly together in retreat about four hundred infantry, who still bore their arms, and rallied them at a grove in the rear, where the surrender which he offered was accepted. This put a check to the wholesale carnage, though scattering cases of slaughter continued till darkness put an end to them. Only seven or eight fugitives reached Filisoli camp. Had the troops rallied by Almonte been regulars of the best grit, they might, to say the least, have modified considerably the triumph of the disordered victors.

Santa Ana, on being roused from his siesta, was at first incredulous as to the reality of attack. He sprang up for a moment into a small tree which had shaded him, and after taking a glance at the assailants, gave his first orders collectedly, but when his troops began to give way, he lost all self-possession, and was among the first who fled. General Castillon, the gallant Spaniard mentioned in a former article (II., 1), it is said, cut down several of his men to stop the flight, and then, finding all was lost, disdainfully walked away while all the rest were running; but he had not gone many steps before he was shot down. His retreat and fall were described to me by a Texan eye witness. The Mexican ex-sergeant, whom I have mentioned, said he was detailed with a guard of



twenty infantry under a lieutenant to protect the twelve-pounder, and replace any artillery men who might fall. About a minute after the rifles began to rattle he found himself standing by the gun with three of his men. The officer and most of the soldiers lay bleeding—the rest had fled. He then did the same, and in a few moments saw Castrillon fall just ahead of him, and at the same moment felt the contusion of a glancing ball in his back, on which he threw himself down between two dead bodies, and enacted the role of corpse for an hour, when a voice in Spanish gave a welcome announcement. "All the wounded," it said, "who are able to rise, may do so safely, for their lives will be spared." He rose at once, and found it was the son of Vice President Zavala who had spoken.

Seven hundred and thirty-eight Mexican prisoners, including two hundred and eight wounded, were taken. The number of their killed was probably a little over five hundred and fifty. The Texan loss, including that incurred on the first day, was eight killed and twenty-six wounded. On the 22d, a party of five scouts lit upon the President of Mexico, skulking through the high grass of the prairie. They did not recognize his rank, for he had shed his uniform, cast away his sword, and disguised himself in some rude Texan habiliments, which he found in a deserted house.⁴ What a sad travesty of the policy of Alexander, who adopted the costume of the land he conquered. Santa Ana's recognition by his soldiers as he entered the camp, and his self-introduction to Houston, have often been related. On the 25th, Cos was in like manner picked up by scouts in the prairie. He deserved death for a breach of parole as much as Santa Ana did in reprisal for massacres, of which he was the real author; but both were spared. Of the sparing of Santa Ana, I have expressed my opinion in a former article (II., 10); policy could not have accomplished it in the teeth of public resentment, had not the soldiery already become sated with blood. Negotiation through the distinguished captive, however, achieved what the sword ought to have done without his aid; and Texas was soon relieved from the footsteps of the invader.

The two main causes of this easy victory over odds, were the individual skill of Texas hunters in the use of the rifle, and the deficiency of Mexican soldiers in the use of the musket; and in this action the need of a depressed aim for the latter made their fire less effective than usual; for, as every hunter knows, it requires special skill to shoot accurately down hill. I do not know what the Mexican troops of this day may be, but then the most essential branch of drilling was the one most

neglected. The Texan attack, as I have shown, was not a surprise, as the Mexicans often call it, but its unexpected audacity gave it much of the effect of such a blow.

Among the controverted points in the history of this action, it has been asserted that Houston ordered Vince's bridge to be destroyed for the interception of Cos's reinforcements—that, when Deaf Smith reported the work done, he concealed the fact that Cos had already passed over, and that Houston made his attack under the belief that Santa Ana had not been reinforced. The proof, however, is ample that Cos's arrival was well known in the Texan camp before Deaf Smith was sent to the bridge. One of the published statements, meant to disparage Houston, alleges that the scout proposed to the General the destruction of the bridge, and that the latter demurred because Cos, having already passed it, might have left thereabout stragglers, who might kill the scout. Whether the alleged conversation took place or not, it shows that the narrator was well aware that Cos's arrival was known before the scout was sent. The question whether the bridge burning was first ordered by the General or first suggested by Deaf Smith, is not worth discussing. It was a thing likely to occur to both; and when an act suggested by a subordinate is accepted and ordered by his superior, it becomes officially his; but it is also true that in such cases Houston was apt to be a greedy monopolizer of merit. The immediate object of burning the bridge could only have been to cut off the enemy's flight, with the secondary aim of impeding other reinforcements if the battle should be delayed. Had Houston feared to let Cos and his reinforcements into the slaughter-pen, the burning would doubtless have been done the night before. Houston long after, in a well known and rather out of place speech before the United States Senate, asserted that his object was to cut off the retreat of both armies, with the same motive, as I infer, which Cortes had when he burnt his ships behind him. There was a little claptrap in this. When Houston burnt the bridge over Vince's bayou he did not sink the boat he had taken the day before on the San Jacinto; and, in case of defeat, his most probable, or only possible course of retreat would have been over the river east, instead of over the bayou, west or north. Under defeat he could hardly have got back, even with the help of the bridge, to his baggage-camp beyond the bayou, before the enemy would reach it; but if his beaten army still held together, he could perhaps have passed it over the San Jacinto. The boat would then have been as great a godsend to him as the bridge, if spared, would have been to Santa Ana on the 21st.



The frequent assertion that Houston would not have fought when he did had not his army compelled him to, does not harmonize with his disregard of the council's vote, or with his action immediately after. His appeal to the soldiery was not to obtain the advice or consent of the rank and file, for he generally had more regard for his own opinion than that of the public ; but he was willing to flatter the troops and desirous to rouse their enthusiasm ; and with this mingled an impulse of self-glorification. He no doubt exulted in the fact that the vote of the council was less daring than his own determination, and he was glad to make it apparent.

It is a recognized fact among soldiers, that the assailant of a position usually feels more vim of valor than the defender ; and for this reason a bold commander often takes on himself the former character, when a more cautious one would prefer the latter. Houston was fully capable of both, according as the needs of the situation seemed to demand. If he had been slow in taking in sufficient reliance on his men, he certainly had all they merited now ; and he had evidently made up his mind, not only to become the assailant, but to crush Santa Ana and Cos in mass instead of striking them in detail. On the 20th he wished merely to feel of the enemy and give his soldiers a stimulating taste of combat, to bring on a Valmy before a Jemmapes ; for, with his self-possession and knowledge of arms, his mode of keeping the enemy at a distance with his cannon must have been the work of design, not of stupidity ; and his whole course on the next day shows that he had then reached the acceptable aggressive point. When Santa Ana, after his capture, inquired of Houston why he deferred attack till his enemy was reinforced, he replied that he never made two bites of a cherry. I do not accept this piece of wit, by itself, as testimony. The witness was an interested one, and was, moreover, as good at a game of brag as anybody ; but all the circumstances of the case which do constitute testimony, show that what seems like a boastful jest, expresses a real fact.


Among the chances which Houston is charged with overlooking when he did not accept the offered fight of the 20th, is that of Santa Ana retreating during the night, thus baffling the hope of the morrow ; but after Santa Ana's challenge of the 20th was declined, and while a reinforcement was near, a night flitting might well be left out of the probabilities to be considered. A general action on the 20th would probably have ended in Santa Ana's retreat, which would have lengthened the contest.

The sound generalship of Houston's plan may well be questioned, and it would have been totally condemned had it failed. As a generality

it is the safest rule to strike so soon as your blow will tell, instead of waiting for a better chance to-morrow, and to fell one foe so soon as you can reach him, instead of letting him double on you that you may cut down two at one stroke; but there are situations which justify the disregard of rules so rational and obvious; and success is the only test to prove the justification. In this case every divergence from ordinary maxims tended to the completeness of success. If there was skill in the rashness of San Jacinto there may have been wisdom in the caution of Beason's Ferry.

Houston's effort to halt and form his men when they rushed into disorderly pursuit, though it was what any true military leader would have done, has not only been censured, but the act has been duplicated by popular rumor in the wrong place. I heard quite early from an eye witness that an assertion then current was true, namely, that Houston ordered a halt in the middle of the charge; but on examination I found that the injurious aspect of the story was due to ignorance of terms. The man was truthful; but in his vocabulary the word "charge" meant the whole rush of the assailants on and *after* the enemy. The middle of this extensive charge, which he referred to, was after the real charge was over and the pursuit had commenced. In this way the other version of the halt-order no doubt grew up; and confused recollection, aided by spite, gave it definite shape. To believe that Houston or any man of good sense and ordinary coolness, aided by some soldierly experience, could commit such a blunder is too incredible to merit discussion. Some of Houston's friends, by way of reprisal made a similar accusation against Sherman; but I think no unprejudiced person believes either story.

There is but one more of the mistakes, real or supposed, of the campaign which I have to take notice of. The burning of Gonzalez and San Filipe, whoever be responsible for the acts, was an atrocious error of judgment. It was the absurdity of imagining a Smolensko and a Moscow in Texas. To deprive the enemy of the shelter of a small hamlet and a large village could inflict no hardship in that season and climate, and to destroy the small stock of provisions they contained could not much embarrass him when the prairies on his route abounded with cattle which the flying inhabitants had no time to drive off. Neither object justified the blotting out of so many homes in a new thinly inhabited country, half ruined in other respects by the woes of war,—homes which the invader might or might not destroy; for I have given reasons for believing that few or no incendiary ravages would have been committed



by the enemy, had they not been commenced by the Texans themselves.' The officers by whose hands the injury was inflicted asserted that it was done by order of Gen. Houston, which was denied by him. Such an order, if it came from him, seems singular in one who was not usually reckless where life, property, or shelter of the defenceless was at stake; yet it seems as little probable that his subordinates, Deaf Smith and Henry Karnes at Gonzalez, and Mosely Baker at San Filipe, should commit such acts without authority, and fabricate orders which had never been issued on a subject so important. During the season of panic and flight the people generally believed that the invader would spare nothing except what could be put to his own use; and many of those about to flee perhaps became willing that any amount of devastation should be committed if likely to incommode the enemy even slightly. They were willing the home which they hardly hoped ever to see again should be burnt for the purpose of destroying its contents, which the owner was unable to carry off, but the invader perhaps might be. During such a season strong minds sometimes catch the illusions of weak ones; but if Houston was for a brief time thus infected, it is the only occasion I can call to mind on which he gave way to a ruinous popular fallacy. There is one slender chain, only one hypothesis, so far as I can see, which can save both the General and his subordinates from the charge of folly and falsehood. I do not know whether the alleged orders were given directly by the former to the latter, or through a third person. If it was through such a medium the right meaning of the orders may have become perverted; for it was a time when almost every mind was in a whirl of confusion.

Gen. Houston, who began to suffer much from his wound, sailed for New Orleans on the 11th of May to seek better medical treatment and accommodation than the quarters where he was afforded. As use had been made of Santa Ana, while a prisoner, for the purpose of negotiation, he could not now, without dishonor, be made a subject of reprisal or punishment; and, about five weeks after the battle, President Burnet of Texas, proposed to release the captive President of Mexico under a personal pledge, miscalled a treaty, that the latter, when free, should exert his influence, and what power he might recover, to bring about peace and a recognition of Texan Independence by Mexico, with the Rio Grande for a boundary between the two countries. The personal arrangement was so near being carried out that Santa Ana was placed on board of an armed Texan schooner to be sent to Vera Cruz, when the design was thwarted by a popular outbreak against it, backed by a body

of volunteers from New Orleans. Santa Ana was in consequence brought on shore and recommitted to the condition of a prisoner. About seven months later he was unconditionally released by Gen. Houston, who, after his return from the United States, was elected President of Texas. The Mexican officers were released a few months later, as were also the soldiers, most of whom remained voluntarily in the country.

The immediate result of the battle of San Jacinto was the establishment of the Republic of Texas, which, weak as it was, maintained its independent existence for ten years, through a state of nominal and sometimes actual war, till annexation made it one of the states of this Union; and annexation brought consequences, in which, not merely Texas and the United States, but the world is deeply interested. It is not my intention to introduce a synopsis of the history of the short lived Republic; but it is proper, before I come to my closing remarks, that I should take a more comprehensive view than I have yet done of him who forms the central figure in what I have narrated.

To depict fully the anomalous character of Sam Houston would require an abler pen, and more pages than I can give to the subject. When a metallic statue is cast in a mould of the finest proportions, a lack of filling out in certain parts may mar a symmetry which would otherwise be perfect. Like this was the character of Houston, a man of Scotch-Irish descent, and a native of Virginia, bred in Tennessee. He had received little more than a primary education; yet he was powerful in the use of strong, correct, and often polished Saxon speech. He read few books, yet he had a marvellous faculty for picking up knowledge without their aid. His manners could be, and often were of the most dignified courtesy; and, when state ceremony took its place amid rough surroundings, he was "every inch a king." He was great in great things, and little in small things, and more or less erratic in all things. In petty and personal politics he was a low unscrupulous demagogue; but in matters of high import he generally rose to the rank of a statesman, far-seeing, consistent, and apparently of conscientious aims; yet in high as well as in low affairs he at times accomplished good ends by the indirection to which he was prone. He had a power of eloquence and personal magnetism which often drew applause and approval of measures from a crowd which an hour before had been loading him with curses; yet there was in his nature an irrepressible vein of sarcasm which was continually converting mere dislike into hatred. The source of this was preponderant self-esteem which could not brook opposition. This propaganda of self-worship showed itself in the external trickery he practiced to produce stage effect; yet no one saw through a designing



charlatan or pretender with a keener glance than he. He was adroit in taking advantage of any temporary feeling which could be turned to his advantage; but popular fallacies, periodical waves of illusion, took no hold of his mind. Partizanship for and against him took the fierce tone it usually does when a leader is upheld in spite of gross defects, and assailed in spite of great capacity. Men took sides according as their eyes rested mainly on the perfect or imperfect portions of the cast. Good and sensible men, it is true, were found among his opponents; and knaves and fools among his supporters; but there was one class of patriots who always fell into line with the former. If you met with a man who wished to put into operation any ruinous speculation, any impracticable scheme of finance, any stroke of bad faith, or any piratical enterprise, to him you need only mention "Old Sam" to draw forth cursory remarks. If a man is known by the company he keeps, he may be known also by the kind of men who hate him. Whatever errors Houston may have committed as a General and a magistrate, I believe that no other man then prominent in Texas would have done so well. Had he been the executive head of a powerful nation he would, with all his faults, probably have stood above the average of such rulers, for among those who have attained to such historic rank there have been some men of less capacity and others of worse defects of character.

Houston, who succeeded to Burnet, served two terms as President of Texas, with the administration of Lamar between them, and was succeeded by Anson Jones, the last occupant of the chair. Burnet and Lamar were men of talent and character; but Houston and Jones alone can be classed as statesmen, though inferior in personal traits to the other two.

The history of the Republic of Texas is much of it a history of popular illusion; and Houston did more than any other one man to avert its ruinous effects. In fighting against it, during his two administrations, he issued over eighty vetoes; and, though many of them were overruled, there was enough of the element of hard sense and anti-humbug in the Texan Congress to sustain him in the most important ones, and enough of the reflective element in the people to appreciate, in the end, the wisdom of most of those he had failed to carry out. It was largely due to his wise administration of affairs that the country after great struggles, was brought to a comparative state of prosperity, which created in the two leading powers of Europe a strong interest in the political and commercial future of Texas. This led to a desire in those powers to obtain peace for Texas, with a recognition of her independence by Mexico, but above all to secure with permanence, through

solemn diplomatic pledges, the separate national existence of the Republic. This awakened the jealousy of the United States, and created there, for the first time, a strong party in favor of annexation, a measure which was at length provided for by a Joint Resolution of the United States Congress. At the same time British and French diplomacy procured for Texas the opportunity of choosing between recognized independence, with a pledge to continue nationally separate on one hand, and annexation to the United States on the other. The question was submitted to the people; and annexation took the preference by an overwhelming vote. In February, 1846, annexation was consummated, and, as Anson Jones announced in his valedictory, the Republic of Texas was no more.

The annexation of the new State brought with it a war with Mexico; and the treaty which ended that war brought to the United States a vast accession of domain for the North and South to quarrel about; for it was territory in which slavery had no legal existence when it was acquired. This created sectional parties whose growing bitterness culminated in the secession of the South and civil war. It is true there had long been a tendency of the North and South to come into collision; but the conflict would not have been irrepressible had there been no territorial spoils to stimulate it. The failure of nullification had given a backset to Calhounism which would not again have become perilous had no new domain opened so early to the South the hope of extension. It may also be true that latent causes for a future war between the United States and Mexico faintly existed before 1835; and there was in the former Republic a natural hankering after expansion of boundaries; but had Texas never revolted, or had her revolt been subdued, those tendencies would not have been brought into rapid operation; and probably no acquisition of domain would have accrued till after the growing preponderance of the North had rendered hopeless to the South a resort to disunion and war. Thirty or even twenty years later than the date of the Wilmot proviso, that measure, had it then come up, would have been submitted to as inevitable.

This brings me back to a remark I made in the beginning. As Valmy was the parent of Jemmapes, and consequently the progenitor of Austerlitz and Waterloo, so San Jacinto begot Palo Alto, and Palo Alto begot Bull Run and Gettysburg. A small rock at the source may give a wide divergence to a river, and a petty contingency at a critical point may thus turn the course of history. The soldier's exultation in success is apt to overlook the dead chances of war, which, had they lived, would have reversed his good fortune. When Houston's only



drum beat the reveille of April 21st, 1836, the Republic of Texas was but fifty days old; and its first footing looked very much like its last legs. A few hours after that roll of morning drum came the battle. Its crisis was when the Mexican infantry broke in flight and the Texans broke after them in disorderly pursuit. If Santa Ana had then but had three hundred of his best cavalry in reserve—and he would doubtless have had such backing if Urrea's dragoons instead of Cos's foot had formed his reinforcement—then I fear the infant Republic would not have lived to a marriageable age, and could not have been annexed. Consequently there would have been no Palo Alto—no Buena Vista where Jeff Davis first became a hero—no Cherubusco which went before the treaty of Mexico—no acquisition—at least in that era) of wide domain to turn the brain of the South. There would have been no Southern Confederacy. Jeff Davis would have lived and died a thrifty planter and local politician of Mississippi, unsung as well as unhung; and the fruitless "sour apple tree" would never have been planted even in imagination. I will not attempt to conjecture how far institutions and the spread of population, as well as national and sectional feelings, would have differed from what they actually are, had national unity never received a perilous shock; nor will I express either gratification or regret at the course events have taken; for I have no wish to exalt in what has been so calamitous to millions, nor to rebel against the "Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may."

R. M. POTTER

¹ The most absurdly malicious of those stories came from a discarded aid-de-camp of Houston, named Perry. He came North and became a public lecturer and also a preacher, making the incapacity and cowardice of Houston the burthen of his lectures, if not his sermons. In one of his lectures he went so far as to assert that Houston was not on the field at all, but in his tent when the battle was fought, and that, if really wounded, he had probably wounded himself for the sake of appearances.

² In using these terms, I am supposing Houston to face to the west, and Santa Ana to the east.

³ On the last anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1879, it was ascertained that over sixty of the seven hundred and eighty-three men who took part in that action were still living. I do not recollect the exact number.

⁴ Among the minor inaccuracies of Yoakum is that of saying that Santa Ana, when taken, was dressed in the clothes of one of his own soldiers. In his own report, made after liberation, he tells of obtaining the garments in the way I have mentioned; and Colonel Delgado's description of them tends to corroborate the statement.

⁵ The Mexican troops exhibited very little of that spontaneous destructiveness for which the great whittling nation of this hemisphere is distinguished; and it became proverbial in Texas that one volunteer from the United States usually committed more wanton waste than ten soldiers of the invader.



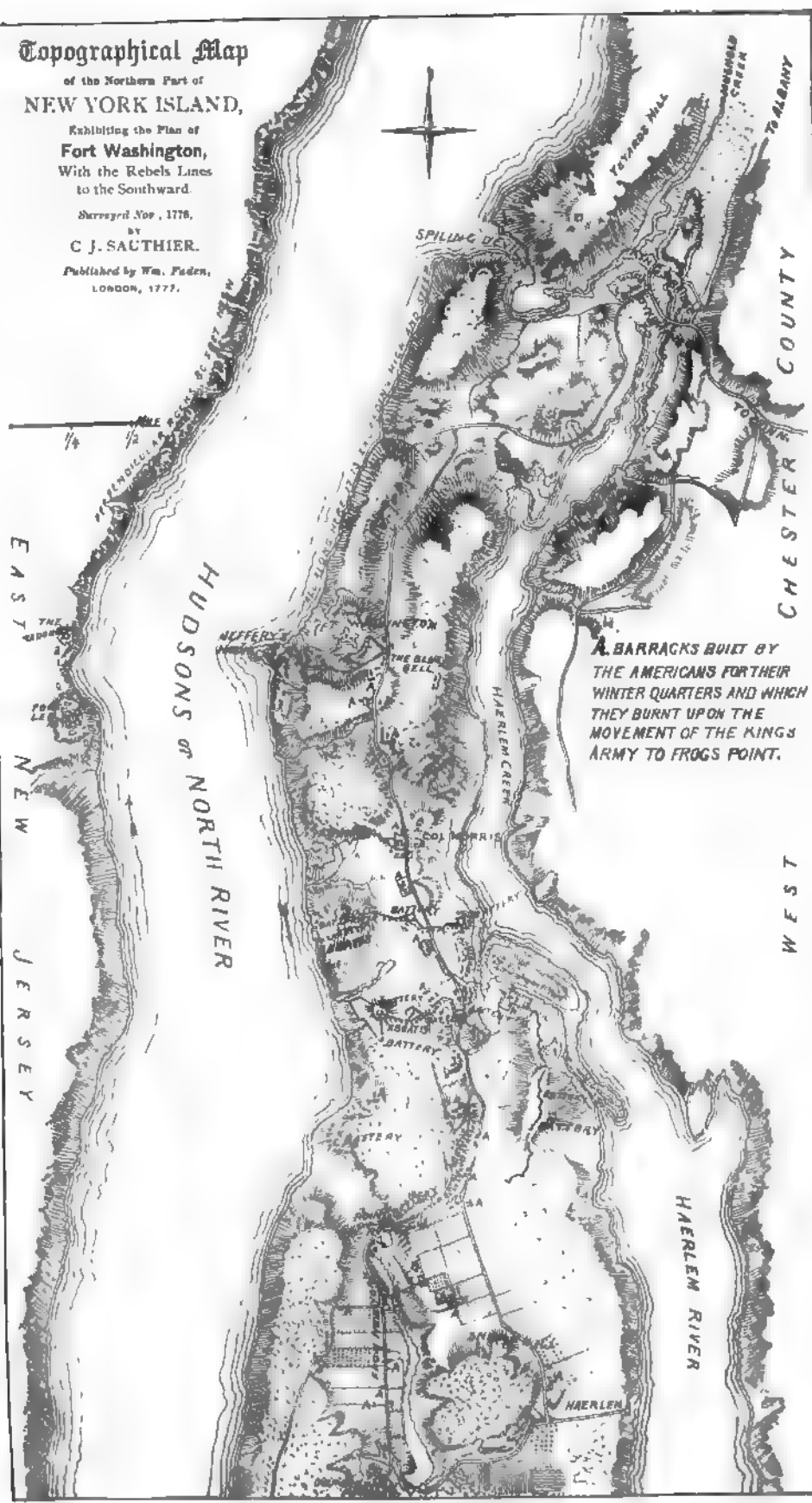
Topographical Map

of the Northern Part of
NEW YORK ISLAND,

Exhibiting the Plan of
Fort Washington,
With the Rebels Lines
to the Southward.

Surveyed Nov. 1778,
by
C. J. SAUTHIER.

Published by Wm. Faden,
LONDON, 1777.



THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS

Saturday, the 16th September, 1876, the New York Historical Society celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the battle of Harlem Plains on the field of action, and subsequently published the able oration of Mr. John Jay,* with an appendix, containing all the known accounts of and allusions to the action, American, British and Hessian. These materials, gathered by the Society with industry and care, were placed in the hands of the orator, and from them and a careful personal examination of the ground in company with numerous persons who, by family tradition, long residence on the spot or in the vicinity, were most competent to decide upon the precise localities mentioned by contemporaneous writers, the account of the battle was prepared.

It was presumed that this exhaustive publication had set at rest all doubts concerning the battle and the ground on which it was fought. To general astonishment, however, in a recent number of the History of New York (Vol. II., No. 3), Mrs. Martha J. Lamb describes the battle as having taken place on the heights in the neighborhood of the Morris House, more than a mile to the northward of Vandewater's Heights, where the action really occurred. The Roger Morris House, better known in our day as the Jumel Mansion, stands north of the line of One Hundred and Sixty-first Street, while the Vandewater or Bloomingdale Heights are to the southward of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. Harlem Heights and Bloomingdale Heights are divided by the Hollow Way as the natural break was called, through which One Hundred and Twenty-fifth and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Streets now run. These streets end at the Eleventh Avenue, from which point the line of the old Hollow Way is traversed to the river by the local streets, Manhattan and Lawrence. This is now the site of Manhattanville. The southern extremity of the Harlem Heights overlooking the Hollow Way was known as the Point of Rocks, a bold, sharp out-jutting, which has been cut down in the street opening. The northern extremity of Bloomingdale Heights is also a rocky formation, but not as bold or sharp as that which faces it from the opposite side of the valley, about three hundred yards distant, as just described.

In the transfer of the scene of action from the southern heights to those north of the Hollow Way the author of the recent History of New York has closely followed the views expressed by Mr. Erastus C.

Benedict in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, February 5th, 1878, a paper quoted by Mrs. Lamb, but not as yet made public.

The slightest examination of the ground, even at this day, should suffice to convince any person that Washington could never have committed such a military blunder as to have neglected to hold the southern extremity of the heights on which his army was encamped; a position which from its natural formation was the most defensible of the entire island, commanding in its front the Harlem Plains and on its flank the King's Highway, the only thoroughfare, which skirted its eastern base.

Vandewater's Heights, where the engagement occurred, was not occupied by either army, and formed a neutral ground between the American outposts and the advance line of the British picket guard posted on the hills south of the depression known as McGowan's Pass, the formation of which has been somewhat altered in the laying out of the Central Park, and in the woods on the high ground to the westward extending to the Hudson and across the old Bloomingdale road. Mr. Jay in his address succinctly described these two positions.

The headquarters of the British Commander, General Sir William Howe, were at the house of Mr. Apthorpe, which stands at the corner of Ninth Avenue and Ninety-first Street, and is now known as Elm Park. The encampment of the British extended from the East River, where General Howe's right rested on Horen's Hook near Eighty-ninth Street, to the North River, where his left was at Bloomingdale, the distance being about two miles and both flanks being covered by his ships. The encampment extended from the fourth to the eighth mile-stone.

On the heights occupied by the Americans, between the ninth and tenth mile-stones, southwest of the Roger Morris House, our troops were preparing to form the lines afterward completed between the Hudson River on the west and the Harlem River on the east, over a broken surface with breastworks, entrenchments and *abattis*.

Here it was intended "to make a grand stand." Both sides of the King's Bridge were carefully fortified, making this the strongest point. The division of the army lying near the Roger Morris House extended southwardly to near the Hollow Way running from Harlem Plain to the Hudson River at the site of the present Manhattanville, a natural break between the Harlem and the Bloomingdale Heights. Between the Point of Rocks (the southern extremity of the Harlem Heights, now being cut away, the property of the Convent of Sacred Heart), and McGowan's Pass at the northern extremity of the Central Park, lying on the eastward of Bloomingdale Heights, intervened a low ground known as the Harlem

Plain. The Point of Rocks at One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Street was the advance post of the American army, and on the hill slope below McGowan's Pass, at One Hundred and Ninth Street, a mile and half distant, was the advance post of the British army. The picket lines of each army extended beyond these points into the plains and along the ridge which overlooks them. * * * *

On the morning of Monday, the 16th of September, Washington concluded a letter to Congress on the affair at Kip's Bay, with the remark, "I have sent out some reconnoitring parties to gain intelligence, if possible, of the disposition of the enemy." From the contemporaneous authority of an officer engaged in the affair, it appears that a scouting party of the Regiment of Rangers, a body of picked men under the command of Lieut. Colonel Thomas Knowlton, set out before day-break with instructions to ascertain the position of the enemy's advanced guard. Passing over the ridge which we have described as the Bloomingdale Heights, then known as the Vandewater Heights (they are so described in Sir William Howe's despatch), they pushed through the woods until, near the southern extremity of this ridge, they came at day-break upon a large party of the British light infantry, who rapidly advanced upon them. A sharp skirmish ensued, until Knowlton, perceiving that with their superior numbers they were turning his flank, ordered a retreat. His men fell back in an orderly manner to the northernmost end of the ridge, where close by our advance posts a second stand was made. Meanwhile, the firing had attracted attention, and soon after Washington's morning despatches were sent to Congress, rumors reached the headquarters of a movement by the enemy, considerable bodies of whom were showing themselves at the lower end of the plains.

Adjutant-General Joseph Reed, as he himself informs us, was sent to the front to learn the truth, and went down to the most advanced guard picketed on the plain below the Point of Rocks. He here fell in with the party of Knowlton, who had been driven from the hill, and while Reed was talking to the officer in command the enemy showed themselves and opened fire at a distance of fifty yards. The Americans behaved well, stood and returned the fire till overpowered by numbers (ten to one is Reed's estimate), as they retreated, the enemy advancing with such rapidity that they were in possession of the house in which Reed conversed with the officer five minutes after he left it.

Reed, encouraged by the behavior of the men, started for headquarters to make his report and ask for reinforcements. Meanwhile Washington had mounted his horse and ridden down to our advanced posts. Hardly had Reed reached him when the light infantry showed themselves in view, and in the most contemptuous manner sounded their bugles as is usual after a fox chase. This insulting behavior brought a blush to the cheeks of the officers, and caused their blood to tingle with shame. It showed them the contempt in which they were held by their adversaries and seemed to crown their disgrace.

On reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, Washington saw that there was

an opportunity for a successful action in which, under favorable conditions, the morale of the army could be restored, and, to use his own words, he formed the design of "cutting off such of the enemy's troops as might advance to the extremity of the woods." This wood was on the northernmost spur of the Bloomingdale Heights, which overlooked the hollow way and was divided from a similar spur opposite at the Point of Rocks by a gully or ravine at the foot of which lay a round meadow known in the topography of the day as Matje (or Mutje) Davits Fly.

Washington learning that the body of the enemy who kept themselves concealed was about three hundred, ordered three companies of Colonel Weedon's regiment from Virginia, under the command of Major Andrew Leitch, and Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton with his Rangers, to try and get in their rear, while a disposition was made as if to attack them in front and to draw their attention that way. Knowlton, who was familiar with the ground, seems to have guided his party by the left flank of the enemy, through the woods of the western slopes of the Bloomingdale Ridge in which he had fought in the morning, in order to fall upon their rear. Leitch, with his Virginians, unacquainted with the field, was put under the guidance of Adjutant-General Reed. It is worth while here to notice that the Virginia troops, which were this day under Leitch, had only arrived the day preceding, having been ordered from the command of General Mercer in New Jersey, and had joined the camp by way of Burdett's Ferry, facing Fort Washington. Meanwhile at ten o'clock a demonstration or feint was made on the front which had the effect intended by Washington. The British troops immediately ran down the hill to the round meadow at its foot. Here, in the words of General Clinton, who was in the action during the greater part of the day, and whose report to the New York Convention is the most detailed and intelligible account of it, they were opposed with spirit and soon made to retreat to a clear field about two hundred paces (eight hundred feet distant) south-east of the fly or meadow, where they lodged themselves behind a fence covered with bushes. This cleared field we take to have been to the east and somewhat south of the point of the ridge facing the Point of Rocks. A smart firing began, but at too great a distance to do much execution, when a couple of field pieces being brought to bear upon the British, and at the second discharge they again fell back, retreating up the eastern slope of the hill. At this moment Major Leitch and his command came upon the field, but misled by the movements of the regiment in action, who seem to have hailed them as they appeared on the plain, were diverted from the path by which Reed intended to lead them, around the right flank of the British to their rear, where he hoped to make a junction with Knowlton's Rangers. Leitch's command evidently came from the lines by the Kings Bridge road, and their course was to have been by an irregular road, which, leaving it, crossed the plain, ran along the eastern slope of the ridge and passed over it about 112th street, where the line of trees now standing marks its course, connecting with the Bloomingdale road at its intersection with the present Eleventh avenue. Reed, finding it impossible to

check their ardor, accompanied them. They joined the regiment in action; the feint was now turned into an attack. In a few minutes, in the words of Reed, our brave fellows mounted up the rocks, attacked the enemy, and a brisk action ensued. Major Leitch fell presently, after the close fighting began, wounded with three balls. In a buckwheat field on the top of the hill, which General Clinton describes as four hundred paces—sixteen hundred feet distant—(and here we must remark that there can be no doubt about the accuracy of these distances, Clinton himself having surveyed the ground a few years previously to settle the Harlem boundary), the British troops met the 42d Highlanders, who, dispatched at eleven o'clock, had moved up on a double trot without stopping to draw breath, to the support of the Light Infantry, whose distance from their lines had caused general alarm at Howe's headquarters.

The effect of the undue and unexpected precipitation on the part of the American troops ordered to make the feint, was to cause the attack to be made too soon, and rather in flank than in the rear, thus thwarting the well-arranged plans of Washington. The interference with his orders was pointedly referred to in the General Orders of the next day, in the remark that "the loss of the enemy yesterday would undoubtedly have been much greater if the orders of the Commander-in-Chief had not in some instance been contradicted by some inferior officers, who, however well they might mean, ought not to presume to direct." At the same time the Virginians of Leitch's command received the thanks of Washington for their gallantry.

On receiving their reinforcements, the British made their second stand. Here it is probable that Knowlton made his appearance on the British left flank. In the buckwheat field, which is located to the eastward of the Bloomingdale Asylum, on the line of 118th street, a brisk action commenced, which continued near two hours. In this fight, in which, in the words of General Heath, there was good "marksmanship on both sides," Colonel Knowlton fell about noon. The officer of the Rangers, whose account of the early morning skirmish we have freely quoted, caught him in his arms, and sent him off the field by two of his men, and he was taken to our lines on the horse of Adjutant-General Reed, probably by the road we have described, which in fact is the only road laid down on the maps of the period, and the only path practicable for a horse.

Knowlton behaved with the greatest courage, and accepted his fate with brave composure. "He seemed," wrote one of his officers, "as unconcerned as though nothing had happened to him." His last inquiry was as to the result of the action. Notwithstanding the loss of their leaders, the men persevered and continued the engagement under the lead of the captains, until Washington, finding that they needed support, advanced part of Colonel Griffiths' and Colonel Richardson's Maryland regiments, with some detachments from the eastern regiments who were nearest the scene of action, who charged the enemy with great intrepidity. Among these troops were Captain Beatty of the Maryland line, Major Mantz with three

rifle companies of the same troops, Major Price with three of the Independent companies of Maryland troops, and three other companies of the Maryland Flying Cavalry, a battalion of Virginians, and some Southern troops. Thus reinforced, the Americans pushed on with fresh vigor. Generals Putnam and Greene, with Tilghman and other officers of Washington's staff, joined in the engagement, and animated the soldiers by their presence. Greene, in his account of the battle, speaks of the noble behavior of Putnam and Adjutant-General Reed. The British also received a considerable addition to their force, which appears from the official report of Lord Howe to have consisted of "the reserve with two field pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and a company of chasseurs," under the command of Brigadier-General Leslie. Notwithstanding this assistance, they were driven from the buckwheat field into a neighboring orchard. This orchard was a field north of the line of 116th street, where the remains of the old trees were visible until about the year 1866, when the land was cleared. An ineffectual attempt was made by the British for a further stand, but they were again driven across a hollow and up a hill not far distant from their own encampment. This hollow was undoubtedly the dip of land between the Bloomingdale and McGowan's Heights, and the hill the slope of the latter elevation.

Here the Americans, having silenced the British fire in great measure, Washington judged it prudent to order a retreat, fearing that the enemy, as he afterwards learned was really the case, were sending a large body to support their party, which would have involved his drawing supports from his strong position on the Harlem Heights, and have brought on a general engagement, which he was determined to avoid. The war, as he had written Congress, must be a "war of posts," and he had no thought of jeopardizing the cause by a battle in the open field—at least, not till he had thoroughly tried the temper of his troops. The Von Lansing battalion was seen to draw near; the two other German battalions, under Von Donop, occupied McGowan's Pass; and from eight to ten thousand men were under arms, hidden by the hill to which the enemy were being driven. The American troops obeyed the recall ordered by Washington, although the "pursuit of a flying enemy was so new a scene that it was with difficulty our men could be brought to retreat, which was, however, effected in very good order." * *

The battle, as we have described it, was chiefly fought upon Bloomingdale Heights; but as the main action commenced on the plains near Manhattanville, it was called by Mr. Lossing the battle of Harlem Plains, and that title has been adopted in the subsequent narratives of Mr. Dawson and other writers.

The movements of the British left it doubtful what they might intend, and Washington's orders for the night of the 16th indicated careful preparation to meet a possible attack along the whole line of heights, commanding the hollow way from the North River to the main road leading from New York to Kingsbridge.

Local historians differ as to whether the battle was fought on the Bloomingdale Heights, or the Harlem Plains. Lossing gives it the name of the "battle on Harlem Plains," and describes it as taking place on the plains only. "Harlem Plains divided the hostile camps." The action, according to his description, swayed back and forth over the low, flat ground.

Dawson, in his *Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, gives to it the name of the Battle of Harlem Plains, and describes it in the words of the chief authorities, but without defining the localities. Later, in 1868, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, entitled the *Battle on Harlem Heights*, he established the various points and considered Bloomingdale Heights as the scene of the conflict. He divides the flanking movement into two parties, one of which he holds to have moved "to the eastward of the enemy by way of the Matje Davit's Vly; the latter by way of the bank of the Hudson River to the westward of his position." This phraseology would be unintelligible but for the accompanying map (Valentine's Manual for 1868), which traces the second movement as a detour to the eastward from the Point of Rocks, which struck the British at the Hollow Way, at the foot of the northern extremity of Bloomingdale Heights. It is evident that Mr. Dawson considered the words Matje Davit's Vly to refer to the stream which ran through the meadows.

Mr. Jay considers that the attack by Leitch, which Adjutant-General Reed accompanied, was on the eastward of the Vandewater's Heights, and their route across the Harlem Plains.

Mr. Johnston, the latest of our local historians, in his "Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn," in the main follows Jay's description, differing from him, however, and Dawson as well, in his account of the flanking movement of the Americans, which he holds was by a *single* party, whose intention was to "march down (from the Point of Rocks) under cover of the bushes, cross the Kortwright farm unobserved, some little distance below the enemy, and reach the top of the Bloomingdale Ridge before they were discovered."

But while this difference of opinion exists as to the precise course of the fight, historians have hitherto agreed that its entire range was to the southward of Matje Davit's Fly, the position of which is precisely described by George Clinton, one of the Commissioners to settle the boundary line between the Corporation of New York and the Township of Harlem, November 23, 1774. He describes the line as "beginning at a bass wood stump, from whence grow several cyons, being on a certain

point on the east side of Hudson's River on the south side of the Bay, lying before a certain piece of meadow, commonly known by the name of the Round Meadow, or Matje David's Fly." This was the Clinton to whom we owe the most perfect account of the movements of the troops and the distances, given with the accuracy of a surveyor. His letter (of 28th September) to his brother-in-law, Dr. Tappen (printed in the appendix), written a few days after the battle and less than two years after the survey, thus concisely defines the American position: "*Our Army, at least one division of it, lay at Colo. Morris's & so southward to near the Hollow Way, which runs across from Harlem Flats to the North River at Matje David's Fly.*"

It is difficult to understand by what process of reasoning or stretch of imagination the statements of authorities printed in the appendix, so plain and corroborative of each other, could be twisted into the account presented by Mr. Benedict in his address, and adopted by Mrs. Lamb, and the scene of battle shifted nearly two miles to the northward to support the new theory.

The following is the account of the battle from Mrs. Lamb's History of the City of New York (II., 133):

"Before daylight next morning Washington was in the saddle. His first important act was to send Knowlton with a picked company of one hundred and twenty men to learn the position of, and if practicable take the enemy's advanced guard. The second was to visit the various encampments 'to put matters in a proper situation,' should the British come on as expected. Knowlton from near headquarters descended the ravine, now Audubon's Park, leading his men along the low shore of the river to Matje David's Fly, and beyond into the woods that skirted the bank west of Vanderwater's Heights, until parallel with the left flank of the vanguard of the enemy under General Leslie. Here he was discovered at sunrise, and attacked by four hundred of the British light infantry; he allowed them to come within six rods before giving orders to fire, and after eight rounds apiece, he commanded a retreat, which decoyed the adversary, in the language of Sir Henry Clinton, 'into a scrape.' One of Knowlton's officers wrote: 'We retreated two miles and a half, and then made a stand, and sent for reinforcements, which we soon received, and drove the dogs near three miles.' There is no discrepancy between this statement and the report of De Heister, who said: 'They retired into their entrenchments to entice the pursuers deeper into the wood.'

"Confusion as to localities has resulted from the blending of two distinct encounters in the description of the battle of Harlem Heights. The first was at sunrise, occupying but a few minutes. The second commenced between ten and

eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and continued nearly four hours. It was the former to which Lewis Morris referred in writing to his father: 'Monday morning an advance party, Colonel Knowlton's regiment, was attacked by the enemy upon a heights a little to the southward of Dayes' Tavern;' and it was the second and chief battle which the pen-and-ink sketch furnished the Convention shortly afterward, and subsequently presented by John Sloss Hobart to Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, describes as 'beginning near the Ten Mile Stone, and ending near the Eight Mile Stone.' Washington's headquarters at the Morris House was three and one-half miles from Howe's headquarters at the Apthorpe mansion. The army of each was thrown out in front for a mile and three-quarters, Washington's advanced guard under Greene being in the woods above, and his 'pickets' upon the 'Point of Rocks' which overlooked Manhattanville, while Howe's were upon Vanderwater's Heights opposite. During the interval between the two battles the light infantry of Leslie were silently pushing their way after Knowlton along the low shore of the Hudson.

"'As yet no fortifications had been erected across Harlem Heights,' wrote Silliman—and also George Clinton—'except a mere beginning near the Morris House, and three small redoubts about half way to Manhattanville.' From the first gray dawn he had a large force of men employed at this latter point with spades and shovels throwing earth into the trenches; ere nightfall lines were completed across the island, and subsequently strengthened. Washington galloped to Greene's encampment, where, seated upon his horse, at sunrise he heard the firing between Knowlton and Leslie, and saw large bodies of the enemy upon 'the high ground opposite.' He returned to the Morris House and hurriedly breakfasted. Uneasy about Knowlton, he sent scouts for information, when presently that handsome, animated young officer appeared in his presence, asking for reinforcements to capture his pursuers. Almost simultaneously one hundred of the British light infantry, who had clambered up the steep close in Knowlton's footsteps, came out upon the plain and blew their bugle-horns, as usual after a fox-chase. They had at the same time left three hundred men concealed in the woods on the river bank. Washington ordered Major Leitch with a detachment of Virginia riflemen to join Knowlton and his rangers, and with Reed as a guide, 'to steal' around to the rear of the foe by their right flank, while another detachment was to feign an attack in front. There was a hollow way or ravine, caused by a winding stream, between the two hostile parties, not far from the Ten Mile Stone, terminating at Audubon Park. The British upon the plain (some two hundred feet above the Hudson), seeing so few coming out to fight, ran jubilantly down the slope towards them, and took post behind a rail fence, firing briskly. As the Americans pushed forward, they left the fence, retiring up the hill. The rattle of musketry soon brought their reserve corps to the rescue; and just then, by some mistake or failure to obey orders to the letter, never satisfactorily explained, the spirited charge of the rangers and riflemen began upon the flank of the enemy, instead of the rear, as intended.

Both Knowlton and Leitch fell within ten minutes near each other, and within a few paces of Reed, whose horse was shot from under him. But the tide was turning, and the British giving way in an open field conflict. Washington reinforced his gallant soldiers with detachments from the nearest regiments, Griffiths', Richardson's, Nixon's, Douglass's and others, and the very men who had been so severely criticised for running from Kip's Bay the day before, redeemed themselves from the odium by deeds of noble daring. Putnam, Reed, and other prominent officers took command, charging upon the British and driving them from the plain; they fled through a piece of woods, becoming scattered and fighting from behind trees and bushes, and then into a buckwheat field. By this time it was nearly noon.

"The British officers, meanwhile, were on the alert and troops were forwarded on the trail of Leslie, whose disappearance in the early morning with his light infantry had caused no little solicitude. At the sound of guns on the Harlem Heights, Howe sent other reinforcements of Highlanders and Hessians on the double-quick to their relief. An Englishman wrote: 'At eleven we were instantly trotted about three miles (without a halt to draw breath) to support a battalion of light infantry, which had imprudently advanced so far without support as to be in great danger of being cut off.' One thousand of the reinforcing troops encountered Greene's two brigades, a sharp fight ensuing not far from his encampments; others proceeded further north on the low shore before mounting the heights, and joined their comrades in the buckwheat field just as the sun crossed the meridian. Through more succors from each party 'the battle was here maintained for nearly two hours with an obstinacy rarely equaled in the history of modern warfare.' The enemy finally 'broke and run,' and was driven and chased (the Americans mocking their bugles) 'above a mile and a half,' wrote Reed, 'nearly two miles,' wrote Knox, taking shelter in an orchard finally near the eight-mile stone, when Washington prudently sent Tilghman to order the victorious soldiers back to the lines. Thomas Jones, known as 'the fighting Quaker of Lafayette's army,' said: 'We drove the British up the road and down Break Neck Hill, which was the reason they call it Break Neck Hill.' * * * The battle raged from about One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street nearly to Manhattanville. * * *

At evening the armies occupied the same relative positions as before the battle, the British upon Bloomingdale (or, as more generally called, Vanderwater's) Heights, and the Americans upon Harlem Heights, their pickets almost within speaking distance ('three hundred yards') of each other across the Manhattanville valley. And thus they remained for upwards of three weeks."

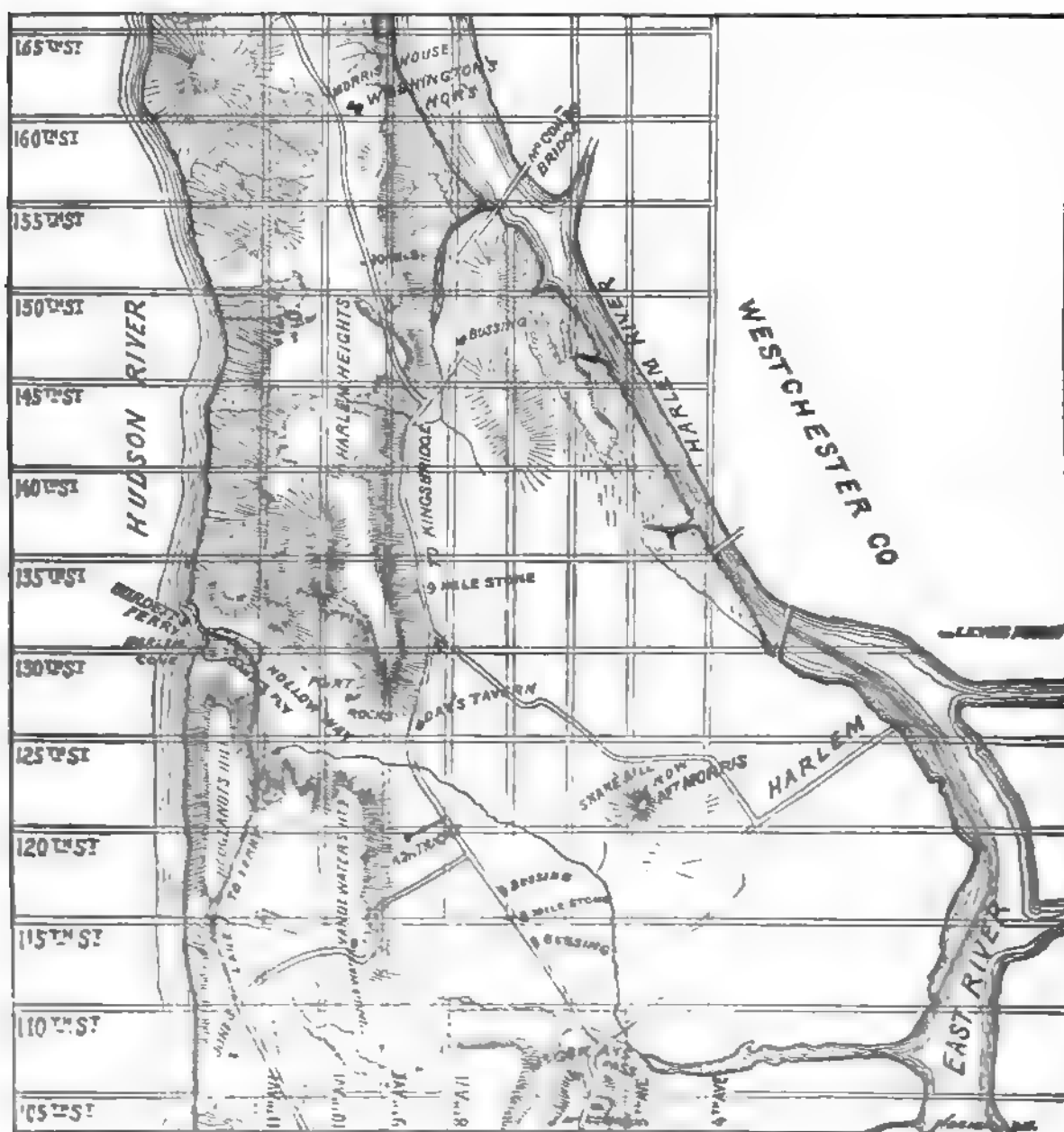
Before entering upon an examination of this account in detail, its general statements may be first disposed of. It is asserted that "confusion in localities has resulted from the blending of two distinct encounters in the descriptions of the battle of Harlem Heights." We

are at loss to find any such blending of two distinct encounters in the accounts of the battle (the description of Mr. Dawson and the oration of Mr. Jay) which have treated of the localities with any precision. They agree in the view that the first encounter was that of Knowlton with his scouting party with the British advance guard at an early hour in the morning, and the second the engagement brought on by the orders of Washington.

The further statement that "this battle, the most brilliant and important in historical results of any fought during the whole war, was evidently a part of the British plan to drive the Americans from the island before they should have time to construct defences, and that the blunder of Leslie in beginning the battle too soon, and in the wrong place, occasioned the succession of British failures, which furnished the Americans food for self-confidence until peace was proclaimed," has no basis in contemporaneous authority.

Washington says, in his despatch to Congress of the 18th, that "the enemy appeared in several large bodies on the plains," and in his letter of the 23d, to the New York State Convention, "that several parties of the enemy appeared on the high grounds opposite to our heights." The latter is a better informed and no doubt correct statement. He does not speak of having been personally a witness to either appearance. There is no direct evidence to any appearance of large bodies anywhere; Adjutant-General Reed says, that "the account was brought up that the enemy was advancing in three columns," but that he, on going down to see "the truth of it, fell in with the above (Knowlton's) party." The letter of Howe to Lord George Germaine makes no mention of any plan of general engagement, and his disapproval, in general orders the next day, of "the conduct of the light company in pursuing the rebels without proper discretion and without support," is presumptive evidence that no general movement was contemplated, and further corroboration of this view is found in the statement of the Lieutenant of the Fifth Foot, that "his regiment was trotted out about three miles to support a battalion of light infantry, which had imprudently advanced so far without support as to be in great danger of being cut off."

To return to Mrs. Lamb's description. She says: "Before daylight Washington was in the saddle"—an assertion for which there is no warrant. On the contrary, the presumptive evidence is conclusive that he was in the early morning engaged in his correspondence. His letter of the 16th to the President of Congress was written early in the morning, before he knew of any encounter. His letter of the 18th, also to the




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President of Congress, and giving an account of the affair of the 16th, says that it was "about the time of the post's departure" that the rumor of the appearance of the enemy was brought in. Reed, his Adjutant-General, in his letter of the 17th, confirms this, saying that it was after he had "sealed his letter and sent it away" that the account came in. It was on this news coming in that Washington says he "rode down to the advance post, to put matters in a proper situation should they (the British) attempt to come on."

Mrs. Lamb asserts that "his (Washington's) first important act was to send Knowlton with a picked company of one hundred and twenty men to learn the position of and, if practicable, take the enemy's advance guard." For this, also, there is no authority. Washington's words of the morning of the 16th are: "I have sent out some reconnoitring parties to gain intelligence, if possible, of the disposition of the enemy." The fair inference is that these parties had their instructions the evening before, and moved from the advance posts of the army. Nor, it must be observed, does he speak of any attempt to surprise the enemy's outpost. The only authority for this statement is the anonymous letter of "an officer of our army," who says: "On Monday morning the General ordered us to go and take the enemy's advance guard. Accordingly, we set out just before day"—but this letter unsupported is not sufficient to authorize the statement that Knowlton received his orders from Washington in person, or that the party started from headquarters, or to warrant the assertion that it was the intention of the Commander-in-chief that the reconnoitring party should attempt to cut off the enemy's advance guard. This intention was only developed in the mind of Washington after he had ridden down to the outposts and "reconnoitred the situation," when, to use his own words, "he formed the design of cutting off such of them as had or might advance to the extremity of the wood."

Mrs. Lamb asserts that "Knowlton, from near Headquarters, descended the ravine, now Audubon Park (153d to 158th Streets), leading his men along the low shore of the river to Matje Davit's Fly, and beyond, into the woods which skirted the west bank of Vandewater's Heights, until parallel with the left flank of the vanguard of the enemy under General Leslie. Here he was discovered at sunrise, and attacked by four hundred of the British light infantry." This statement is not supported by any shadow of authority, but without it the new theory of the locality of the action is untenable. Here is the pivotal error in the entire description.



Sir William Howe says that the enemy "passed, under cover of the woods, near to the advanced posts of the army, by the way of Vandewater's Heights." The natural inference is, that the march was along these heights, and this view is confirmed by Howe's statement of the British position and by the maps of the period, which lay down the "advanced post" a short distance in front of the line from McGowan's Pass to the North River. The Vandewater Heights were no doubt the scene of the skirmish of the scouting party.

But there is positive evidence as to the precise place and time where the battle began. Morris, in his letter of the 18th, says that the advanced party of Colonel Knowlton's rangers was attacked by the enemy on a height a little to the southwest of Dayes' Tavern, and after opposing them bravely, and being overpowered by their numbers, they were forced to retreat, and the enemy advanced to the top of the hill, which was opposite to that which lies before Dayes' door.

General George Clinton, on the 18th, says, Knowlton was attacked "by a party of the enemy about ten o'clock, at Matje Davit's Fly," and on the 21st reiterated his words.

Morris refers to the skirmish along the crest of the Vandewater Heights, and Clinton, to the descent of the British from the hill upon the retreating party, who had fallen back within the American front, which stretched from the North River to the Kingsbridge Road.

The confusion as to localities which Mrs. Lamb charges upon her predecessors only occurs in her own narrative, and the source of it seems to be a misconception of the diary of the Rev. Dr. Stiles. His entry in this document was made October 18th from a conversation with Mr. Hobart, of the New York Convention, who had received the account from General Clinton. Why she should rely upon the statement of a third party when not only the original letter of Clinton to the Convention, but a second and confirmatory letter three days after to Dr. Tappan, his brother-in-law, was under her hand, does not appear, unless it be that the rough diagram of the ground given by Hobart in explanation serves to bear out the new view which she has adopted. Nor yet has she any authority for stating that this pen and ink, or any other sketch, was furnished to the Convention of New York, or that Clinton had any hand in its draft; on the contrary, it is the hasty work of a moment, and not such a drawing as an engineer like Clinton would send to a public body. It is reproduced in the appendix to Mr. Jay's address. The draft is easily intelligible: Washington is represented as stationed during the action at the Point of Rocks, and the

scene of action to the southward. The spot is indicated by the outline of a small blockhouse. As it is marked "G. Washington's Station," it appears that Mrs. Lamb considers it to be the Morris House headquarters, and supports her view from the erroneous location of the mile stones.

Mrs. Lamb asserts that "Washington galloped to Greene's encampment, where, seated upon his horse at sunrise, he heard the firing between Knowlton and Leslie, and saw large bodies of men upon the 'high ground opposite.' He returned to the Morris House and hurriedly breakfasted." The statement that he heard the firing at sunrise, and rode down to the advance posts, has already been disposed of. But, to carry out the novel theory, the author is compelled to take Washington back to a hurried breakfast at Headquarters, a mile and three-quarters in the rear of where his troops were engaged.

Arrived here we are informed that "uneasy about Knowlton, he sent scouts for information, when that handsome, animated young officer appeared in his presence, asking for reinforcements to capture his pursuers."

There is no evidence that Washington was uneasy about Knowlton, that he sent out scouts for information, or that he even saw Knowlton on that day until his body was brought in. Reed expressly states that it was he himself who had been with the advanced party, who obtained the order for reinforcements from Washington.

But these statements are necessary to support the theory which immediately follows, that, almost simultaneously, "one hundred of the British light infantry, who had clambered up the steep close in Knowlton's footsteps, came out upon the plain and blew their bugle horns as usual after a fox chase."

This is a strange interpretation of Reed's letter, in which the allusion to the contemptuous blast of the British bugles is found. Reed says in one letter that "he came off to the General." In the other, that "he went over to him" (the General), and by the time he got to him "the enemy appeared in open view." These allusions are evidently to the Vandewater Heights, the Hollow Way, and the Point of Rocks opposite. Are Mr. Benedict, and Mrs. Lamb whom he has led into this topographical and historical error, aware that this adventurous British party, which, in their idea had reached the lawn in front of the Roger Morris house, must have been nearly a mile in the rear of the lines which Silliman's brigade was then extending from river to river? To carry out this theory "a hollow way or ravine crossed by a winding stream between the two hostile parties," is discovered and fixed upon as the way by

This perfectly supports the correctness of Mr. Jay's localities, and is conclusive evidence against the novel theory advanced by Mr. Benedict and Mrs. Lamb.

The road here mentioned is that by which Washington directed Heath, in his letter of August 22, 1776, to send out a party to observe the movement of the British vessels on the North River. "There is a road out of the Harlem flatlands that leads up to the hills and continues



F, Skirmish on Vandewater's Heights between the Light Infantry, the 42d Regiment, Hessian Company of Chasseurs and the Rebels, the latter obliged to retire within their works with loss, the 16th September.

down the North River by Bloomingdale Delancy's, and which road I would have them march, as they will keep the river in sight, and pass a tolerable landing-place for troops in the neighborhood of Bloomingdale. This detachment should bring a couple of light field pieces." It will be here noticed, in the appendix to this article, that General Greene, writing to Washington of the movement of the troops on the 22d of October, expressly designates the place where the "Monday action," as the fight



PLAN OF THE

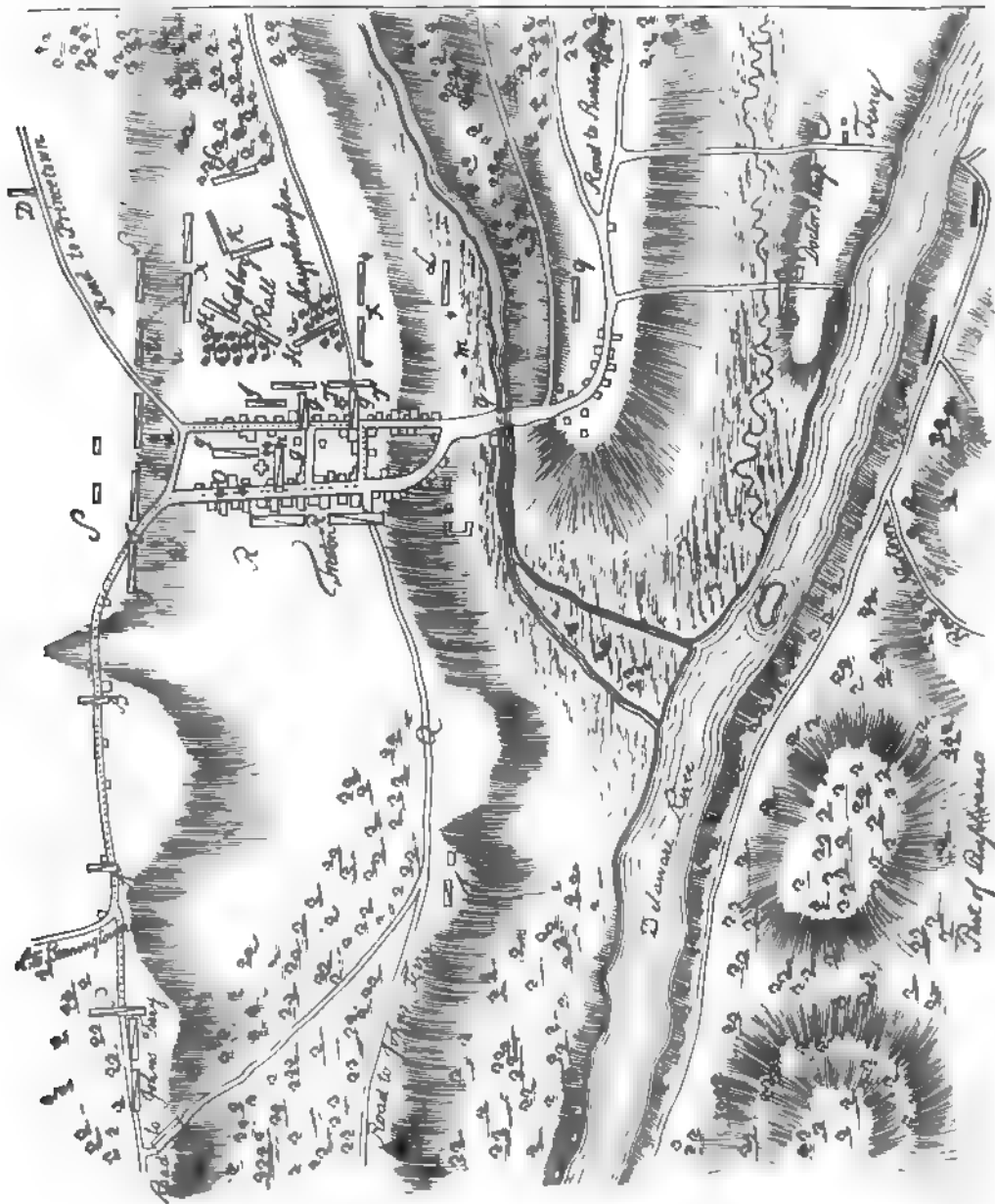
Battle of Trenton,

Fought the 24th of Dec., 1776.

Between the American troops under the command of Gen. Washington and three Hessian Regiments under the command of Col. Rall, when the latter surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

- A. Picket of an officer and 15 men.
- B. Company of Altenboun, of the Regiment of Loeburg.
- D. Picket of a Captain, 1 Lieutenant and 3 Hessians.
- E. Detachment of an officer and 30 Hessians retreating on Burlington.
- F. Detachment of an officer and 30 Chasseurs.
- G. Place where the regiments formed.
- H. Place where the Hessians formed a line.
- I. Attack of two regiments of Loeburg and Rall while Knyphausen covered the left flank.
- K. Place where Loeburg and Rall surrendered.
- L. Place where Knyphausen surrendered.
- M. Loeburg's guns stuck in the marsh.
- N. Knyphausen's guns.
- O. Rall's guns dismounted on the field.
- P. Attack of the Picket A and the Company B.
- Q. Brigade of Gen. Sullivan.
- R. Brigade of Gen. Mercer.
- S. Brigade of Gen. Stephen.
- T. Brigade of Lord Sterling.
- U. Brigade of Gen. Greene.
- V. Place from which Gen. Washington observed the entire movement and gave his orders.
- W. American Artillery.
- X. Last attack of Knyphausen and Loeburg.

Translated.



of the 16th was known in the army as on the hill. It will not be pretended that the British troops were on the 22d of October in the neighborhood of Audubon Park and the Morris House.

Mr. Jay's account of the Battle of Harlem Plains is amply supported both by tradition and documents. It is in entire accord with the contemporaneous authority carefully collected by Mr. William Kelby for the New York Historical Society, and printed by it as an appendix to Jay's address, and is now still further corroborated by the additional testimony which has been kindly contributed by this thorough and painstaking investigator of New York history.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

* The Battle of Harlem Plains. Oration before the New York Historical Society, September 16, 1876, by John Jay. Published by the Society. New York. 1876.

APPENDIX

General Washington to the President of Congress, Headquarters, at Colonel Roger Morris's House, 18 September, 1776.

* * About the time of the post's departure with my letter (of the 16th), the enemy appeared in several large bodies upon the plains, about two and a half miles from hence. I rode down to our advanced posts, to put matters in a proper situation, if they should attempt to come on. When I arrived there I heard a firing, which, I was informed, was between a party of our Rangers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton, and an advanced party of the enemy. Our men came in and told me, that the body of the enemy, who kept themselves concealed, consisted of about three hundred, as near as they could guess. I immediately ordered three companies of Colonel Weedon's regiment from Virginia, under the command of Major Leitch, and Colonel Knowlton with his Rangers, composed of volunteers from different New England regiments, to try to get in their rear, while a disposition was making as if to attack them in front, and thereby draw their whole attention that way.

This took effect as I wished on the part of the enemy. On the appearance of our party in front, they immediately ran down the hill, and took possession of some fences and bushes, and

a smart firing began, but at too great a distance to do much execution on either side. The parties under Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch unluckily began their attack too soon, as it was rather in flank than in rear. In a little time Major Leitch was brought off wounded, having received three balls through his side; and, in a short time after, Colonel Knowlton got a wound, which proved mortal. Their men however persevered, and continued the engagement with the greatest resolution. Finding that they wanted a support, I advanced part of Colonel Griffith's and Colonel Richardson's Maryland regiments, with some detachments from the Eastern regiments who were nearest the place of action. These troops charged the enemy with great intrepidity, and drove them from the wood into the plain, and were pushing them from thence, having silenced their fire in a great measure, when I judged it prudent to order a retreat, fearing the enemy, as I have since found was really the case, were sending a large body to support their party.

Gen. Washington to the N. Y. State Convention. Headquarters, at the Heights of Harlem, September 23, 1776.

On Monday morning last, several parties of the enemy appeared on the high grounds opposite

to our heights, and some skirmishing had happened between our troops and those of the enemy. On reconnoitring their situation, I formed the design of cutting off such of them as had or might advance to the extremity of the wood.

Gen. Washington to Patrick Henry. Headquarters, Heights of Harlem, Oct. 5, 1776.

I formed a design of cutting off some of the enemy's light troops, who, encouraged by their success, had advanced to the extremity of the high ground opposite to our present encampment.

Adj. Gen. Joseph Reed to his wife. Heights near Kingsbridge, Sept. 17, 1776.

Just after I had sealed my Letter & sent it away, an Acct. came that the Enemy were advancing upon us in three large Columns—we have so many false Reports that I desired the General to permit me to go & discover what Truth there was in the Acct. I accordingly went down to our most advanced Guard & while I was talking with the Officer, the Enemy's advanced Guard fired upon us at a small Distance, our men behaved well stood & return'd the Fire till overpowered by numbers they were obliged to retreat—the Enemy advanced upon us very fast I had not quitted a House 5 minutes before they were in Possession of it—Finding how things were going I went over to the General to get some support for the brave Fellows who had behaved so well—by the Time I got to him the Enemy appeared in open view & in the most insulting manner sounded their Bugle Horns as is usual after a Fox Chase. I never felt such a sensation before it seem'd to crown our Disgrace. The General was prevailed on to order over a Party to attack them & as I had been upon the Ground which no one else had it fell to me to conduct them—an unhappy Movement was made by a Regt. of ours which had been ordered to amuse them while those I was with expected to take them in the Rear—but being diverted by this the Virginia Regimt. with which I was went another course finding there was no stopping them I went with them the new Way—& in a few Minutes our brave Fellows mounted up the Rocks & attacked them then they ran in Turn.

Gen. George Clinton to N. Y. Convention, Kings Bridge, Sept. 18, 1776.

Our Army for some Days has been moving upwards this way, and encamping on the Heights, sou-west of Coll. Morris's, where we intended to form Lines, and make our grand stand.

* * * * *

The Enemy landed the main Body of their Army, took Possession of the City, & marched up the Island, & encamped on the Heights extending from McGowan's and the Black Horse to the North River.

On Monday morning, about ten o'clock, a party of the Enemy, consisting of Highlanders, Hessians, the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and English Troops (Number uncertain) attack'd our advanc'd Party, commanded by Col. Knowlton at Martje Davits Fly. They were opposed with spirit, and soon made to retreat to a clear Field, southwest of that about 200 paces, where they lodged themselves behind a Fence covered with Bushes our People attacked them in Turn, and caused them to retreat a second Time, leaving five dead on the Spot, we pursued them to a Buckwheat Field on the Top of a high Hill, distance about four hundred paces, where they received a considerable Reinforcement, with several Field Pieces, and there made a Stand a very brisk Action ensued at this Place, which continued about Two Hours our People at length worsted them a third Time, caused them to fall back into an Orchard, from thence across a Hollow, and up another Hill not far distant from their own lines—A large Column of the Enemy's Army being at this Time discovered to be in motion, and the Ground we then occupied being rather disadvantageous a Retreat likewise, without bringing on a general Action, (which we did not think prudent to risk,) rather insecure, our party was therefore ordered in, and the Enemy was well contented to hold the last Ground we drove them to.

* * * * *

Since the above affair, nothing material has happened the Enemy keep close to their Lines. Our advanc'd Parties continue at their former station.

Gen. George Clinton to Dr. Peter Tappan. King's Bridge, 21st Sept., 1776.

Lewis Morris, Jr., to his Father. Headquarters, Septbr 18th, 1776.

The same Day the Enemy possessed themselves of the City, to wit, last Sunday they landed the Main Body of their Army & encamped on York Island across about the Eight Mile Stone & between that & the four Mile Stone. Our Army at least one Division of it lay at Colo. Morris's & so southward to near the Hollow Way which runs across from Harlem Flat to the North River at Matje Davit's Fly. About halfway between which two Places our Lines run across the River which indeed at that Time were only began but are now in a very defensible state. On Monday Morn'g the Enemy attacked our Advanced Party Commanded by Colo. Knowlton (a brave Officer who was killed in the Action) near the Point of Matje Davit's Fly the Fire was very brisk on both sides our People however soon drove them back into a Clear Field about 200 Paces South East of that where they lodged themselves behind a Fence covered with Bushes our People pursued them but being obliged to stand exposed in the open Field or take a Fence at a Considerable Distance they preferred the Latter it was indeed adviseable for we soon brought a Couple of Field Pieces to bear upon them which fairly put them to Flight with two Discharges only the Second Time our People pursued them closely to the Top of a Hill about 400 paces distant where they received a very Considerable Reinforcement & made their Second Stand Our People also had received a Considerable Reinforcement, and at this Place a very brisk Action commenced which continued for near two Hours in which Time we drove the Enemy into a Neighbouring orchard from that across a Hollow & up another Hill not far Distant from their own Encampment, here we found the Ground rather Disadvantageous & a Retreat insecure we therefore thot proper not to pursue them any farther & retired to our first Ground leaving the Enemy on the last Ground we drove them to—that Night I commanded the Right Wing of our advanced Party or Picket on the Ground the Action first began of which Colo. Pawling & Colo. Nicoll's Regiment were part and next Day I sent a Party to bury our Dead.

Monday morning an advanced party, Colonel Knowlton's regiment, was attacked by the enemy upon a height a little to the southwest of Days's Tavern, and after opposing them bravely and being overpowered by their numbers they were forced to retreat, and the enemy advanced upon the top of the hill opposite to that which lies before Dayes's door, with a confidence of Success, and after rallying their men by a bugle horn and resting themselves a little while, they descended the hill with an intention to force our flanking party, which extended from the North river to the before mentioned hill, but they received so warm a fusilade from that flank and a party that went up the hill to flank them and cut off their retreat, that they were forced to give way.

Col. G. S. Silliman to his wife. Harlem Heights, 17 Sept., 1776, 2 o'cl P. M.

Yesterday at 7 o'clock in the morning we were alarmed with the sight of a considerable number of the enemy on the Plains below us about a mile distant.—Our Brigades which form a line across the Island where I am were immediately ordered under arms—but as the enemy did not immediately advance we grounded our arms & took spades & shovels & went to work & before night had thrown up lines across the Island—There was nothing before but three little redoubts in about a mile & we are at work this day in strengthening them. But yesterday a little before noon we heard a strong firing about half a mile below us in the woods near where we had two Brigades lying as an advanced guard. The enemy in a large body advanced in the woods a little before 12 o'cl & began a heavy fire on those two Brigades who maintained the fire obstinately for some time & then they were reinforced by several regiments & the fire continued very heavy from the musketry & from field pieces about two hours—in which time our people drove the regulars back from post to post about a mile & a half & then left them pretty well satisfied with their dinner.

Major Nicholas Fish to John McKesson, Secretary N. Y. Convention. Kingsbridge, 19th Sept., 1776.

We are now in possession of the ground for-

the Heights of Harlem to the Heights of West Chester, our advance Guard is posted a Mile from our Lines; here it was that our brave and heroic Marylanders, Virginians, &c. made a Noble & resolute stand against the Efforts of the Enemy on Monday the 16th drove them back, pursued and forced them to retire.

John Gooch to Thomas Fayerweather. New Jersey, Fort Constitution, Sept. 23, 1776.

On the 15th Inst we evacuated New York & took all stores of every kind out of the City, and took Possession of the heights of Harlem eight miles from the City, the Enemy encamp'd about two miles from us; on the 16th the Enemy advanced and took Possession of a height on our Right Flank abt half a mile Distance.

Samuel Chase to Gen. Gates. Philadelphia, September 21, 1776.

Our army retreated, and possessed themselves of the Heights of Harlem; our Headquarters at Roger Morris's house. On Monday last the Enemy appeared in the plains, 2½ Miles from the Heights, about 400 under General Leslie. A Skirmish began between them and a Party of Volunteers from several New England regiments commanded by Colo. Knolton. our People were supported by Companies from a Virginia Battalion and from two Militia Maryland Regiments. The Enemy were obliged to retreat with the Loss of about 100 killed and prisoners — Colo. Knolton, a brave officer, was killed. Major Leitch of May'd was wounded and despaired of. The Enemies main Army is now encamped between 7 and 8 Miles Stones General Howe's Head Quarters at one Mr Apthorp's.

From Gen. Heath's Memoirs. Sept. 16th, 1776.

A little before noon, a smart skirmish happened on the heights west of Harlem Plain, and south of Morris's house, between a party of Hessian Yagers British Light-Infantry and Highlanders, and the American riflemen and some other troops, which ended in favour of the latter.

Sir William Howe to Lord Germaine. Headquarters, York Island, Sept. 21, 1776.

The position the King's army took, on the 15th in the evening, was with the right to Horen's Hook, and the left at the North River near to Bloomingdale.

On the 16th in the morning a large party of

the enemy having passed under cover of the woods near to the advanced posts of the army by way of Vanderwater's Height, obliged them to retire.

American General Orders. Headquarters, 16th September, 1776.

The arrangement for this Night upon the heights commanding the hollow way from the North River to the Main Road leading from New York to Kingsbridge. Gen. Clinton to form next to the North River, and extend to the left. Gen. Scott's Brigade next to Gen. Clinton's.

Extract of a Letter from Harlem, Oct. 3, 1776.

"Yesterday morning eleven hundred men were ordered to parade at daylight, to bring off the corn, hay &c which lay on Harlem plains between the enemy and us. This property has lain for a fortnight past unmolested, both sides looking at it, and laying claim to it until to day, when it was brought off by us. A covering party were within musket shot of the enemy, but they made no other movements than to man their lines; and three thousand of our men appearing struck their tents, expecting an attack. Our fatigue party finished the business, and not a single shot was fired. These plains would afford an excellent field for a fight. I really expected an action, but the enemy declined it."

William Ellery to Gov. Cooke of R. I. Phil., Oct. 11, 1776.

General Washington, as I am told, played off a pretty manœuvre the other day. Determined to remove the grain and the furniture of the houses from Harlem, he drew out into the field a party of seventeen hundred. The enemy turned out as many. They approached within three hundred yards and looked at each other. While they were thus opposed front to front, our wagons carried off the grain and furniture. When this was accomplished, both parties retired within their lines.

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FROM PRINTED SOURCES
NOT IN JAY'S ADDRESS.

Extract from a letter of Lieut. Tench Tilghman to his Father. Headquarters, Colo. Morris's, 19 September, 1776.

* * * On Monday last we had a pretty sharp skirmish with the British Troops, which

was brought on in the following manner. The General rode down to our furthest Lines, and when he came near them heard a firing, which he was informed was between our Scouts and the out Guards of the Enemy. When our men came in they informed the General that there were a party of about 300 behind a woody hill, tho' they showed a very small party to us. Upon this the General laid a plan for attacking them in the Rear and cutting their Retreats, which was to be effected in the following manner. Major Leitch, with three companies of Colo. Weedon's Virginia Regiment, and Colo. Knowlton with his Rangers, were to steal round, while a party were to march towards them and seem as if they intended to attack in front, but not to make any real attack till they saw our men fairly in their Rear. The Bait took as to one part; as soon as they saw our party in front, the Enemy ran down the Hill and took possession of some Fences and Bushes, and began to fire at them, but at too great distance to do much execution. Unluckily Colo. Knowlton and Major Leitch began their attack too soon; it was rather in Flank than in Rear. The Action now grew warm; Major Leitch was wounded early in the Engagement, and Colo. Knowlton soon after, the latter mortally; he was one of the bravest and best officers in the Army. Their men notwithstanding persisted with the greatest Bravery. The Genl, finding they wanted support, ordered over part of Colo. Griffith's, and part of Colo. Richardson's Maryland Regiments; these Troops, tho' young, charged with as much Bravery as I can conceive; they gave two fires, and then rushed right forward, which drove the Enemy from the wood into a Buckwheat field, from which they retreated. The General fearing (as we afterwards found) that a large Body was coming up to support them, sent me over to bring our men off. They gave a Hurra and left the Field in good Order. We had about 40 wounded and a very few killed. A Sergeant who deserted says their Accounts were 89 wounded and 8 killed, but in the latter he is mistaken, for we have buried more than double that number—We find their force was much more considerable than we imagined when the General or-

dered the Attack. It consisted of the 2d Battn of light Infantry, a Battn of the Royal Highlanders and 3 comps of Hessian Rifle Men. The prisoners we took told us they expected our men would have run away, as they did the day before, but that they were never more surprised than to see us advancing to attack them. The Virginia and Maryland Troops bear the Palm. (Memoir of Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman.)

Extract from a letter of General John Glover to General Washington, Burdett's Ferry, Sept. 18, 1777.

The enemy are forming an encampment on the edge of North River, about one mile below where the battle was fought on Monday last. (Upham's Memoir of General Glover.)

Extracts from Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held on the Heights of Harlem, September 19 and 21, 1776.

Major Box.—Last Tuesday (17th Sep.), about two o'clock, I saw a number of people plundering down on Harlem plain. Took a party and went down on the Plain, and met Ensign Macumber, with a party of upwards of twenty, all loaded with plunder, such as house furniture, table linen, and kitchen utensils, China and delf ware.

John Petty (in Prisoner's defence).—Just before we entered the town of Harlem Ensign Macumber stopped the party, and expressly ordered us out to plunder. I was posted as a sentry, and knew nothing of the party plundering. I was one who drove the Cattle off, and did not join the party who had the plunder.

Captain Ramsay.—Last Tuesday (17 Sept) in the beginning of the afternoon, I was crossing Harlem Plains; I saw a number of men loaded with plunder. (Force's Archives.)

From the History of the Civil War in America, by an Officer in the Army (Captain Hall of the Forty-sixth Regiment). London, 1780.

As the enemy evacuated the city on our first appearance of landing, a brigade took possession of it in the evening, and our army extended their encampments across the island, with their right to Horan's Hook and their left to Bloomingdale.

On the 16th, in the morning, a body of the enemy moved out of their lines on Morris' Heights, and appeared at a house near the edge of a wood, in front of our left flank, on which two companies of light infantry were sent to dislodge them. The enemy being drove to the wood, under cover of which they secretly acquired reinforcements and maintained their ground, the 2d battalion of light infantry and the 42d Highlanders were ordered to our support. The rebels, increased to four thousand men, would in all probability have surrounded the detachment in this intricate situation had not some other Corps been put in motion to sustain it. The enemy closely pressed, retired to the protection of their lines, avoiding a general action, which, from the position of affairs, seemed to be approaching.

The frigates which had been detached up the North River covered our left flank, whilst others took their station in the East River to secure our right. * * *

Extracts from Washington's General Orders.

Sept. 18. Gen. Parsons', General Scott's and Sergeant's Brigades are to march over Kingsbridge, and take orders for encamping from Gen. Heath. Col. Shea's, Magaw's and Haslet's three Regiments, and the Regiment under Col. Broadhead are to return to Mount Washington, and to be under the immediate care of Gen. Mifflin. Col. Ward's regiment from Connecticut may for the present be advanced to the Brigade commanded by Col. Sergeant. Gen. Mifflin's, McDougall's, Heard's, Wadsworth's and Fellows' Brigades, and the Brigade commanded by Col. Silliman and Douglass, are to have each a Regiment in the Field this evening, by Mr. Kortright's house back of the lines, at 5 o'clock this afternoon, as a Piquet for the advanced Post, the whole to be under the command of Brig. Gen'l McDougall, who is to see that they are properly posted from the North River round to the encampment above the road.

Sept. 19. The Piquet Guards, which are to occupy the out post most advanced to the enemy, are to consist of 800 men; they are to be furnished by detachments from the several Brigades below Kingsbridge, and so every day till further orders.

Sept. 21. Gen. Putnam & Spencer, together with the several Brigadiers on this side Kingsbridge, are to look over the ground within our lines, and fix upon places to build barracks or houses for quartering the men in; no time should be lost in making the choice, that covering may be had as soon as possible for the ease and comfort of the men.

The Brigadier General and the Brigade Major of the day are both to attend the Parade at the hour of mounting guard, and see them brought on and marched off, and to continue near the advanced lines till they are relieved next day, in order that they may be ready in case of an attack to command at the lines.

Sept. 26. Upon any alarm or approach of the enemy towards our lines, Gen. Mifflin, with his brigade, are to possess our left flank, from the hollow way by Col. Sargent's late encampment to the point of rocks on the left front of our lines, and till the regiment commanded by Col. Weedon is brigaded to be joined by the same. Gen. McDougall's Brigade is to repair to the plain back of Gen. Mifflin, and be ready to support him or the piquet in the front, as occasion may require. Gen. Beal's brigade is to repair to the lines which cross the road by Col. Moyland's lodgings, and extend their right to the middle redoubt by Mr. Kortright's house, occupying the same. Gen. Wadsworth and Fellows are to take the remaining part of those lines, with the redoubt thereon on the North River. These three brigades to defend these lines, or wait there for orders. Gen. Heard is to parade, and be ready to march wherever ordered. Gen. Putnam is to command in front of the lines by Mr. Kortright's. Gen. Spencer in the rear of them.

Oct. 3. Gen. Putnam will please to point out proper places for huts to shelter the piquet guard in front of our lines, and direct the officers who command those guards to see that the men are employed every day at work thereon till they are completed, and this for the sake of their own health and convenience they will do as soon as possible, as the weather will soon grow too uncomfortable to stay without shelter.

Oct. 8. Commanding officer of the Rangers reports that soldiers continually straggle down to Harlem without arms—he is ordered to arrest

them — In order to distinguish the Rangers, they are to wear something white round their arms. Ammunition store established near Gen. Spencer's quarters. (Force's Archives.)

Extracts from Proceedings of a General Court-Martial held on Harlem Heights, September 23, 1776.

Lieutenant Stewart deposed: That he was on a scouting party on Tuesday, 17th of September, and met Captain Northrop [of Silliman's Regiment] with another party, of which the prisoner was one, and we agreed to endeavour taking the enemy's advanced guard. We were prevented doing it, but got down to a fence, where we exchanged some shot with the enemy. Both parties were together. In about ten minutes the prisoner and three or four others ran off to a fence a hundred yards — The prisoner had a large pewter dish under his arm; I ordered him to lay down his dish and go back or I would shoot him. I was so intent on the motions of the enemy that I did not observe him afterwards; it was immediately after a shot from the enemy that the prisoner run away.

Nathaniel Thomas confirms Lieutenant Stewart's deposition, and adds that the prisoner ran two hundred and fifty feet. * * * (Force's Archives.)

Colonel Graydon's Memoirs of his own time.

While the main army remained at the heights of Harlem, a period of five weeks, from about the middle of September to the middle of October, we (Shea's and Magaw's Regiments) constituted a part of it, and did duty accordingly. It was my chance to be on guard on the night of the fire at New York (20-21 September) on the picket, advanced about a mile in front of our lines. For a considerable extent the heavens appeared to be in flames, and from the direction of the light, I could not doubt there was a conflagration in the city. I might have been distant from it about nine miles; and had not my situation been overlooked by a hill directly in front, the cause might perhaps have been distinctly developed.

Gen. Alex. McDougall to Committee of Arrangement, Camp at Harlem, Oct. 17, 1776.

Nothing material has happened here since the skirmish of the 16th ultimo. The enemy

appear very shy. Our advanced sentries and theirs are within three hundred yards of each other in Harlem lane. The works they have thrown up are evidently calculated for defense. (Force's Archives.)

Gen. Greene to Gen. Washington, Fort Lee, Oct. 29, 1776.

The ships have fallen down the North River, and the troops which advanced upon Harlem Plains, and on the hill where the Monday action was, have drawn within their lines again. (Force's Archives.)

At a Court-Martial held on Harlem Heights, Oct. 15, 1776,

John Bussing testified: "My house is down by the 8 mile stone. The day after the army had retreated from York (Sept. 16) I left the house, and left most of our articles in the house." These articles were carried away by Pope's men, one of them,

George Wilson testified: "I was one of the party that went into Mr. Bussing's house; and it lying very near the enemy, and being deserted, we thought it best to take away what things we could, and save them for the owners."

Captain Holmes testified: "Lieut. Pope informed me that our sentries had drove off the enemy from Mr. Bussing's house, and that as there was a number of articles, Lieut. Pope proposed that a party should go and bring them off," which was accordingly done, and they were put under the quarter guard, and afterwards taken to headquarters.

George Wilson on being tried for the same crime confessed that he went with two or three others one night, about three weeks ago (Sept. 23), and took away several things. (Force's Archives.)

Orders of Col. Magaw, who commanded at Harlem Heights and Fort Washington.

Nov. 1, 1776.—Ninety men for Picquet towards New York to-morrow, to be selected as follows:

North River, 1 Sub and 20 men. Holloway, 1 Sergt and 10 men. Point of Rocks, 1 Sub and 20 men. Works near Harlem River, 1 Sub and 20 men. One Capt. at the Point of Rocks or North River. 1 Sub and 20 on the East River between Head Quarters and Fort Washington. (Mag. Am. Hist., I., 756.)

DIARY
OF A FRENCH OFFICER
1781

(Presumed to be that of Baron Cromot du Bourg.)

From an unpublished Manuscript in the possession of C. Fiske Harris. of

Providence, R. I.

Translated for the Magazine of American History.

III

FROM KING'S FERRY TO HEAD OF ELK

August 25—The First Division or First Brigade, composed of the Bourbonnois and Deux Ponts left its camp for Suffern's. The road is very fine before reaching there. Hackensack is passed, quite a pretty village, leaving which an open country is found and a valley of extreme beauty of landscape. The fences here are made in the same manner as our barred fences in France (there are five bars one over the other), which gives an air of neatness and adds to the beauty of the spot.

Side Note.—The same day the Second division crossed the North River and took the camp we occupied the evening before.

March, 15 miles.

August 26—We went from Suffren's (Suffern's) to Pompton, four miles this side of which the river of this name is crossed three times and there are bridges at each passage; the first and third are fordable; the road is superb. This is an open and well cultivated country, inhabited by Dutch people who are almost all quite rich. We arrived in good season, and the camps being set and the troops arrived, I thought I could not do better than to go to Totowa to see a cataract

which is considered to be one of the most curious sights in this part of the country. I left at two o'clock to pay it a visit, although it was ten miles distant. The road to it is very fine; there are several large dwelling houses on the road, many cattle and a good quantity of fruit. I went as far as the village of Totowa, which is quite large and well built. I left my horses there and went up to the fall, which seemed to me more curious than beautiful. The river flows down quietly and all at once disappears within an immense rock which lies in the middle of its bed. This rock is split in two; the chasm at its widest part is from twelve to fifteen feet. This separation continues to diminish until it is almost imperceptible. The river falls from sixty to eighty feet through this split, and after it reaches the foot of the rock flows quietly, taking its direction to the left. This rock, which is quite large, has two other separations, which are narrower, but quite as deep, on the left of the cascade. I returned by the same road and reached the camp in quite good season.

Side Note.—March, 15 miles.

August 27—We marched to Whippany by a fine road. At four miles distance there is an extensive dwelling. Whippany is quite a large place; the river of the same name, which is fordable, passes through it.

Side Note.—March, 16 miles.

August 28—The First Division halted and the second joined it. M. de Rochambeau left us in the afternoon for Philadelphia. He took with him Messieurs de Fersen, de Vauban and de

Closen, but on his leaving I asked permission to join him in three days, which he gave me.

August 29—The First Brigade, under command of the Baron de Vioménil, marched from Bullions' Tavern; at five miles from Wepennay (Whippany) is Morristown, a very pretty town; it is situated on a little hill and in a very pleasant situation. It has sixty or eighty well-built houses.

The American Army encamped here in 1776. The position taken was behind the woods to the left of Wepennay (Whippany). General Sullivan was then at Chatham, seven miles to the left. General Lee was ordered to march from Morristown to Newtown, beyond the Delaware; after crossing the Pysayck (Passaic) by a very poor wooden bridge, there is a fork in the road. His army took the road to the right, which was the best. He and suite took that to the left. The enemy who occupied the neighborhood were soon informed of this blunder; they sent out some light troops through the woods which skirt the Baskenridge road and captured him the next morning while he was at breakfast, and his division, nine miles distant from him, was on its march. After crossing the bridge, a fine house, belonging to Lord Stirling, is passed. It is on the left, about two miles distant. In 1779 the American Army encamped on the heights between Morristown and the river; to be more precise, between the Mendem and Baskenridge roads. General Washington took this position to protect the Delaware, and perfectly succeeded, holding here the key of all the

roads. In 1780, the Pennsylvania, Jersey and Maryland lines all encamped on the high ground close to the river; General Wayne was in command. The Pennsylvania line revolted, but the trouble was appeased in a few days by dismissing all strangers whose term of service had expired, incorporating the rest of the Pennsylvanians in the Maryland and Jersey lines, and punishing with death all the instigators of the revolt. The road to Bullion's Tavern is fine and level; the troops arrived there early.

Side Note.—Judging from the direction of our march, there is reason to believe that we shall not make any attempt on New York, nor yet on Staten Island. The journey of the General to Philadelphia confirms me still more in this idea, and I am satisfied we are about to pay a visit to Cornwallis, who, it is said, is entrenched at Yorktown. The letters which M. de Rochambeau has received from Lafayette inform him that it is to this town that this General has retreated.

March, 16 miles.

August 30—We marched to Somerset Court House, the distance to which is only twelve miles, over a fine road.

Side Note.—March, 12 miles.

August 31—At four o'clock in the morning the Baron de Vioménil entrusted me with a letter to M. de Rochambeau, requesting me to deliver it to him at Philadelphia before dinner, if possible. I left Somerset immediately, and rode to Princetown through some very disagreeable woods, although the road itself was fine enough. This town is well built and pleasantly situated. There is a very fine college here. The place is famous for the success which the Americans had over the English

here in 1777. The 2d of January of this year General Washington made an extremely bold and well combined movement: he marched from Trenton at nightfall with his entire army, leaving all his camp fires burning in front of Lord Cornwallis, who had come to attack him there. He marched by the Allentown road, and was joined on the way by several bodies of militia. He arrived within a mile of Princetown at daylight, and found on the high road to his left a body of English in disorder, who, on perceiving him, countermarched to join the 7th Regiment, which was two miles distant towards the left of the town. General Washington moved his men by the double quick, and had the good fortune to strike the 7th Regiment before it could reach the main body of the English, which forced it to retreat, and finally to surrender near the college to the number of 250; the remainder escaped into the woods, and fell back on Lord Cornwallis to the north of Trenton. Meanwhile General Sullivan had taken a position on high ground in Kingstown, beyond Millstone river, where there was a bridge, which he destroyed after crossing. The object of General Washington in sending him there was to prevent any succor reaching the enemy from Brunswick. This succeeded completely. After a light fire, some runaways gathered before the bridge. General Washington advanced upon them, dispersed them, and continued his march towards Rocky Hill, whence he marched upon Somerset and the Pompton plains, where he took a position. Sullivan rejoined him after crossing the Millstone three miles below

on another bridge, which he also destroyed. Lord Cornwallis, informed of this affair, marched promptly to the succor of his troops, but arrived too late; he repaired the first bridge, and retreated to Brunswick. If the Americans had not been worn out by several forced marches, the intention of General Washington was to have pushed on to Brunswick and endeavor to defeat the rest.

While stopping at Princeton to rest my horses, I examined this position as thoroughly as I could. I then took again the road to Trenton, which is only twelve miles distant. This town is larger than the first, but not so pretty. It is like a large French (bourg) village. At the end of it is Trenton Creek, which is crossed by a bridge, and about half a mile beyond the Delaware, where there is a ferry. The town is interesting also because of two engagements in which General Washington was successful.

The first was on the 24th December, 1776. The enemy had established their winter quarters along the Delaware at Trenton, Bordentown, and above at Brunswick, Princeton, etc. The American army were in barracks at the time; some at Newtown and Hightown, beyond the Delaware above Trenton. On the night of the 24th December General Washington crossed his army on boats over the Delaware at Kenkis Ferry (McKonkey's), nine miles above Trenton; he formed it in two columns, took that of the right under his own orders, and gave the command of the left to General Sullivan. The *corps de reserve* followed the latter. The troops came at point of day upon the

different pickets which the Hessians had on the road which ended in the town. At the first alarm the greater number of them threw themselves into the church, which is nearly in the middle of the town, and defended themselves for some time against the right column, which debouched by the St. Clair road, which skirts the river; they had even lost a great many men before Colonel Roll (Rahl), who commanded them, decided to form them on a little eminence near by. General Washington then deployed his column before Trenton on their left flank, while Sullivan formed his line of battle in their front, and the *corps de reserve* filed through the little ravines to turn their right. Colonel Rahl, finding himself surrounded, surrendered with one thousand men; nearly four hundred had before gotten over the bridge of the creek below Trenton, and reached the encampment at Bordentown.

The second affair occurred six days later. General Washington crossed the river again, and took a position below the creek, which flows to the south of Trenton, along which there is, at a distance of about three miles, an impassable marsh which extends to the woods. Lord Cornwallis marched at once with all his force to attack him there, and only left a reserve corps of two regiments at Princeton to hold the communication with Brunswick, Amboy, etc. In order to arrest or at least to delay the march of the enemy, General Washington sent skirmishers into the woods, who destroyed a bridge over the creek which I have just mentioned, and by this means compelled the English to look for other passages, which they defended foot by

foot. Besides this, two American battalions took possession of a little eminence in front of Trenton, beyond the creek, with a piece of cannon. The skirmishers being driven back after a vigorous resistance, Lord Cornwallis marched his troops by his right to turn the two battalions, which, after two discharges, recrossed the bridge and rejoined their army. The English general then deployed his troops on the little slope in front of the creek, and placed some batteries to dismount the American pieces posted in the ravine on the other side of the same creek, near a mill which is on the left of the bridge. General Washington threw up a redoubt to protect his left, where the creek was easy of passage. Lord Cornwallis marched a column to turn it on this side, but it was soon forced to withdraw. The cannonade continued until nightfall. The troops remained opposite to each other, and it was from this point that Washington marched the same evening to Princeton, on the expedition which I have already mentioned. It is to be noticed that during these different actions the American army was not over 4,000 men, while that of the English reached 10,000.

After stopping about two hours at Trenton, I crossed the Delaware, and continued my route over a flat and pleasant country, over which were scattered very pretty woods and pieces of well cultivated land. At about eight miles' distance the same river is met with again, and the road runs along its bank to Bristol, a little before reaching which Burlington is seen on the opposite bank. This is quite a considerable place, and presents a lovely landscape. Bristol is



then reached, which, although only consisting of forty or fifty houses, is quite pretty. After Bristol the Shammana River is crossed in a ferry-boat. This little river empties near there in the Delaware. From this point it is only seventeen miles to Philadelphia; the road is fine, level and quite broad, and passes by many little villages and pleasant country houses. I arrived at three o'clock at the house of M. de la Luzerne, the Minister of France, where M. de Rochambeau was living, and delivered my letter. My haste cost me my horse, which was ruined by this ride. After dinner I went to my room, and in the morning enjoyed the pleasure of a house and a bed, for the first time since I left Newport.

Side Note.—This day the army marched from Somerset to Princeton.

March, 18 miles.

SEPTEMBER.

September 1—In the morning I went about in the city, which seemed to me very fine. It is large, and quite well built; the streets are very wide and straight as a string, with sidewalks on each side for travellers on foot. There are numerous shops richly supplied, and the city is quite animated, there being at least forty thousand inhabitants. In Market Street there are some immense buildings, built of brick, one of which is entirely occupied by the butchers. I saw no fault in them except that they are in the middle of a splendid street, the beauty of which they absolutely destroy. The port may be two miles long; it is simply a wharf built along the river, the only beauty of which is its length. The

place in which the Congress meets is an edifice of considerable magnitude, and the one in which the Deputies meet has nothing to commend it but its size. There are several very handsome churches, and a large college which is called a university. This is all that I saw worth mention. The house in which M. de la Luzerne lives is spacious and well enough built, and he lives in great state.

I went to see a Cabinet of Natural History belonging to a private gentleman named M. Simetiere. He is a Genevan, and has amused himself for a long time in collecting a number of curiosities in minerals, shells, birds, and every thing of this kind. He has in his house the clothing of different savage nations, arms, etc., which he has collected in his travels. I saw among these interesting objects a bad pair of heavy boots, and I asked him laughingly if they were objects of curiosity. He assured me that they attracted the attention of all Americans, who had never seen but this single pair, and that in consequence of the surprise they had excited he had ventured to pass them off for the boots of Charles XII. He showed me also a very fine collection of engravings and a large number of drawings, and even pictures of his painting, but poor. He it is who has taken the portraits of the different members of Congress, which are now engraved at Paris; he has also collected all the anecdotes of the Revolution and the American War, and all the documents published from a very remote period, by reason of which the Congress has repeatedly had recourse to him. I went

from the cabinet of M. de Simetiere to that of Doctor Chauvel, which was no less interesting, but of another kind. M. Chauvel is an Englishman who has travelled a great deal, and who is well informed on a vast range of subjects. He is most distinguished for his knowledge of anatomy. He has in his cabinet two wax figures of life size, one of a man, the other of a woman. The body of the man is dissected on one side, and the body is half opened; the different parts of the interior are made so as to be detached and restored to their places. The woman has the body open, and an eight-months' child is seen in its natural position. These two figures are so life-like that it is impossible to see them without a certain shock. It is upon these that he so far has given his lessons of anatomy, of which he is a professor. He collects also everything relating to this subject, and in a surprising degree of perfection. He explained all to me in French in a very intelligible and even surprising way, considering that he is a man of at least seventy.

I took leave of him and went to dine with the President of the States, where our generals and their family were (as the aides-de-camp are called in America.) We had a very good English dinner. There was a turtle, weighing, perhaps, sixty to seventy pounds, which I found perfect. At dinner all sorts of healths were drank. When we left the table I returned home to write by the Franklin, which was to sail in two or three days after for France.

Side Note.—This day the First Brigade marched from Princeton to Trenton.

March, 12 miles.

September 2—I met at the house of M. de la Luzerne, M. Benezet, the most zealous Quaker of Philadelphia. I talked with him some time. He seemed to me to be convinced of the merits of his school of morals, and really a worthy man. He is small, old and ugly, but his countenance wears the stamp of a peaceful soul and the repose of a good conscience.

I rode on horseback to Germantown, where there was an engagement, the 4th of October, 1777, which did not result as favorably to the Americans as those of which I have spoken above. Germantown lies at the side of Philadelphia, and is reached by a highway, quite wide and very fine, as it is at the most six miles distant. This town consists of a single street, which may be three-quarters of a league long; the English were encamped there and occupied the two sides of the town, cutting it, as it were, in two. General Washington, who at this time was at Skipacherack (Skippach), learning that the enemy had sent detachments to Philadelphia, Chester and Wilmington to protect the supplies which were on the way, left his camp at three o'clock in the evening and marched all night to attack Germantown. He marched at first in single column, but five miles before he arrived he formed in two, took command of the right, having under him General Sullivan, and gave that of the left to General Green, who had under him General Stiven (Stephen). The right column marched by the highway which leads to the town, and detached General Armstrong with the militia to turn the left wing of the enemy. At three o'clock in the morning

the advance guard fell upon the pickets, which the 40th Regiment and the Light Infantry had passed at different distances on the road which ends at the town, which gave the alarm to these two corps, who immediately seized their arms, and, after some resistance, were compelled to fall back and were pursued to the village. Lieutenant-Colonel Mulgrave (Musgrave) who commanded the 40th Regiment, saw the importance of maintaining the communication between the two wings, and threw himself with six companies into a large stone house which stood precisely in the centre of the lines of the camp. Meanwhile, General Sullivan deployed a part of his column to attack the right wing, which, in connection with the manœuvre of the militia, threw it completely over and forced it to fall back on the right, leaving about one hundred and sixty men, who were made prisoners. The six companies who had thrown themselves into the house kept up a very brisk fire. This was the key of the position completely commanding the right of the English. This determined General Washington to attack it. To this end he brought up two pieces of six-pounders, but the balls pierced the walls without making a breach. M. de Mauduit, a French officer, who was with the army, asked permission of the General to attack it with eighty volunteers. Only twenty-seven offered themselves, together with Colonel Laurens, a warm personal friend, who made the twenty-eighth. He advanced with this handful of men, took some straw from a farm near by to set fire with, but could not succeed, all his volunteers being killed. Colonel Laurens and he, one at

the door, the other at the window which they endeavored to break in, perceived, at the end of a few minutes, that they were alone. They then walked quietly back to the remainder of the troops, in the midst of a hail of shot and bullets, which seemed to respect their courage. Colonel Laurens was slightly wounded in the shoulder, and M. Mauduit returned safe and sound. The manœuvre of the left wing did not take so favorable a turn. A heavy fog, and General Stephen, who, from what many said, had not been fasting, contributed greatly to this state of things. The General deployed, but could not put his corps in line of battle. The English, whom they expected to surprise, were already formed when they arrived in great disorder. General Washington rode up in person, rallied his troops and withdrew quietly by the same road he had taken in the morning. He took a position six miles nearer than that he had occupied the evening before. The English owed their success this day to Colonel Mulgrave (Musgrave) and the stone house.

On my return I dined with Mr. Holker, the French Consul. He entertained us excellently at a little country house which he occupies, three miles from the city, on the road to Germantown. I left him as early as I could, and went back to Philadelphia. I visited a Quaker meeting house, but had not the pleasure of seeing a single person inspired. I then returned home to render an account of my day.

Side Note.—This day the First Brigade encamped this side of the Red Lion Tavern.

March, 18 miles.

September 3—The First Division of the

army arrived at Philadelphia about eleven o'clock in the morning, and in full dress. We went out to meet M. de Rochambeau, and entered the town with it amid the acclamations of the people, who could not imagine, from the idea the English had given them, that the French troops could be so fine. Passing before Congress they saluted, and the division went into camp on the Commons about a mile from the city.

Side Note.—When the troops deployed before the Congress, the general officers at the head of their Brigades, the President asked M. de Rochambeau if he should salute or not. The General replied that when the French troops marched past, the King deigned to salute them with kindness. This may give a slight idea of the Representative of the American nation.

March, 12 miles.

September 4—The Second Brigade arrived at about the same hour that the First arrived the day before, and produced as great an impression. The Regiment of Soissonnais, whose trimmings are pink, wore also its Grenadier caps, with white and great plumes, which astonished the beauties of the city. We conducted the Brigade to the camp, and saw the lines which the English constructed in the winter of '77 to '78. They reached from the Schuylkill to the Delaware. Only the traces of them remain. There were nine redoubts in front, and two forts protected the flanks.

September 5—The First Division united its brigades for the march to Chester, fifteen miles distant. M. de Rochambeau preferred to make the journey by boat in order to see Mud Island, Redbank and Billings-fort on the way. We embarked on the Delaware with M. de Mauduit after an excel-

lent breakfast with M. de la Luzerne. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful view than Philadelphia presented from the water as we left it. The banks of the Delaware are a little marshy, but the country at a little distance from it seems fertile and well cultivated. We first landed at Mud Island, where Fort Mifflin is situated. This fort is built to support the right of the chevaux-de-frise which are placed in the river to prevent the ships of the enemy from coming up. The batteries are extremely low. The fortification of this place has been begun, but the works are not yet finished. We went from there to Redbank on the left bank, where M. de Mauduit, who commanded there under Colonel Greene, showed us the manner in which he defended himself when he was attacked there by Colonel Donop at the head of 2,500 Hessians the 22d October, 1777. This fort is built on the river bank which is quite steep on this side. On his arrival here he found the fort too large for the three hundred men he had with him, and had it cut down one half. He was attacked here by two columns. The first nearly reached the old entrenchments to the north, and once there thought that they had captured the fort. His fire was so quick and well delivered that he destroyed a part of this column. In the opening M. de Mauduit had made was a (saillant) projection arranged so that his fire took the enemy in front and flank. They endeavored to defile along the river by the side of the bank, but some galleys, armed with guns charged with grape shot, opened a fire which drove them back, and they broke



in disorder. The South Column was already in the ditch but checked by the palisades. M. de Mauduit went there with some men and drove the enemy on this side, and thus remained the master of the fort. Colonel Donop, who displayed the greatest courage, received a wound from a grape shot in the thigh, from which he died two days after, having had an opportunity to judge of the courage and kindness of M. de Mauduit, who treated him with every attention, although he had summoned the fort to surrender before the attack, and to the refusal of M. de Mauduit had announced that he would give no quarter to any one. The Hessians lost more than 8 or 900 men in this attack, and the Americans thirty or forty. We next arrived at Billings fort which has been constructed to support the left of the chev-aux-de-frise. Of the three forts we have seen this last is in the best condition, the more as its battery, which commands the river, is very well made. Fort Mifflin is not finished, and that of Redbank is destroyed. We embarked again and reached Chester. On the bank we saw General Washington who waved his hat with demonstrations of joy; and in fact, he told us on landing, that M. de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake with 28 ships of the line and 3000 men, whom he had already landed, and who had already marched to join M. de Lafayette to prevent Lord Cornwallis from retreating by land, while M. de Grasse cut off his escape by the sea. From this moment it was openly announced that we were marching upon Yorktown. One must have witnessed such a joyous scene as this to know the pleasure such

news give to the young men who are anxious to come under fire, and to the Generals who, after concerting a plan of campaign, see reasonable prospects of its success. He who may read this journal may easily understand the progressive movement of our Generals, and from the reflections I have permitted myself upon the secrecy which has marked this operation it appears that Lord Cornwallis is in a dangerous situation; but he is an excellent officer, and we can not yet shout victory. The joy is general; our chiefs do not conceal their own, which leads me to argue favorably of the success of this campaign. Chester is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Delaware; it is quite a large place and pretty well built.

Side Note.—The Second Division remained at Philadelphia, which it left on the 6th.

March, 15 miles.

September 6—We marched to Wilmington over a very fine road. On arriving, the creek and village of Brandywine are passed, and next the town is entered. It is in one of the finest situations possible. The houses are very well built. This town is also on the banks of the Delaware. I turned off from the road to see the battle-field of Brandywine. This affair was not a success for the Americans. General Washington, learning that the greater part of the English army had embarked at New York, and a short time after had gone up Chesapeake Bay, concluded that it would land at the Head-of-Elk. He left his position at Middlebrook, in Jersey, and moved by rapid marches towards Clay Creek, in the State of Delaware, between Head-of-Elk and Phila-

delphia; but the enemy advancing upon him in force, he fell back about ten miles, and took a position behind the Brandywine on the heights before the Chad's Ford. The 11th September, 1777, General Howe, at the head of the English army, attacked him. He advanced in two columns; the right, commanded by Gen. Knyphausen, marched straight upon Chad's Ford, and attacked with vigor, as though he intended to force the passage of the ford. Meanwhile Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the left column, moved behind the mountain on the left, passed the two branches of the Brandywine four miles higher up, and followed the road which skirts the river, to fall on the left flank of the Americans. General Washington was only informed at noon of the march of Cornwallis; he at once detached General Sullivan to meet it, with orders to take a position by which he might check it. Sullivan chose an excellent one on a height commanding the road by which the column of Cornwallis came out; he rested his right upon a wood on a height over which ran a road which secured his retreat; he placed a part of his artillery in the centre, in a manner perfectly to sweep the road which leads from Buckingham Church, by which the column of the enemy was approaching. His left was posted along the crest of a hill, below which was a very marshy piece of land, which stopped the artillery which he intended to place there. He was attacked on his arrival; the right column of the English pierced his left flank, and took the artillery on this side, which was not as yet mounted. Cornwallis advanced upon the centre with his troops formed in line of battle,

and threw it into great disorder. The Americans fell back on the woods; the right wing alone kept a firm front until night, when it withdrew behind the same woods, and joined there the remnant of the troops of Sullivan, who had a new position at this point. General Washington, informed of his retreat, effected his own in good order, and marched to Chester, beyond Philadelphia. It seems that the unfortunate turn this affair took for the Americans came from Sullivan's insufficient knowledge of the country, and the short time he had at his disposal. He went astray in his march, and arrived at the same time as the enemy. If he had had time to post his artillery on his left, there is every reason to believe that he would have held his position.

Side Note.—M. de Damas, who remained behind at Philadelphia, and rejoined us at Wilmington, told us that it was difficult to conceive of the effect that the news of the arrival of M. de Grasse produced in Philadelphia; that M. de Luzerne was obliged to show himself to the people; in a word, that the enthusiasm was extreme.

March, 11 miles.

September 7—We marched to Elk Town. Leaving Wilmington the Christiana is crossed. It is evident that the roads, which are good enough now, must be very bad in winter. Elk Town is a small place, and by no means attractive.

Side Note.—March, 20 miles.

September 8—We halted; the Second Brigade joined us. M. de Rochambeau, with Messieurs de Damas and de Fersen, from this day goes in advance, to join the troops disembarked by M. de Grasse. When he left us he said that he could not take us all with him, and gave us the choice to join him by land or to go on by water.

NOTES

BREAK-NECK HILL.—This well-known locality on the Kingsbridge Road took its name from an accident which is thus recorded in the *New York Journal* for June 20, 1795:

"*A Melancholy Accident.*—The evening before last as the Harlem stage was coming down Harlem hills, the horses got masters of their reins on a full gallop, which so alarmed the driver and passengers, that in attempting to get out, one of the passengers and the driver were unfortunately killed on the spot, & several other passengers were much bruised. The names of the men killed—*Joseph Totten*, passenger, formerly a resident of Albany, & *William Baldwin*, the driver; the former of whom has left a wife & four children, the latter a wife & one child."

Some years ago Mr. McGowan, whose ancestors settled on the land now the upper end of Central Park, and gave to the narrow defile on the old post road the designation of McGowan's Pass, described to me this accident.

"These unfortunate men were thrown on their heads, which dislocated or broke their necks, and ever since this sad accident this hill has always borne the name of 'Break-neck Hill.' It was always considered dangerous, especially with farmers, who were going to the city with heavily loaded wagons, but were usually provided with a short wooden runner, on which a wheel was run, and with a strong chain was fastened to the body of the wagon. This wheel thus fastened on the runner was dragged down the hill to the foot, where the road suddenly turned toward the right."

As the origin of local names are of the highest consequence to the historian, I think the above memoranda worthy of preservation in your Magazine.

T. F. DEVOR.

KING WILLIAM IV. A SURROGATE.—When Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV.) landed at Newfoundland as Captain of the *Pegasus* he went on shore as *surrogate* to hold a court. He condemned a man to one hundred lashes (on a Sunday). The man received eighty and could not bear more, and it then turned out that he was the wrong person!—*One Hundred Questions in Canadian History. Montreal, 1880.*

EDITOR.

CONDITION OF THE SIX NATIONS IN 1817.—The Indians in the State of New York, collectively called the Six Nations, have suffered severely during the last winter in consequence of the failure of the last year's crop of Indian Corn—their principal dependence for subsistence. One tribe of 700 persons, who usually raise 7,000 or 8,000 bushels of corn in a season, raised last year not more than 50 bushels, dried in the ordinary way. By boiling the unripe corn, and drying it by the fire, they secured something more. The several tribes receive annuities from the State or United States, but they amount to no more than two or three dollars per man, and are entirely insufficient for procuring them subsistence. They have therefore been dependent on the scanty charity of a few Missionaries and others, for the means of preserving their lives. Their numbers are, respectively, as follows:—Senecas, 200; Cayugas, 100; Onondagas, 700; Tuscaroras, 316; Stockbridge tribe, 4,000. The Oneidas are not numbered.—*American Monthly Magazine, I., 228.*

W. K.

A DROLL EPITAPH.—In the Groton cemetery, Mass., is the following: Mrs. Abigail Kenrick, widow of Cap't Caleb Kenrick, left her pleasant habitation in Newton, & came to her Daughter Dana's in Groton, on account of ye Civil War & Sept. 5, 1775, A. E. 76, was removed by a dysentery, to that place where ye wicked cease from troubling & ye weary are at rest.

Newport.

J. E. M.

COST OF LIVING IN NEW YORK IN 1794. — "The Tontine Coffee-House, under the care of Mr Hyde, is the best Hotel in N. York.

"He sets from 12 to 16 dishes every day.

"He charges for a years board without liquor \$350 to 400.

"Butter in the market is 37½ cts per pound; beef, compared with English beef is poor; turkeys are 62½ cts each; common fowls are 25 cents each. Of 'Albany Beef,' Sturgeon, you can get enough for 12½ cts to feed a family. Oysters are plenty and large. Peaches sell 2 cts for 3 to 6 of them. All ranks of people smoke cigars 6 or 7 inches long. Silver money is plenty, but gold is rarely seen. The population of the City is about 30,000. There are two places of public entertainment in the environs of the City that are much visited in the summer; one is called Belvedere (or Bunker's Hill) and the other Broudlings' Gardens." From a letter written by Dr. Mitchell, September, 1794.

ABRAM HOSIER.

REWARDS FOR INDIAN SCALPS.—Enclosed please find copy of a subscription list to pay for Indian Scalps, in pos-

session of the Maysville and Mason County Library, Historical and Scientific Association.

Subscription for Capt. Campbell's company.—Know all men by these presents, that we, the subscribers, oblige ourselves, our heirs, estates, and administrators, to pay or cause to be paid on demand, the sums of money annexed to our names, unto any person or persons, for every Indian Scalp, killed in Fayette County, or from any Indian followed by their trails out of said county, from the date hereof until the first day of January next. The Scalp being first delivered to the Court of said County, and satisfactory proof made that the Scalp was taken as above directed, shall be sufficient to entitle him or their heirs or assigns to the reward.

March 31, 1788.

	sh		sh
H. Russell	3	Wm. Heath	—
Abe Stout	2	Wm. White	6
Wm. Campbell	3	Henry Conrad	2
John Boyd	3	James Peyton	2
Jas. Fisher	3	Wm. Fry	3
Peter Goodnight	3	John Robinson	2
Enoch Bradford	2	Thos. Brown	2
James Logan	2	Jere. Jonston	1
John Goodnight	3	Henry Fry	2

With the following endorsement on the back:

Gentlemen, please to pay the bearer, William Campbell, the sums annexed to each of your names on the other side of the paper, and his receipt will be good to you, and in so doing you will oblige your humble servant.

WILLIAM GILKINSON.

Dec. 12th, 1788.

In the Centinel of the North Western

Territory, printed in Cincinnati, April 17, 1794, there is also a reward offered for Scalps, within the following bounds : within 10 miles east of the Little Miami ; 10 miles West of the Big Miami ; 25 miles north of where Harmur's trace crosses the Little Miami and the Ohio river on the south ; for every scalp, with right ear appendant, \$136, to any subscribers to the fund ; \$100 to non-subscribers for the first 10 ; for the second ten, \$117 and \$95. Nothing to Federal troops.

W. D. HIXSON.

A WAIF OF 1773.—Though the letter given below is not historical in its character, it may be worthy of republication for reasons given in the note which introduces it. It was printed in the San Antonio Herald in 1859, the remarks on it being by the editor of that paper, to whom I had lent it. I regret that I cannot send the letter itself, or the printed slip in which it is copied. The former, which was then accidentally in my possession, was soon after returned to the place where it belonged, and the latter is pasted in a scrap book ; but I can avouch for the genuineness of the former and the correctness of the latter.

R. M. POTTER.

An Old Letter.—The following letter, whose original, yellow with age, has just been laid before us, is interesting, not so much for the matter it contains, nor even for its early date, as from the fact that it avouches that, so early as 1773, at least one settler from New England, and a Quaker at that, was to be found on the banks of the Mississippi, not far from New Orleans, when Louisiana was a Spanish colony, and our great West an

unbroken wilderness. The place whence the letter is dated is not identified ; but it could not have been far from New Orleans, as the writer had been attending to the business of a vessel (probably the same which had brought out the "venture" he refers to), and it must have been above, for the up-river boats he mentions always ended their voyages at the city. Those from the Ohio and Illinois were probably the batteaux of American and Canadian hunters and peltry traders. What could have led Friend Richard away to what must then have been a remote, mysterious and alien region ? The hand which traced those faded lines has long since turned to dust, and the stray emigrant has gone to a still more distant land, where we trust he has found the untroubled habitation he hoped for.

At my habitation on the Mis.,

Dec. 26th, 1773.

Dear Sister.

Thine by Capt. Whipple of Oct. 28th I received with pleasure to hear that thyself and the rest of my friends are still jogging on with as much satisfaction as this uncertain world is capable of affording. Thee tells me that people wonder at my coming to this wilderness. It is indeed a wilderness at present ; but it is a fine easy country, and I don't see where I could have gone to have done better. It would have been much more agreeable to me to have lived in the place of my nativity, could I have done it upon equal terms. I have here a good living, with a little industry, which is as much as I could have expected in my own country, and as for satisfaction, I thank Divine Providence, I have en-

joyed as much since I have been here as other countries has afforded me.

"Some secret comfort every state attends."

The paths of life are so strewed with disagreeable things that the most happy are not always able to shun them. We see here abundance of different faces, some English, some French, some Spaniards, some Indians. Perhaps at the same time we have boats at our landing from New Orleans, from the Illinois, from Nackatosh, and from the Ohio. Some stop to get a dinner and some to cook their own. We have no near neighbors, none nearer than three miles, and none that we visit nearer than a league and a half; but there is a number coming soon, and it is likely to be settled with much the best people of any part of the river. The lands in our neighborhood is all in very good hands, therefore the regulators and stragglers from the back of the Carolinas cannot get a footing. However thee and I must ere long leave our settlements with all the cares, pleasures, and troubles attending them, and hope we shall be so happy as to find a habitation where trouble cannot enter.

From thy affection brother,
Richard Carpenter.

Shall enclose the account of thy venture with friend Sisson,—receipts for the amount which I hope thee will receive. He appears to be a very worthy man, and has been of very great service in taking care of the family when I have been obliged to be absent on the vessel's account. Present my best respects to Sister Green, Sister Baglum and family,

Sisters Hannah and Betsey, and Sam Collins and spouse.

[Superscribed] to Rebekah Collins
at Newport, Rhode Island.

SPORTSMEN IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—A Fox Hunt. The Gentlemen of the Army, with a number of the most respectable inhabitants of Ulster and Orange, purpose a Fox Hunt on the twenty third day of this instant, where all gentlemen are invited, with their hounds and their horses. The game is plenty, and it is hoped the sport will be pleasant. The place of rendezvous will be at Mr. Samuel Wood's, in New Windsor precinct; where good usage will be given, and an elegant entertainment provided. Camp, near New Windsor, Dec. 3, 1782.—*New York Packet*, Dec. 12, 1782.

PETERSFIELD.

ANCESTRY OF COLONEL JOHN ODELL.—Referring to the January number of the Magazine of American History, and Mr. Campbell's interesting account of Rochambeau's Headquarters in Westchester County, I beg to correct a genealogical error in regard to the ancestry of Col. John Odell.

The progenitor of the Odell family in America was Mr. William Odell, who, with his wife and family, came to Concord, Mass., about 1639. He afterwards removed to Fairfield, Conn., where he died, and his will, dated June 6th, 1676, was proved by his son, John Odell, and his son-in-law, Samuel Moorehouse. Another son of the emigrant was William Odell, Jr., of Rye, N. Y., who married a daughter of Richard Vowles, of Rye, and had three children, one of whom

was John Odell, of Fordham, N. Y., who married Hannah — and had, among other children, a son, John Odell, Jr., of Fordham, who married Hannah Vermilyea, and died leaving a will dated Sept. 25th, 1735 (N. Y. Liber 13, p. 183), in which he mentions his "honored father, John Odell," his wife, Hannah, and his children, John, Isaac, Jonathan, Abraham, Hannah and Altien.

Jonathan Odell, of Greenburgh, N. Y., the third son, married Margaret Dyckman, and died Sept. 23d, 1818, aged 87; his wife died March 20, 1783, aged 51. They had nine children, one of whom was Colonel John Odell, of the Continental army, mentioned in Mr. Campbell's paper.

The writer has carefully verified the statements herein made, and they show that Col. Odell was descended in the line of William,¹ of Fairfield, William,² Jr., of Rye, John,³ of Fordham, John,⁴ Jr., of Fordham, and Jonathan,⁵ of Greenburgh, and that he was the great-great-grandson of William of Rye, and not *grandson*, as stated by Mr. Campbell. This error doubtless had its origin in the very incorrect pedigree of the Odell family in Bolton's History of Westchester Co. This pedigree has been carefully revised and corrected for the new edition, by the undersigned, and will include material never before published.

Yonkers, N. Y. RUFUS KING.

THE NEW YORK EPISCOPATE.—The following interesting historical account of the New York Episcopate is taken from the scholarly address of the Honorable John Jay to the Right Reverend Bishop Potter, on occasion of the presentation

to him, at the Academy of Music in New York, of a casket, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration.

More than two centuries have passed since that Church, in the time of Charles II., was planted in this seat of your episcopate, on the surrender by the Dutch of New Netherlands, with its quaint and rustic New Amsterdam, now this great and still increasing capital.

Its members went hand in hand with those of the Reformed Church of Holland, and with the Huguenots, who blended with their pure faith and heroic blood memories of struggle and suffering for religious freedom. With such brave companionship the Church of England, represented by the parish of Trinity, founded in the reign of William and Mary, assisted to establish King's College, aided by the bounty of Queen Anne, to spread abroad the sound doctrine, the classic culture, and the broad and manly thought which were felt at each step of the revolution, which commanded the admiration of the British senate, and which, in the infancy of the Republic, gave character to its statesmanship, diplomacy and jurisprudence.

When Drs. White and Provost were leaving for England to be consecrated at Lambeth, in 1787, an event pictured on the token prepared for this anniversary, they bore a certificate from the President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, that the business on which they went was consistent with the civil institutions of the American republic.

The certificate was within the mark. No feature of our Church then or since has been inconsistent with our civil or religious liberties. There has been no encroachment on the divine right of the State; no priestly interference with our politics; no perversion of the Church to the amassing of wealth, the attainment of power, the warring of legislation; no attempt to control and dwarf popular education, to stultify or pervert the human intellect, or to arrest the course of modern progress.

From the first day of the episcopate of Bishops White and Provost to this interesting period in your own, our Church, with its sacred mem-

ories extending through the ages to the birth of Christianity, adorned with endless processions of holy men, marked by conflicts for the truth, by warnings and by beacons; pure in doctrine, apostolic in government, simple and majestic in its ritual and liturgy; repressing extravagance on the one hand, and encouraging piety on the other; our Church has been in this Western Republic the faithful guardian of its institutions; and it stands to-day the staunch promoter of national brotherhood, Christian civilization, and constitutional freedom.

Our civil war, the chief event of the quarter century embraced by your episcopate, has given new significance to an incident that associated the prayers of our Church with the commencement of the national government in the historic service at St. Paul's chapel, which was attended by Washington and his associates after his inauguration in Federal Hall. It is a pleasant memory as we enter upon a second century amid the rejoicings of Christian peoples at the preservation of the republic, when unfriendly courts had hoped that we were *in extremis*, and after the sovereign pontiff, assuming our dissolution, had recognized the confederacy and welcomed its envoys. This happy assemblage in your honor, with representatives from all parts of our again peaceful and united country, reminds us how the prayers of Washington and the fathers of the republic were answered in our late troubles, and how idle were the calculations of those who amid the widespread schemings for its destruction failed to recognize with the Psalmist that "the Lord reigneth, be the people never so impatient; He sitteth between the cherubims, be the earth never so unquiet."

EDITOR.

QUERIES

THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN NEW YORK.—I am desirous to obtain all the information possible respecting the early history of the Department of State.

I had supposed that the office of

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when first established was located in the City Hall building in the city of New York. My belief was strengthened by the resolution of Congress of 18th January, 1785, accepting the offer of the Common Council of New York, to give Congress such parts of the City Hall and *other* public buildings belonging to the Corporation as Congress should deem necessary. Congress accepted the several apartments in the City Hall, the whole of which, it was stated (except the Court and Jury room), would be necessary for the Session of Congress and the accommodation of their officers.

Now the very first charge which appears on the book of account of expenditures by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs is the following, January 19, 1785: A cartman for hauling two boxes belonging to the office *from* the City Hall where they had been carried through mistake with the boxes of the Secretary's office, £0, s 4, d 0. I judge from this that Mr. Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, did not have his office in the City Hall, but in some other building.

On the 20th appears the following charge: Laborers for opening rough boxes and carrying the cases contained therein *up stairs*, £0, s 4, d 0.

On the 23d, a woman for sweeping and scrubbing 4 Rooms £0, s 11, d 0.

Judging from the above, the office must have occupied at least four rooms, and they were probably located up stairs—not a principal story. A change appears to have been made in the month of May, 1788, as the book shows that on the 5th May, 1788, Abraham Okie, the messenger to the office, was paid £2,

s 6, d 1, "for removing the office to the Broadway."

On October 2, 1788, a Committee appointed to consider about room for Congress reported, that "the repairs and alterations intended to be made in the buildings in which Congress at present assembles, will render it highly inconvenient for them to continue business therein; that it will therefore be necessary to provide some other place for their accommodation. The Committee having made enquiry find no place more proper for the purpose than the *two* apartments now appropriated for the office of Foreign Affairs. They therefore recommend that the said apartments be immediately repaired for the reception of Congress and the papers of the Secretary." Congress agreed to the report.

On the book of expenditures the following charge appears:

Oct. 3, 1788. By cash paid Anthony Clawson for removing the effects from the old to the new office, £1, s 5, d 0.

On June, 1789, is a charge: Elias Nexen, for office rent from 2d October, 1788, to 1st May, 1789, £40.

From this I suppose that Mr. Nexen owned the building.

The department removed from New York to Philadelphia in 1790. On October 5, 1790, the following charge appears:

By cash paid for carting the effects in the City Hall, that were to go by hand to the office in Broadway, the corporation having required the delivery of the rooms, nine loads, £0, s 14, d 0.

Mr. Jay received salary as Secretary

of State, from and including December 21, 1784, to September 25, 1789.

Any information concerning the building that was occupied by the Foreign Office in those early days will be gratefully received by

JOHN H. HASWELL.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE'S BANKS.—There are extensive and dangerous shoals in the Atlantic Ocean east of Cape Cod and south of the State of Maine. Henry Hudson, on his voyage of 1609, noticed them in his journal, but they must have been known to the early Basque and Breton fishermen. They have been known as George's Shoals or Banks from an early date. When and why was this name applied to them? B.

DUTCH TILES.—When were they first introduced into America? Is there any evidence of their having been used in this country before the year 1700?

NEW AMSTERDAM.

WASHINGTON'S ENGRAVED PORTRAITS.—To the list of Washington Portraits in your February number I wish to add the following:

1. "General Washington" (name of engraver not known). Full length, in uniform, standing in front of a tent, the opening draped on either side, his right hand is in his waistcoat, in his left he holds a roll of documents, on the uppermost ones are inscribed "Declaration of Independence—When," "Treaty of Alliance between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States of America;" on a roll below "Battle of

Monmouth;" on the left a camp-stool, military hat, &c.; at the right a portfolio, with documents, maps, &c., with various inscriptions; under his feet documents inscribed "George III., by the Grace of God of Great Britain King Defender of the Faith," "Protection to Rebels on Submission," &c. At his right stands his horse, held by a negro. The print is colored. Size 10 x 13 inches. (Line).

2. An original miniature, painted on ivory, by "Henry Fullerton, Fect," in profile; oval; size $1\frac{7}{8}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Is there a copy of the engraved portrait in any known collection?

JEREMIAH COLBURN.

Boston, April 10, 1880.

REPLIES.

THE NAME OF DULUTH.—(IV., 180). In Mr. Robertson's article on the Mound-Builders of America for March, 1880, occurs the following passage:

"Just so in later days, the name of the Indian chief Duluth, to whom was committed a century ago the charge of the ill-fated heroine of the American Revolution, Jane McCrea, whose sad story and fate are embalmed in history, song and romance, has reappeared as the name of a thriving town at the extreme western end of Lake Superior, thirteen hundred miles from the scene of the tragedy, and the name comes, I believe, from a local tradition of a local Duluth."

The following information concerning the "original" Duluth may be of interest to Mr. Robertson:

Daniel Greylosen Du Lhut, born at Lyons, France, date unknown; was at

Quebec in 1677; left there in September, 1678, on an exploring expedition to the Sioux country around the headwaters of the Mississippi; took possession of that country in the name of the French king, and built a *trading post on Lake Superior near Thunder Bay*. In 1680, while traveling in the Sioux country, he heard of a white man lower down on the Mississippi, and at once went in search of him. It proved to be Father Louis Hennepin, who, soon after parting with La Salle at the mouth of the Illinois to explore the Mississippi northward, was taken prisoner by the Sioux, and but for the fortunate arrival of Du Lhut, would probably have lost his life among the savages. In 1686 he built a fort where Detroit now stands. In 1687 he headed a body of warriors from about Lake Superior, and, in company with Henri de Tonti and others, joined the French under Denonville against the Iroquois. In 1689 he was at Montreal at the time of the Iroquois invasion, and bore himself in a very heroic manner. In 1695 he was in command of Fort Frontenac. In 1697 he was a captain of Infantry. His death occurred in 1710 while still in the king's service.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Indians, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, were familiar with the name of Du Lhut. I. P. JONES.

Keytesville, Missouri.

ARNOLD AND WASHINGTON FREEMASONS.—(III., 578, 761). In 1860-'1, Mr. Abraham Tomlinson exhibited to the writer, at 52 Wall Street, New York, a Masonic lodge-book, containing minutes of meetings at a place or places up the



North River, not very remote from West Point. There were present as visitors on one occasion two distinguished American officers, whose autographs were recorded in the book, viz :

GEORGE WASHINGTON

BENEDICT ARNOLD (*erased*)

At a later period, by reason of the latter's treason, the lodge may have ordered the usual slight erasure-marks of striking his name from the rolls for cause or expulsion, or it may have been done by "some zealous patriot," as intimated ; but it did not alter the fact of his being there with Washington. Inasmuch as the lodge records were viewed by several persons, the note on p. 148, in Mr. Arnold's Life of General Benedict Arnold, is substantially correct.

HENRY T. DROWNE.

THE FRIGATE AMERICA, 1749.—(IV., 224). I would refer "Kittery" to my article on "Ships of War built at Portsmouth, N. H.," published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1868, for some account of the America, built in 1749. There is also a model of her preserved in the Portsmouth Athenæum, which was presented to that institution by Madame Elwyn, daughter of Governor Langdon. The model is pierced for 44 guns on two decks. She is said to have been built at the north part of the city of Portsmouth on the main land.

GEO. H. PREBLE.

A WASHINGTON RELIC.—(IV., 224). Washington's Gift of a Box to Shenandoah. This is at least the third time that

a query in regard to the existence of this box has gone the rounds of the newspapers—in 1831, 1872, and now. It was thus editorially answered in the *Manlius Repository* of February 22, 1831: "We can find no person who knows such a man as the De Bois above mentioned, nor has our village any Trustees, the charter of Incorporation having run long before 1828. Therefore, from what we can learn, we conclude the box is a fabrication of some of the Boston sharpers." Having resided here over fifty years, I can confidently say there has never been any such box here in that time. H. C. V. S.

Manlius, April 6, 1880.

MACHIAS.—(IV., 222). The name is explained by Dr. Ballard, in his "Geographical Names," p. 12, as from the Indian "*Matcho*," bad, and "*sis*," a diminutive, meaning a "bad small fall," being "probably" applied to distinguish it from a larger fall given miles higher up. QUOD.

— Mr. Kidder's "Military Operations in Eastern Maine," p. 33, says that Alleston & Vines, "traded in the harbors, and established a small trading house at Machias in 1633," which first brings that name into history.

New York.

PEMAQUID.

ANNEKE JANS.—(IV., 222). Holland had had no kings when Anneke Jans came to New Netherland with her mother, consequently her so-called heirs cannot claim King William IV., of Holland, as their ancestor.

Albany.

B. F.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON, WITH NOTICES OF THE ORIGINALS, AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE PAINTERS, by W. S. BAKER. Philadelphia: LINDSAY & BAKER. 1880. Pp. 212. Edition, 500 Copies.

A reliable and exhaustive list of these engravings has long been desired, and the appearance of Mr. Baker's book is hailed with delight by collectors both old and young. They can now refer to the engravings by quoting the numbers only, which are attached to each work, thus saving long descriptions and much confusion. The collection of such portraits become more interesting to the young, who has now a sure guide in his search, and will be equally welcome to the veteran, who may have been often puzzled by the want of any description of the *desiderata* to his collection.

Should the work be properly appreciated, as we feel sure it will be, another edition may be illustrated with outlines of the rarer prints, or the variations in the impressions from one plate. The author has very sensibly issued this edition without plates, which would have enhanced its cost considerably. Up to this time no systematic list had been published, and collectors could only compare their lists or their prints in order to determine what was to be sought for.

The thorough system adopted by the author is most praiseworthy, and is well carried out. The arrangement of the prints in groups, according to the painters of original portraits, is a feature that commends itself at the first glance, and the short notices of the painters are very opportune and interesting. Dunlap had included them in his "History of the Arts of Design in America," and Rembrandt Peale in his lectures named most of them, but neither of these gave any information concerning the numerous engraved portraits which they must have examined.

Tuckerman, in his *Iconography*, the only work on the subject, endeavored conscientiously to collect all the materials he could, and examined all the paintings that were accessible. As an author his style is excellent, but his judgment was not that of an artist, and he extols the oft-repeated Stuart portrait without according their proper merit to some others. He gave no list of engravings, and the plates in his work were costly, while the edition was very limited. The publishers, Messrs. Putnam, might issue another edition of it with good hope of profit thereby.

But to return to Mr. Baker's list. He says, in his Preface, that with two unimportant ex-

ceptions, he has been able to examine all the prints he enumerates. This fact alone is enough to invite attention and inspire confidence in his work, which, coupled with his known experience as a collector and as the author of other similar published lists, leaves nothing to be desired at present.

The patience and perseverance under difficulties, until success had crowned the long and apparently unequal struggle with the mother-country, made Washington the most remarkable man of modern times. His moderated and unselfish ambition place him as the foremost patriot of all time, and it is not remarkable that we should be proud of his fame and jealous of his memory. This has led to the great demand for the portraiture of "the Father of his Country." It is said that his stepson, the late George Washington Parke Custis, had collected over two thousand five hundred different engravings, woodcuts and lithographs, of him, the location of which we cannot ascertain, but probably double that number have been published. It is therefore important, in seeking to gratify the public want, that only the well-attested portraits should be reproduced. Of course, Mr. Baker had to include all the prints that he could find, whether the originals were considered a close likeness or otherwise. He has dealt cautiously with this subject, but we are not yet sure that Stuart's portraits deserve the wide-spread celebrity they have attained. Stuart had but short sittings of him, for the head only, when he was using artificial teeth. He certainly gave too much color to his complexion and a certain flabbiness to the muscles, not indicated in earlier portraits and busts. The retreating but high forehead, so distinctly shown by Houdon, Savage, Trumbull, and Pine, and in all the profiles taken of him, is not indicated by Stuart. Luckily for Stuart, his portraits became the rage, and he painted so many copies of them that his likeness is accepted generally as the best. Looking at it with impartial and cool judgment, we cannot endorse this opinion. Throwing out the indubitably poor likenesses, we believe that the Houdon bust and the Pine portrait best reproduce to our eyes Washington as he appeared shortly after the close of the war. Of his appearance previous to 1785, we have no trustworthy portrait. There is a disposition to heroic exaggeration in the Trumbull and Rembrandt Peale portraits, and the Ceracchi bust, that can be easily detected.

Fifty-six pages of Mr. Baker's work are devoted to the Stuart portraits, under two hundred numbers, and the public favor will probably always be accorded to it, but the difference of

the Stuart portraits from each other excites and invites criticism. In a work recently published on Gilbert Stuart, there are two reproductions of these, and if either one of them is a likeness the other is certainly not so, for they differ very widely. Leaving this question aside for the present, let us take the impartial list and use it as designed by its author.

The prints enumerated are so various in artistic finish that Mr. Baker has perhaps wisely avoided making many remarks on their merit in this respect. At No. 21 we may remark that a similar but less elaborate picture, perhaps like Nos. 22 or 23, by Paon, is hung in the large parlor of Cozzens's West Point Hotel. The late W. n. B. Cozzens received it, we believe, from General Lafayette, who had sent for his son Edward to educate him in France. The forty-five first numbers on Mr. Baker's list were probably all from original or copied portraits by C. W. Peale, and but few collectors have more than half of them. The Alexander Campbell plates, of which seventeen are given, are all rare, having been published a century ago. The Du Simitière profiles are ten in number, and the latest is of 1816. There is one from Dunlap, and twenty-four of the curious Wright portraits are given. Of the Pine portrait the one is very good, the other is a combination portrait, showing no resemblance to the original. Of the Houdon statue or bust, there is no really good engraving among the eleven named.

The postage-stamp profile, a poor caricature of this fine bust, is properly omitted from the list. Of the James Peale portrait, the two plates belonged to the late James Lenox. They are well executed and do credit to the engravers. The next portrait, a profile by Mme. de Bréhan, was engraved in France in 1790; and another plate accompanied the translation into French by himself of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's "Letters from an American Farmer," which appeared in 1782. Burt copied his plate from an impression which once belonged to Washington. We may here perhaps mention the fact that Mme. de Bréhan gave a copy of her miniature to the General, who presented it to his friend Dr. Stewart, with a record of the presentation in his own hand on its back. Mr. George Bancroft found it some years since in the possession of a New York family, and was allowed to have it photographed. It has not, we believe, been engraved. The curious Gulager portrait, painted in Boston for Mr. Breck (not Brick), has only once been engraved.

The Savage portrait is another curious type of the features of Washington, which appear swollen and the eyes are squinting. Mr. Baker describes twenty-three prints of this school, some of which are quite scarce. There is more animation in Trumbull's than in any other portrait. He had to struggle against nearsighted-

ness, but his natural talent as a colorist, and his general accuracy in portrait painting, incline us to value his portrait very highly, and as ranking above Stuart's. Among the twenty-three prints in the list, there is not one that does it justice.

Robertson's type cannot be classed among the good likenesses. It has been engraved only once in the last fifty years. The Ceracchi bust is a semiheroic type, and reminds one of Louis Philippe more than of Washington. It has been engraved twice in this country. Passing over a few others, not of great value, we come to Gilbert Stuart's portrait, of which there are endless copies on copper, steel, wood, and stone. Mr. Baker, as we said before, describes two hundred engravings that he has seen, but we cannot dwell on any of them here. The actual copies of the Boston Athenæum head are, of course, preferable to any others. In the full-length the expression differs, and most of Stuart's own copies are unlike each other. It is perhaps not generally known that one of the full-lengths, painted for Mr. Meade, of Philadelphia, was left by his son in Madrid, and belongs to the American legation. It ought to be brought to this country again. The Athenæum head is best rendered in Marshall's fine engraving, but no good one of a full-length has been published, except Heath's, in which the expression is lost.

There are a few prints from Rembrandt Peale's head, but Peale was very young when he first painted his portrait, and he gradually altered it until he reached an ideal type, which he put on stone twice, the last one being a remarkable production. The Sharpless profile deserves to be re-engraved and published. It confirms the St. Mémin profile, the last of which would make a fine design for the three-cent postage-stamp.

Mr. Baker closes his work with a notice of two *silhouettes*, of several memorial designs of little artistic value, and with a number of fictitious portraits. The memorial which he credits to Tanner, is a third state of the plate which was engraved by J. J. Barralet, who revised No. 217, but whose name is omitted in the Index. The last article, "Statuary," could have been enlarged and made interesting, for Mr. Baker has admitted many engravings from portraits of uncertain origin. He might have also noticed the two Wedgwood medallions, which are not noticed by numismatists. However, we must not ask for too much in this first attempt, which does Mr. Baker much credit, for he has well fulfilled the promise made on the title page.

The work is well printed, and deserves encouragement from all who are interested in this branch of literature.

J. CARSON BREVOORT.

PROGRESSIVE JAPAN, A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE EMPIRE. By GENERAL LE GENDRE. 8vo, pp. 370. New York and Yokohama. C. LEVY, Publisher, 1878.

Probably no living foreigner has ever had the same political influence in the Empires of China and Japan, or such opportunities for a study of their resources, as the distinguished gentleman whose name appears on this volume. Although a Frenchman by birth, and educated in Paris, General Le Gendre [Charles W.] is by inclination, by adoption, and by long meritorious services and honorable wounds, a citizen of the United States. One of those young foreigners whose sympathies were for liberty, while his blood stirred at the sound of arms, he enlisted as Major in the 51st New York Volunteers, was severely wounded in the face at Roanoke, promoted Lieutenant Colonel, then Colonel, again badly hurt at the battle of the Wilderness, and finally breveted Brigadier General after four years of arduous and brilliant service. During the intervals of active campaigning, while engaged in recruiting service, under surgical treatment for his wounds, his active mind was engaged in the study of the important problems suggested by it, and he submitted to the Government an admirable plan for the organization of the blacks, which, if adopted, might have averted many of the difficulties which at present attend the negro question. He proposed the districting of the colored men into commanderies under white officers in the beginning, their own officers later, thus forming a mixed military organization for protection and labor. Sir George Campbell, in his recent volume on White and Black, has noted the readiness with which the negroes fall into military ways, and their superiority in discipline and drill over their white neighbors.

At the close of the war, 1866, General Le Gendre was appointed Consul to Amoy, where he at once displayed his administrative ability and rectitude of character by a thorough reform of the office, into which innumerable abuses had insensibly crept. He needed no Civil Service reform commission to instruct him in his duty. In 1867 a French coolie ship which was chartered to an American reached Amoy with her illicit cargo. The American captain was instantly arrested by Consul Le Gendre, punished by fine and imprisonment, and the coolie trade definitively broken up. The same year an American barque was wrecked on the coast of Formosa, and her crew murdered by the lawless pirates which infest this island. The captain of an English man-of-war attempted to interfere, but was driven off. The instant the news reached Amoy General Le Gendre, after the failure of a United States marine expedition against the murderers, took the matter into his own hands,

visited Foochow, and obtained a Chinese gunboat from the Viceroy; with this, and the co-operation of the local officers, an expedition was raised, which he accompanied; the Formosans were brought to terms by the vigor of the military movement, an agreement concluded, and amicable terms established with the Formosans. While on this expedition the General made a large collection of fossils, minerals, and other specimens, which he afterwards deposited in the Museum of Natural History, New York (Central Park). After six years of service and unremitting study of the Chinese Empire, his name was sent in to the Senate by President Grant as Minister to Buenos Ayres, and he left Amoy to return home. On his departure the foreign residents of Amoy sent a cheque for five hundred pounds to the New York Chamber of Commerce, to be invested in a testimonial of their regard.

Meanwhile, in 1871 a Japanese crew, wrecked on the coast of Formosa, had been murdered by the inhabitants, and Japan had resolved on punishment. At Yokohama, on his way to the United States, General Le Gendre was informed of this purpose, and at the instance of the American Minister to Japan was induced to remain over a steamer to advise with himself and the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs. Shortly after this first interview he was requested to take service with the Government of the Mikado; he at first declined, but was finally induced to accept the appointment. This was in 1872, since which period he has been regularly employed in the Japanese service. In his intervals of leisure, with untiring patience and industry, he has made a careful study of the condition of Japan, which has already made a progress in the arts of Western civilization unparalleled by any other Eastern nation. The result is the volume before us. From it we extract the following observations:

The civilization of Japan has been the work of her aristocracy. Her people as a whole, the husbandmen and traders, in that passive existence to which they have been trained for a thousand years, are ignorant of the change in the political fabric. In 1867 there was an administrative revolution in Japan which took from the nobles the temporal power, brought back the direction of affairs to the Mikado, and restored the ancient freedom of the people. The Mikado, it must be remembered, by the mechanism of the Japanese Government, is a sacred personage, the source of all authority. In the lapse of time the Government had degenerated into a bureaucracy under the direction of the Daimios. In 1875 a more radical reform was adopted, the Mikado establishing, by a decree, two legislative houses, which in fact were little more than government bureaux. Practically the system now in force is that of uncontrolled absolutism. The General considers that those to whom the Mikado delegated the power to estab-

lish the new order have done well. The privileges of the aristocracy have been curtailed, torture abolished, woman emancipated, agriculture, manufactures and commerce, before despised occupations, raised to honor, public schools established, railroads and telegraphs built—in a word, a Western civilization introduced, set led and progressive.

In addition to this exhaustive view of the Empire, the indefatigable editor supplies numerous extensive statistical tables. One, a marvel of industry, displays in parallel columns the territorial divisions, their population, husbandry and taxation, agriculture, forests, fisheries, manufactures, viz., tea, tobacco, wood articles, drugs, medicines, food, paper, oil and wax, porcelain and pottery, nets, ropes, mattings, &c., curios, silk and cotton manufactures, and mines and quarries, showing an annual value of 428,668,316 *yens*, the *yens* being about the equivalent of a dollar in value. The work has had an unprecedented sale for a work of this character, and the first edition is exhausted, having been chiefly taken up by the Japanese and English. We commend it to all having relations with the Far East.

A HISTORY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. With Biographical Sketches of the Secretaries. By L. D. INGERSOLL. 8vo, pp. 612. FRANCIS B. MOHUN, Washington, 1880.

The author, in his preface, while acknowledging his use of published official reports and documents, and his obligations to the General of the army, the chiefs of the various staff departments at Washington, and the chief clerks of all the bureaux of the War Department, distinctly presents his history to the public as a purely unofficial work, entirely the author's private essay. Divided into two parts, the first embraces a general narrative, in which the organization of the department, its official labors during the last war with Great Britain and that with Mexico, its subsequent history, are treated of, together with special chapters on its Buildings, Bureaus, and Indian affairs. The second part contains a series of concise, well-digested biographical sketches of the Secretaries, from Gen. Knox, Washington's first Secretary, to George W. McCreary, the thirty-third and present incumbent. An appendix gives rosters of the subdivisions of the department. Two fine steel illustrations show the old War Department building and the present magnificent State, War, and Navy Department building.

The book is written in narrative style, and may be classed with what are now termed popular as distinguished from technical histories. The general reader need not, therefore, be restrained by the title. It is full of historical information, conveyed in an attractive manner.

The author's judgments are cool and impartial, and his moderation in condemnation most commendable.

ESSAYS FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. 12mo, pp. 482. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

No more welcome volume has appeared for many a day than this excellent selection from the publications of this famous Review, which was for many years at the very head of American periodicals, and a worthy exponent of our thought and scholarship; and we trust that the enterprising and public-spirited editor will find encouragement to follow up this excellent beginning. Of the present selections Mr. Rice claims that they "represent the growth of native thought and scholarship in the United States, from the close of the second war with Great Britain down to the close of the great civil war." That the pages of the North American Review show this none will deny; nowhere may this progress be better noticed—but this selection is not a proof of it. The essays written by Irving, Cushing, and Emerson, from 1832 to 1838, show quite as ripe a thought and scholarship as those by Curtis and Lowell thirty years later. Twelve essays are given from the pens of Prescott, Cushing, Emerson, Bancroft, Motley, Irving, Adams, Longfellow, Curtis, Parkman, Lowell, and Holmes; they are all gems; of different but equal brilliancy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE; THE OLD ENGLISH PERIOD. By BROTHER AZARIAS [of the Brothers of the Christian Schools]. 12mo, pp. 210. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

The author announces this volume to be the first of a series of three intended as class books. This is a modest envoi of one of the most interesting, instructive, and it is not too much to add, fascinating works that have appeared in this prolific year of American literature. In it are traced the growth and development of Old English thought, as expressed in Old English Literature, from the first dawnings of history down to the Norman Conquest. The impulse to language and literature is sought and found in the manners and customs of the people.

With a richness of illustration which shows an intimate acquaintance with the whole range of early Welsh, Saxon, Celtic and Scandinavian literature, from the poem of Beowulf, the paraphrase of Caedmon, to the Christian songs of Cynewulf and the monkish stories of the Venerable Bede, the learned author never loses sight of the canon of criticism, which he proclaims in his preface, that in the literature of every people there is a part common to the human race, a part

common to cognate races, a part borrowed from one of these races, and the residue the people's own.

Most interesting is the admirable chapter on the condition of woman among the Teuton races, as Tacitus found them, and as they appear in the Sagas of the North. The closing chapters relate the influence of the Norman, and prepare the way for the second volume, which will open with the Conquest. We seek in vain for words of sufficient praise.

A CHAPTER OF AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY. By EDWARD D. NEILL [from the New Englander for July, 1879]. 8vo, pp. 471 to 486.

In these pages an elaborate account is given of the caves of Eleuthera, an island about twenty-eight miles distant from San Salvador, where Columbus first landed on the Western hemisphere. To these caves the first independent church of the Somers Island, or Bermudas, retired to avoid persecution. The royalist authorities of the distant settlement would not submit to the authority of Parliament, and, safe in their distance from home, expressed detestation of the execution of Charles the First, and declared, July 5, 1649, for Charles, Prince of Wales, as their rightful sovereign. All protection was withdrawn from those who did not conform to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and the Independents of Bermuda went into exile at Eleuthera. Here they were aided and comforted by supplies and counsel from the New England Puritans. Later the severity of Charles the Second increased the number and spirit of the non-conformists at Bermuda, who in 1663 sent a vessel with supplies to their old friends. In 1669 William Sayle, the founder of Eleuthera, was commissioned Governor of Carolina. With his departure the sketch closes.

MONO-METALISM AND BI-METALISM; OR, THE SCIENCE OF MONETARY VALUES. By J. B. HOWE. 16mo, pp. 206. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

Attention has already been called in these pages to two previous works on the money question by this author: "Political Economy in the Use of Money" [II., 765], and "Monetary and Industrial Fallacies" [III., 66]. In the first of these notices the difficulty was pointed out of arriving at any mutual understanding without an agreement upon the precise meaning of the terms of the argument. The same difficulty arises in the preliminary statement made by Mr. Howe in the preface to the present essay, which he admits is "based upon the theory that no money, not even gold or silver, has, or by any

possibility can have, so far as it is money, any commodity or mercantile value whatever." But it has a commodity value—it is sold by weight and fineness quite independently of its stamp. In the colonial days, for instance, when the American cities were full of clipped and debased coins, Spanish, Mexican, French, Dutch, and English, every merchant carried his scales and weighed them out. In our custom houses to this day coins are weighed. In Hamburg, where every known coinage abounds, they are measured in every transaction, and the result cast in a fictitious money of account, the *marc-banco*, which has not even an existence except as a name of value. The essay before us applies the author's unit or conventional theory to the question of the single or double standard. The most curious chapter in the book is that which explains the author's theory that "gold is an abstract monetary unit to all the other commodities in the world, silver excepted; and silver is an abstract monetary unit to all commodities in the world, gold excepted." This may be true, and if true important, were there any mode of ascertaining the precise quantities of commodities and the precise quantities of precious metals, and thus establishing a ratio; but this is not the case, and the quantities of each are constantly varying, both in sum and ratio.

The measure of value is a different thing from value itself—the bank metal is commodity, the stamp affixed by government makes it money; when depreciated to any extent by abrasion, it no longer passes at its stamped value—commodities will not be exchanged for it except at an increased price—Government must take it in, or it becomes discredited. When it is needed for export to correct the balances of trade, it is bought as a commodity. It is only money in the country where it is coined; it must be re-coined in a foreign country to become money in it. But why pursue a discussion where the disagreement on the meaning of terms is so radical?

THE SUNRISE KINGDOM; OR, LIFE AND SCENES IN JAPAN, AND WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN THERE. By MRS. JULIA D. CARROTHERS. 12mo, pp. 408. PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION, Philadelphia, 1879.

Seven years of missionary life of an earnest woman are embraced in these pages, which are full of interest to a far wider circle than she intended to address. It would be hard to find a chapter of human history more striking than that which tells of the entrance of Japan, in little more than a quarter of a century, to the ranks of civilized nations, or it is more correct to say the brotherhood of nations. The Japanese are the Yankees of the East, a race in some respects of a standard not so high intellectually as the Chinese, but which has shown itself much more

amenable to outward impressions, and ready to accept and apply to themselves the results of foreign science.

Mrs. Carrothers is an excellent observer, and gives an admirable account of the natives and their mode of life. She thoroughly appreciates their characteristics and qualities. She says of them that they are a cultivated people, with disciplined minds, and that science and religion go hand in hand with them; and she generously confesses that the missionaries have to strain every nerve to equal the native schools. The book is full of appropriate illustrations.

AS TO KEARSAGE MOUNTAIN AND THE CORVETTE NAMED FOR IT. 32mo, pp. 56. Printed by the REPUBLICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION, Concord, N. H., 1879.

In Johnson's Cyclopædia, recently published, Mr. G. V. Fox, late Assistant Secretary of the Navy, states that the famous vessel which sunk the Alabama in 1864 was named in honor of Kearsage Mount, a conspicuous mountain in Carroll County, N. H., and that the claim put forward that it was named after another peak of the same name in Merrimac County, N. H., formerly called Kya-Sarga, is erroneous. *Hinc illa lachryma*. The men of Concord chafe under this assumption and this pamphlet vindicates her claim to the original Simon pure Kearsage. The venerable Whittier, who sang of the pines of Kearsage in "The Drovers," comes to the rescue, and writes to the author of this "defense" that it was to the Merrimac Kearsage that he tuned his lyre. This should settle the question.

ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING OF THE DESCENDANTS OF COLONEL THOMAS WHITE OF MARYLAND, HELD AT SOPHIA'S DAIRY, ON THE BUSH RIVER, MARYLAND, JUNE 7, 1877. Including papers read on that occasion, together with others referred to, and since prepared. [Large paper] 4to, pp. 40. Philadelphia, 1879.

This elaborate volume contains five distinct papers, namely, I., a sketch of Col. White's life, by William White Willbank; II., a biographical notice of Bishop White and his descendants, by J. Brinton White; III., a short biography of Mrs. Robert Morris, Col. White's daughter, by Charles Henry Hart; IV., the English ancestor of Col. Thomas White, by Joseph Lemuel Chester, with an introduction by Reed; V., a table of the descendants of Col. White, by Thomas Harrison Montgomery.

Mr. Hart's paper has already been noticed. Col. Chester's paper is of considerable interest, and unusually thorough; Bishop White's Church of England ancestry and attachments are well

shown. Until Col. Chester undertook the task, nothing definite was known of the ancestors of the distinguished prelate and friend of Washington beyond his father and mother. The pedigree was finally found and recorded in the volume containing the Herald's Visitation of Buckinghamshire in 1634. In it are the name and descendants of John White, of Hulcote, in the County of Bedford, the birthplace of Bishop White. It is here shown to have been a High Church and Jacobite family.

Col. Thomas White was a good American Whig, as is shown by a letter still extant, in which he attaches a condition to an order sent to England for a watch and some Irish linen sheeting, "not if the stamp act be unrepealed." Mr. Montgomery mentions the names of numerous families descended from or allied to that of White: Ambler, Aspden, Atterbury, Barnard, Biddle, Bird, Bolton, Brinton, Bronson, Brooke, Chew, Downes, Dulany, Egerton, Fisher, Francis, Garretson, Hull, Harrison, Heath, Hewlings, Kane, Key, Leigh, McHenry, Macpherson, Marshall, Montgomery, Morris, Nixon, Paca, Presbury, Ramsay, Reid, Rodgers, Shoemaker, Stark, Utie, Van den Heuvel, Wilson, and Wiltbank.

A-SADDLE IN THE WILD WEST; A GLIMPSE OF TRAVEL AMONG THE MOUNTAINS, LAVA BEDS, SAND DESERTS, ADOBE TOWNS, INDIAN RESERVATIONS AND ANCIENT PUEBLOS OF SOUTHERN COLORADO, NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA. By WILLIAM H. RIDEING. 16mo, pp. 165. (Appleton's New Handy Volume Series.) D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

Here is a bright, readable sketch of personal experience, by a gentleman who rode some four thousand miles a-saddle in New Mexico, Arizona, Southern Colorado, Nevada and Eastern California, accompanying Lieutenant George M. Wheeler on the geographical and geological surveys and explorations west of the one hundredth meridian, during the last two years. The story is not burdened with technical terms or scientific observations, but records the wild and picturesque Western wilds and some of the pleasant incidents of camp life. Happy the youth that can thus begin life, with just enough excitement to keep the blood active, of exercise to keep the form strong, and an instructive companion to give an intellectual zest to bodily labor. There are some thrilling stories of hairbreadth escapes from savages in unexpected ways, and some graceful and graphic descriptions of natural scenery, &c.; that of the miraculous mesa country, or table land, in Northern Arizona, is strange as a story of Sir John Maundeville.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Vol. IV

JUNE 1880

No. 6

THE HUDSON RIVER AND ITS EARLY NAMES

THE vast streams of this Western Continent flowed over a nameless course during that mysterious past whose secrets we would so gladly unveil. There are rivers on the globe, like the Jordan, the Euphrates, the Nile, the Tiber, which are known to have borne during thousands of years the names they bear to-day. But this Western hemisphere, shrouded in mystery, has no primeval names to repeat to us for the noble streams flowing from its heart. The wild races, succeeding each other on their banks, no doubt gave temporary names to different portions of the greater streams, changing them with the succeeding conquest or flight of each tribe. The rivers of this Continent appear to have been of less importance to the people roaming along their banks than the streams of the Eastern hemisphere have been, even from remote ages, to the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. The ancient Western tribes were not a seafaring race. There were no Argonauts among them; there were no sea-kings to lead their clans afloat. Short voyages from isle to isle, from continent to Gulf Island, made up their nautical life. Apparently they seldom moved in large fleets. Their great migrations were nomadic, by land, in armed tribes, like those of Central Asia in the Middle Ages. Their largest semi-civilized towns, when first discovered by the white race, were not found on the sea-coast at the mouth of great rivers. They were built rather in the mountain fastnesses, like Mexico, or Cuzco, or in the depths of the forest, like Palenque. The recently-discovered ruins in Arizona and New Mexico, "whose memorial has perished with them," were not found at the mouth of the Colorado or the Gila, but clinging to the cliffs in gloomy cañons. Thus much we seem to see dimly through the mists which hang over the unwritten past. The greatest rivers of this wonderful hemisphere appear to have flowed over a grand, lonely course to the ocean during thousands of years.


The names these streams bear to-day they have received, as a general rule, from the European race. The Mississippi may be an exception.

The Father of Waters would seem to have been known to many tribes by names more or less similar to that which it bears to-day. It is no doubt true—happily true—that very many of the streams of North America bear Indian names. But these have very generally been given to them by the whites, and were borrowed from the tribes living on their banks at the date of the discovery. The waters received the names of the clans hunting on their shores. The red people had no doubt names of their own for some of the streams in which they fished, but it is probable that these were applied to certain reaches only of the rivers most familiar to them. For some of the important lakes the Iroquois certainly had names of their own, for instance, Caniaderi-Guarunté, or, *The lake gate of the country*, for what is now Lake Champlain, and Andiatarocté, or, *Here the lake closes*, for Lake George. These significant phrases, as applied to those waters, have been clearly ascertained. When explorers and colonists crossed the ocean they gave, as a rule, the names of the wild tribes to the rivers on which they met them. Very few received European names. The exceptions on the Atlantic coast number just half a dozen; the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the James, the Ashley and the Cooper. Of these only one, the Hudson, recalls the discoverer.

Strictly speaking, however, Hendrick Hudson, as the reader will remember, could not claim the full honors of a discoverer. The marine flag of France, blue at that period, had passed the Narrows nearly a century earlier than that of Holland. Let us briefly recall that episode of our history—it is a pleasant one in its way. In the spring months of the year of grace, 1524, the good ship Dolphin, or more accurately, the Dauphine—*la Delfina*—under French colors, and commanded by John da Verrazano, the Florentine, came sailing northward along the mysterious coast of the new continent. After coasting the sandy shores, noting the wild people with their dark complexions, thin, scanty garments of dressed skins and feathers, the grand old forests, the vines, the flowers, Verrazano came at length to a hilly region: “A very pleasant situation among small, prominent hills—*piccoli colli eminenti*—through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river any ship, heavily laden, might pass with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river we found the country well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with

the feathers of birds of different colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty, or more, of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."

Here we have, without doubt, the earliest sketch, by a European hand, of the mouth of one of the most important rivers of the country. The sketch is brief, simple, but pleasing and accurate. The stream was remembered by Verrazano as the "River of the Steep Hills," for thus the Italian words *colli eminente* have been translated, and the name is justly descriptive, not only of the abrupt cliffs we call the Palisades, but may well be applied to the entire river, which, rising among the Adirondack Mountains, reflects the Helderberg, the Catskills or Outiora of the Iroquois, the Tachgaine, the Shenandoah, the Highlands, and many a fine, bold hill from its sources to its mouth. Verrazano, in his letters to King Francis, had a great deal to say about the shores, the wild people, the forests, the fruits, the flowers; he declared that he had explored 700 leagues of coast, moving from a southern latitude northward, but strange to say, the "River of the Steep Hills" is the only stream he mentions. He is said to have made a second voyage, with the view of colonizing the country. His fate, however, is very doubtful; beyond the fact that he disappears from the fleet of navigators, two or three years after this voyage, little is accurately known. His letter to Francis I. was dated at Dieppe, July 8th, 1524. In 1529 a map appeared, drawn by his brother Jerome, from the navigator's charts, and on this map, at the mouth of the River of the Steep Hills, we find the name of "San Germano." The Palace of St. Germain was a favorite residence of the king, and it may have been within its walls that the first rude charts were laid before Francis. The Verrazano Map is indeed covered with French names, strung along what is now our own coast. They are names taken, as Mr. Da Costa has observed in his interesting article on the Verrazano Letter (*Magazine of American History*, Feb., 1878), from towns either connected with King Francis, his mother, his wife, or those which lay along the route between Dieppe and Bordeaux, the seaports of



France between which Verrazano had probably often traveled. What is now Block Island was named *Luisa*, after Louisa of Savoie, the king's mother. Here then, in connection with Verrazano and his discoveries, we find the first two, of a long series of names, in different languages, applied to this noble river.

The year following the voyage of Verrazano, 1525, the Spaniard, Gomez, is said to have sailed along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, and on a chart purporting to give his discoveries, we find the name "San Antonio," at the mouth of the river just seen by the Florentine.

This early voyage of Verrazano left no lasting traces beyond the letter to King Francis, and the navigator's charts. The letter was probably seen by very few individuals. And the charts were no doubt carefully guarded. Secrets of State were at that period involved in every exploring voyage. Verrazano had sailed by stealth, as it were, and in spite of Spanish intrigues. Had he lived colonization might have followed, on the shores of the "San Germano." But his death naturally retarded any decided movement of the kind; and the discovery of the vast St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier, ten years later, confirming the idea that a passage might be found through the new continent to Asia, attracted French colonization to more northern latitudes. The condition of France was very much disturbed during the remaining years of the reign of Francis I., and towards the close of the century, when the persecuted Huguenots looked across the Atlantic for refuge, their colonies gathered farther to the southward.

A century passed away. The River of the Steep Hills flowed onward to the ocean, with none but savage men on its banks. Civilized Europe knew nothing of the waters of the San Germano, or San Antonio. Doubtless the wild people preserved vague traditions of their wonderful visitors, men with white skins, in boats with wings, but several generations passed away, and no pale-faces appeared in their waters. There is no record of any European vessel having passed the Narrows until nearly a hundred years after the brief visit of Verrazano, and the Delfina.

When another century opened, then came the first rude stage of the grand movement of civilization. The *Haalve Maan*, a yacht of forty tons burden, bearing the colors of the Netherlands, and under a bold English skipper, came sailing along the coast in the summer of 1609. Her object was that of every other exploring vessel sailing westward at that day—seeking a passage to Cathay. Moving northward from the Chesapeake in the last days of August, her commander, Hendrick

Hudson, came in latitude 40° to "a very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The description is very like that of Verrazano: "The land is very pleasant, and high, and bold to fall in with." Finding what he believed to be the mouths of "three great rivers," he entered a fine harbor, and anchored in latitude 40° 30'—just within Sandy Hook—and saw "many salmon and mullets, and rays very great." The next day, Friday, September 4th, they moved farther into the outer harbor, and "caught ten great mullets, and a ray as great as four men could haul into the ship." The same day the wild people came on board the Half Moon. "They wore loose deerskins, well dressed, and feather mantles, and skins of divers sorts of good furs. . . . They had yellow copper and red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they did wear about their necks." It is singular that the coast tribes had these copper ornaments among them; all those red and yellow pipes, and neck ornaments, must have come from the copper region far towards the setting sun, possibly trophies of war, or perchance the result of a rude traffic. "They had great store of maize whence they made good bread." They offered green tobacco and hemp to the strangers. A boat's crew landed, went into the woods, and saw "great stores of very goodly oaks, and some currants." These last were probably whortleberries; currants ripen earlier. "The land was very pleasant with grass, and flowers, and goodly trees, and very sweet smells came from them." One can fancy those rough old sea-dogs, English and Dutch, gazing up at the "many tall and goodly oaks," which so greatly excited their admiration, and then perchance stooping to pick a "posy," some gay-colored autumn flower, a golden-rod, a michaelmas daisy, or a speckled jewel. The first Sunday, September 6th, was sadly marked by bloodshed; two canoes of Indians, one with fourteen men, the other with twelve, attacked the boat's crew; an Englishman was killed by an arrow "shot into his throat." Several days of watchfulness followed. The readiness with which this coast tribe attacked the wonderful strangers would suggest the idea of previous encounters, in which they may have been successful in repelling the pale-faces. It was not until another week had passed, Sunday, September 13th, that the Half Moon began slowly to work her way through the Narrows into the upper bay. A fleet of twenty-eight log canoes came to visit them, bringing oysters and beans. They had "great pipes of yellow copper, and earthen pots to dress their meat in," and "great store of very good oysters." The Half Moon was now fairly in the river—the noble, nameless stream. It was a "mile wide, full of fish, with high land on each side." The wind was

light, the sky clear, the weather warm—the kind of weather we often have at the same season. Of the thirty-one days Hudson was in the river, twenty-eight are noted as “fair weather,” or “fair and hot,” or “hot and sun shining.” Of two the weather is not recorded. Only one, the last day, was stormy.

On the 15th of September they passed beneath mountains—the Highlands—and on the upper river they found “very loving people, and very old men, and were very well used.” And still they had the same brilliant autumn weather, “very fair, sun shining, and hot.” The people came flocking aboard, bringing pumpkins, tobacco, grapes, maize, otter skins, and beaver skins. Hudson was greatly pleased with the country; “as pleasant a land as one need tread upon, very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for ship-building, and for making large casks, and vats.” Again the abundance of fish is mentioned, the waters were teeming with them, many of very large size. One can imagine the small craft, somewhat rusty, somewhat uncouth in mould and rig, with its mixed crew of rough old sea-dogs, as it moved with wary soundings cautiously up the broad river, under a blue sky, or lay at anchor in the brilliant star-light or moon-light nights. Doubtless Master Hendrick Hudson, and his mate, Robert Juel, must have had many private talks on the grand object of their voyage, the passage to Cathay, which seemed to be ever receding, the farther they advanced. In latitude $42^{\circ} 18'$, September 18th, Hudson made a visit ashore to “an old chief who lived in a house of well-constructed oak bark, circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize and beans of last year’s growth, and there lay near the house, for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste with shells, which they got out of the water.” Such was the first grand banquet on the banks of the river where Delmonico is now the *cordon bleu*. “The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon; it also abounds in trees of every description.” Well might the trees of the forest strike the explorer; grand massive old trunks, gray, branchless columns fifty feet in height stood on every side, while above a noble canopy of foliage rose some twenty or thirty feet higher. The great variety among the trees was

remarked. The general effect of this variety was noted by the shrewd adventurers; to-day we are told by the botanist, that while in central Europe there are some forty species of trees reaching thirty feet in height, in North America we have one hundred and forty species of that height. "The natives are a very good people," continues Hudson, "for when they saw I would not remain they supposed I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows they broke them in pieces, and threw them in the fire." This circular house, where the captain of the Half Moon was feasted, must clearly have stood near the ground now occupied by the city of Hudson. The Half Moon went but two leagues above that point. The yacht was now among the islands and shoals of the upper river, and although a good pilot might have taken her higher, Hudson evidently feared to proceed farther. A boat's crew was sent to sound and explore above. And meanwhile the skipper returned the hospitality of the Mohegans by giving them their first taste of the fatal *fire water*. This is the first recorded instance in which that fatal poison, the treacherous bane of the red race, was offered by civilized men, calling themselves Christians, to the savages of that region. At a later day both Dutch and English traders fattened upon the bodies and souls of the red men by selling them the *fire-water*. The savages of this part of America knew absolutely nothing of intoxicating liquors, until they met the Europeans. One of the warriors became intoxicated; his companions were utterly perplexed, and very uneasy; they probably believed him to be under some incantation; they went ashore "and brought him stropes of beads, some had six, seven, eight, nine and ten, and gave him." With these belts of wampum they no doubt intended him to purchase his release from the evil spell laid upon him. The next day, however, when they found he had recovered from this temporary insanity, the red people made a solemn oration to Hudson; showing him the land around with their usual graceful dignified gestures, they apparently offered him the alliance of their people, sealing a sort of treaty, according to their custom, with belts of wampum, and a feast of venison, dressed by themselves.

But where was the passage to Cathay? This grand object of more than a hundred voyages had not yet been discovered; there was a perpetual mirage hanging over the Western Hemisphere, ever luring the explorer onward and ever receding. The beautiful nameless river, which the Half Moon had ascended, offered no clue to the mystery. The boat's crew returned, after proceeding some eight or nine leagues higher up the stream, reporting the water too shoal for the yacht. It

has been supposed by some writers that the Dutch vessel went as high as Albany. But this would seem very improbable, since at that season of the year, in warm and dry weather, as was the case throughout Hudson's progress up the stream, the same yacht which it was thought unsafe to carry over a bar at Sandy Hook, "in ten fathom water," would scarcely have attempted the shoals of the Overslaugh, without grounding. There can be little doubt that the craft lay very near her anchorage in $42^{\circ} 18'$, while the boat went eight or nine leagues higher, probably to Castle Island, just below Albany. Some persons have supposed that the town of Half Moon, at the forks of the Mohawk, derives its name from the fact that Hudson, in his boat, reached that distance above Albany; but the idea is incorrect. "Haalve Maan" was the name given by the early Dutch colonists to the natural meadows on the western bank of the river, from the crescent-like form of the ground, the hills sweeping round the level land in a semi-circle.

Monday, September 23d. At noon of a brilliant day the Half-Moon weighed her anchor, and began to descend the stream. Much as he liked the looks of the country, Hudson must no doubt have been disappointed that he had failed to find a channel westward. And yet, had he but known the fact, he had actually reached the point whence a commerce fraught with the most precious treasures of a vast continent, gold, silver, grain, in addition to treasures from Cathay also, should rush eastward, over an iron road, impelled by the magician steam! What a wild dream he would have deemed it, could he have seen, some moonlight night, from the deck of his yacht, lying at anchor in latitude $42^{\circ} 18'$, the vision of a train of a hundred cars, led by the giant gnome, the locomotive, sweeping over the silent river towards the Atlantic!

Twelve days later, October 4th, the Half Moon came out of "the great mouth of the great river," and "steered off into the main sea, on a direct course towards England." When Hudson returned to Amsterdam with the report of his voyage, he spoke of the fine river he had explored as the "Manhattes, from the name of the people who dwelt at its mouth." Commerce soon followed the explorer. The Half Moon never returned, but was wrecked at the Island of Mauritius. But in 1610 a Dutch ship, freighted with goods to suit the savages, anchored in the bay, at the mouth of the "river of the Manhattes," and from that date a succession of the small, uncouth, but strong and serviceable craft in favor among the early explorers and commercial adventurers of the period, showed themselves in the waters of the "Great River of the Manhattans"—the Little Fox, the Nightingale, the Little Crane, the

Tiger, the Fortune, passed the Narrows. In 1613, Adrian Block, and his comrades, wintered in the country, building themselves rude huts, probably of bark, for shelter. It was in consequence of the discoveries made by Block and his companions, in 1614, that the new country first received a civilized name in the charter granted the "New Netherland Company" in 1616, and at the same period the "Manhattans River" having been fully explored, received the legal name of "De Riviere van den Vorst Mauritius." That great military genius, Prince Moritz, was then Stadtholder, and the idol of his countrymen, his whole life having been a series of battles, sieges and victories. He was in the full vigor of life and talent, when Hudson with the "Haalve Maan" entered the grand stream. The English, only a few years earlier, had given the name of King James I. to a fine stream in Virginia. It was very natural that the New Netherlands Company should give the name of their Stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange, to the river whose banks they were about to colonize. The same stream, however, was often spoken of as the "Groote Riviere," the "Noordt Riviere," "the River of the Manhattans," and the "Rio de Montague." The name of Hudson was never, at any time, connected with its waters by the Dutch. In 1624, De Laet wrote his "New World, or Description of the West Indies," and, at that date, he distinctly says that "the Great North River of the New Netherlands, was by some called the Manhattes River, from the people who dwelt near its mouth, by others also Rio de Montague, or River of the Mountain; by some also Nassau, but by our own countrymen it was generally called the 'Great River.'" By this time the river had been thoroughly explored as far as the mouth of the Mohawk. A regular traffic with the different tribes on its banks had begun; Mohegan and Mohawk, Tappaen and Munsee, brought their peltries to the pale faces. The rude trading boats passing to and fro, had already noted and named the different reaches, or *raches*, in the stream, its islands, and some of the hills on its banks, from Manhattas to Beverwyck. "Antoine's Neus," in the Highlands, recalled the prominent nose of a worthy citizen. Secretary Antoine de Wooga, well known at Rensselaerwyck. Pollepel Island reminded them of the waffle-ladle, which the good wife at home brandished so skillfully. Beeren Island was noted for the number of bears found there. The Martelaer's Rack, or Martyr's Reach, was a short but critical reach in the stream, near West Point, very trying to the skipper's temper. Then there was the Crooked Elbow. Krom Elleboog Rack. Then the Danse Kamer, the dance room; then the Klauver Rack, or Clover Reach, and so on to Beverwyck.

Beyond the mouth of the Mohawk, the Spruyten or Sprouts, as they called the different channels, very little was known of the Groote Rivier, which, forty years after the discovery, was supposed to flow from Lake Ontario. The red men told the first generation of colonists that they could "travel in boats to the Great River of Canada." Of course they meant in their own canoes, carrying them over the portages. But the Dutch seem to have understood them to refer to some direct connection with the Lake "great as the Mediterranean Sea."

As the trading boats passed up and down the stream, they halted here and there at some small village of bark lodges, scattered as they were at long intervals on the wooded banks. Where the red people had been stationary for some years, as in the Tappaen country, at Esopus, and among the Mohegan clans on the west bank, these openings in the forest were to be found of some extent, forming the maize fields tilled by the patient squaws, with rude stone implements, or sharpened sticks. In the Tappaen country these maize fields were quite extensive. The Hollanders went there to purchase maize and beans. The trading boats brought coarse blankets, kettles, iron tools, beads, powder and guns, and *always* the poisonous fire-water. These they exchanged for peltries, chiefly beaver skins. In 1632 there were 13,513 beaver skins exported; three years later the number was 14,891. How numerous must have been the dams built by these sagacious creatures on the streams tributary to the Mauritius!

In those early years the aspect of the river was still very lonely—broad, silent waters flowing between silent wooded banks. The passage of a solitary trading boat was an event; its dark, heavy hull and small sails were still watched with the keen interest of novelty by the roving band or solitary hunter, threading the forest trails on the Steep Hills, far and near. Here and there canoes might perchance be seen. These were chiefly of logs, of a breadth that could not be found to-day among the trees of all the woods reflected in the same river; the labor of making them, before iron tools had reached the wild people, was great; the trunk, "large as three or four men standing together," was first slowly burnt away at the base, then felled with stone axes, then hollowed by painstaking labor with fire and stone chisels. The women worked with the men at this rude boat-making. The red people on the Groote Riviere preferred the light wood of the beautiful tulip-tree for their canoes, where it could be found, and it was abundant on the banks of the stream. The Dutch colonists called the tree "canoe-wood" from this fact. Other boats were skillfully made of the bark of the elm, often some fifteen f. et

long in one piece. Occasionally a dainty birch-bark skiff might be seen glancing lightly to and fro; this had probably come from farther north, from the Horican region, perchance. Now and then a rude thin sail was hoisted over the canoe.

The red men, in speaking of this broad but lonely stream, used various words or phrases, according to the dialect of the different tribes. The Mohawks spoke of it as the *Shenahtahde*, or the water beyond the Pineries. *Sanatatea* and *Shawnatawty* were also heard among the western Iroquois tribes, variations of the same word, no doubt. *Cahohatatea* was another of their names. The two first of those syllables would seem to have some connection with a stream, as the falls of the Cohoes were named by them, and *Cohongorontas* was the sonorous word applied by the same people to the Potomac. *Oiejué* was another name recorded by early French explorers; but we are inclined to think this was a synthetic word applicable to any river, and not peculiar to the *Cahohatatea*. *Bruyas*, the missionary, gives the meaning as "at the water." The Mohegans spoke of the river as the *Shatemuc*, a word said to be derived from *Shaita*, a pelican, though it has not been proved that such was the Mohegan name for this bird. To the Lenni Lennape it was the *Mohicanhitheck*, or river of the Mohegans.

Wild creatures, now utterly unknown in the same region, were seen moving on the banks or floating on the stream. There were many bears of a "shining pitch-black color;" "when they wish to come down a tree, they place their heads between their legs and let themselves fall to the earth, then spring up and go their way." They often climbed trees to feed on the wild fruit. The ungainly moose haunted the northern banks of the *Shenahtahde*; the stately elk, with its grand antlers, might perchance be seen swimming across the river; the cougar, or panther, would wander down from the cliffs among the Steep Hills—so numerous, indeed, were the cougars, on the stream flowing from the Outiara Mountains (the "Mountains of the Sky," as the Iroquois called them) that the Hollanders gave it the name of the Cats-Kill; as for the deer, their numbers were incredible, frequenting the shores singly or in herds, among them were "white bucks and does, and others black." At an early day, when wheat was scarce, a deer was sold for a loaf of bread! foxes and raccoons were to be tracked in every wood; the wolves were many but not large. The tribal name of the Mohegans may be traced to their own word for the wolf, which was also their totem. The French always called them *Les Loups*. Strictly interpreted, the River Mohegan meant the River of the Wolves. Some of these

different wild creatures were in movement only at night. It was chiefly the birds which gave life and movement to waters otherwise so lonely. At certain seasons, spring and autumn, the flocks of water-fowl were so numerous that the hunter on the banks was aroused from his sleep at night by their noise; the "swans in their season are so plenty that the bays and shores where they resort appear as if dressed in white drapery." The wild geese, some gray, some white-headed, some black, floated on the stream, spring and autumn, in countless flocks. A noted gunner among the early colonists, one "Henry de Backer, shot eleven gray geese at one shot from his gun;" another "killed sixteen geese at a shot!" There was a famous bag! Great pelicans, too, largest of web-footed water-fowl, haunted the River of Prince Maurice in flocks of a dozen or more together, flying low and heavily, but conspicuous by their great size and white plumage, faintly touched with pale red and on the breast with yellow. On the banks were land birds of many varieties, some solitary, others coming periodically in vast flocks, all varying in size and plumage, from the great turkey weighing thirty pounds or more to a curious, brilliant little creature called the "West India Bee," sucking the honey from the flowers before which it fluttered with a humming sound. In the spring and autumn vast flocks of pigeons darkened the waters by their shadow, like a passing thunder-cloud. Ay, and there were swallows haunting old hollow trees, from which they poured out by the hundred to hunt the insects hovering over the river.

Ere long, amid all this wild luxuriance, the first rude touches of civilization began to appear at distant points between Fort Orange and the Manhattas. An exploring colonist, shrewd and observant, had sailed leisurely up the river with an eye to farming, and reported that as far north as the Catskill the banks were "very rocky and mountainous, *not well fit to erect dwellings!*" A true Dutch view of the country, this. The Netherlander was not partial to mountains or "Steep Hills." He preferred the level banks of Lang Eylandt or Staten Eylandt, where, as he declared with complacency, expensive dykes and ditches were not needed as in the mother-country—no danger of the sea encroaching on his farm. Adventurous spirits, however, soon began to think it possible to build dwellings, and in time till farms on the wild banks of the Mauritius. "Bouweries," and "plantations," and "colonies," were planned. Ere long the smoke from some white man's cabin of bark appeared rising from a wooden chimney, above a roof thatched perchance with reeds; the sound of a white man's axe—at that day a very

coarse tool—was heard in the forest, or a clumsy plow might be seen turning the fresh soil of some clearing. The West India Company, as early as 1630, ordered that one-fourth of every trading vessel should be reserved for domestic animals and agricultural implements. Before that date, in 1626, one hundred and one head of horses and cattle were landed at Nooten Eylandt, now Governor's Island, and most lovingly were the cows greeted with homely caresses by the few women and children of the colony. Only two animals out of a hundred and three had died on the voyage. The oxen rendered good service on the "bouweries." Soon wonders began to be told of the fertility of the soil. A certain farmer, Brandt Pylon, cropped one field with wheat eleven years in succession. No manure was needed. A colonist declared that "in nine years he had never seen land manured." One "honorable gentleman, John Everts Borel," laid a wager that he could raise a crop of barley which should grow so tall that the ears could be tied together over his head. He won the wager; the barley was six and seven feet high. Fruit trees were planted and tenderly watched. Great was the joy when the first apples, and pears, and peaches ripened. Yes, the fruits of the Old World were found to thrive well, very well, and your Netherlander was a lover of fruit. The yield of a young peach-tree was something wonderful. And, rude men as many of the Hollanders were, they had a delicate eye for the flowers, too. Very soon, indeed, patches of flowers began to appear about the doors of some of those log cabins and bark huts; the tulip was already a mania in Holland, and tulip-roots were sent to the New-Netherlands, perchance, as the Hope, the Spotted Cow, or the Broken Heart. It was observed that while the wild rose was abundant on the banks of the Groote Riviere, no one had been so lucky as to find the eglantine, the fragrant sweet-briar, that delightful bramble, and speedily the sweet-briar was brought over the ocean, and planted by the Hollander's door-sill. Those early colonists depended greatly upon fire for clearing the land. "Bush-burning" was an art they had learned from the wild people. This was done yearly, in the autumn months, and also in the spring—in April—which seems strange to us. "Those fires appear grand at night from the passing boats in the river, when the woods are burning on both sides of the same. Then we can see a great distance by the light of the blazing trees, the flames being driven by the wind and fed by the tops of the trees. The dead and dying trees remain in their standing positions, which appears sublime and beautiful when seen at a distance." So wrote the old Dutch chronicler. And this weird light, fierce and fitful, shone every year in

early colonial times over the waters of the Mauritius, as they had doubtless shone for ages before the white man's yacht first sailed up the river. Despite these annual burnings, the forest remained fresh and green and vigorous—more luxuriant, indeed, the wild people declared, from the flames sweeping away only the dead and dying vegetation.

As the few trading boats passed slowly up and down the stream, the Hollanders might be heard calling the river now the "Groote Rivier"; now the "Mauritius"; now the "Noordt Rivier," to distinguish it from the "Zuydt Rivier," the limit of the colony to the southward; "the North River commonly called the Manhattoes, or Rio de Montaigne"—says a memorial of the West India Company in 1632. It is indeed remarkable how very uncertain the Dutch name of the stream continued to be during a period of half a century from the voyage of the Half Moon, not only on the fatherland, but also among the people living on its banks. On Vanderdonck's map, dating from 1652, it is recorded as "Groote Rivier; Manhattans Rivier; Noordt Rivier; Montaigne Rivier; Mauritz Rivier." Where shall we find another stream bearing so many different titles on the same map?

Champlain had penetrated into the Thonoshioni country from the St. Lawrence at an early day, and discovered the fine sheet of water called by the United Tribes the Lake-Gate-of-the-country, or Caniaderi-Garunté, and which now bears the discoverer's name. This expedition, moving southward, from Canada, took place in the month of July, 1609, only five or six weeks earlier than Hudson's voyage up the Cohotatea. The French had names of their own for this noble river. On a map of Champlain's "Carte de la Nouvelle France," dating from 1632, we find at the mouth of the stream discovered by Verrazano, "Riviere des Trettes." We have not seen this name repeated elsewhere, on any map or in any document. And its signification has not, as yet, been clearly traced. The word *Trettes* is apparently obsolete, and its true meaning not easily ascertained. It may refer to some species of fish, or to some nautical word no longer in use. The same stream was occasionally spoken of in Canada, and in France, as the "Rivière des Montagnes," a version possibly of Verrazano's Steep Hills. It was also alluded to as the "Rivière de Manhattes," and "Rivière de Prince Maurice." But no sooner was Fort Orange built—Aurangie in Dutch—than the stream became to the Canadians the "Rivière d'Orange." It was very generally spoken of in that way, in familiar intercourse, and also in public documents. Orange was a title with which the French were already very thoroughly familiar. There lay in the south of France, in Provence,

and in the romantic region of Vaucluse and Avignon, a small but ancient town, which in Roman times was called Aransio. This gradually became Orange. In the eleventh century, while Saxon kings were reigning in England, and Robert le Diable was riding out from his Norman keep, to harry his neighbors, Orange had princes of its own, governing a small territory. The last of these Princes, Philibert de Châlons, died childless in 1531, in the reign of Francis I., the patron of Verrazano. His sister, who had married the Count of Nassau, inherited the Principality, which thus passed into the house of Nassau, and the title of Prince of Orange became of more importance than it had ever been before, under such chiefs as the Williams, and Maurice, of Holland. William III. of England was the last Prince of Orange of the Nassau family, in the direct line. At his death he bequeathed the Principality to his kinsman, the Prince of Nassau Dietz, Stadtholder of Friesland. But Frederick William, of Prussia, claimed the territory through his mother, a Princess of Nassau, and in 1713 he ceded the Principality to France. From that hour the independent dignity of Orange ceased, and to-day it is only one of a hundred small, but ancient, and historical towns of France, whose glory exists only in the past. Oddly enough, a reflection, as it were, of these past associations hovered dimly over the little Dutch colony on the River of Manhattan. The French had so often crossed swords with successive Princes of Orange, now victorious, now defeated, that the name was thoroughly familiar to them. In 1673, while France and the Low Countries were at war, the valiant city of Orange in Provence, by way of episode, struck a blow of its own; it made war upon the French Governor of Provence, the Counte de Grignan, representing his Royal Master, Louis XIV. The little city of some good souls, went through the honors of a siege. Madame de Sévigné has several allusions to the affair in her letters; she was keenly alive to the ridiculous side of the question; "I detest this little war," she writes to her daughter, Mme. de Grignan, November 26, 1673; "I assure you I am very anxious about your siege of Orange; I can have no peace until M. de Grignan is well out of this ridiculous affair. At first people said that baked apples were the only ammunition needed for this siege. We have told the truth, here and there, to silence these bad jokes. Not a few know the state of things now; they fly from one extreme to the other, and they say now that M. de Grignan will not escape so easily, and with no other force than the regiment of the galleys, which is not thought fit for a siege; that he cannot subdue two hundred men who have cannon." Orange had a citadel, a formidable

donjon-keep, twenty pieces of cannon, but one entrance; and ample supplies of grain and ammunition. "M. le duc and M. de la Rochefoucauld are convinced that he will not succeed. You know the world—always in extremes. The result will settle the question. I wish it may be successful, having no hope of pleasure or tranquility until I know the conclusion of this affair." In December Madame de Sévigné goes to court at St. Germain, and on her return again writes about Orange, which had surrendered after a siege of three days. "I found your siege of Orange much talked about at Court. The King had spoken of it very agreeably, and it was considered something very fine that, without orders from the King, and solely to follow M. de Grignan, seven hundred noblemen were found ready for the occasion. For the King had said *seven hundred*—of course everybody repeated *seven hundred*. It was added that there were two hundred litters—and one laughed. But it is believed seriously, that few Governors could collect such a suite." The King at supper had said, "*Je suis très content de Grignan.*" What higher degree of glory could be conceived of than this approbation of *le Grand Monarque*. Great must have been the contrast between the venerable city of Provence and its namesake, the rude Dutch hamlet on the banks of the "Noordt Rivier." But all these past associations rendered the name very familiar to the French. And from its position the small hamlet on the "Noordt River" was really of far more importance to Canada, than the ancient city of Provence could ever have been to France. The eyes of those in authority at Montreal and Quebec were often fixed intently on the Dutch Orange; it was the aim of many a hostile war party from Canada, and suspected of many counter-plots and expeditions, in which the Mohawk allies of the Hollanders were the principal actors. We follow closely, even at the present hour, with our highways and railroads, many of the rude paths and trails first trodden in the wilderness by past generations of the red men. That was a great war-path which stretched from the "River of Canada," through the *Lake-gate-of-the-country*, Champlain, and Andiatarocté, the St. Sacrement, to the *Rivière d'Orange*. Many were the bands of painted braves, Huron or Iroquois, deadly foes, armed with bow, lance, and tomahawk, which had marched in noiseless single file along that trail, or more stealthily in their light canoes through those waters. And when the pale-faces took possession of Canada, many were the hostile parties from the St. Lawrence, or from Orange, which followed the same war-path to and fro. How many were the great military expeditions planned during the eighteenth

century at St. James and St. Germain, for the command of North America, in which Orange was the base of operations, or the goal in view. It is indeed remarkable that of all those expeditions so few were even partially successful. The Lake-Gate-of-the-country has always been sternly defended against invasion, whether under the flag of France, or at a later day that of England. Battles have been lost and won, by civilized armies, on that ancient war-path. Orange, however, struck its colors but once, and that only when the New Netherlands were ceded to England. And even when that event occurred, in spite of the change of flag and name, the Dutch town continued to be Orange in Canada and in France, and the river was to the French the "*Rivière d' Orange*." Only twenty years before the Revolution, in 1754, a French writer speaking of New York says, it is "situate on the left bank of the River Orange, near its mouth, at the sea." Occasionally, however, the French spoke of the stream as the "*Rivière de Manhattes*."

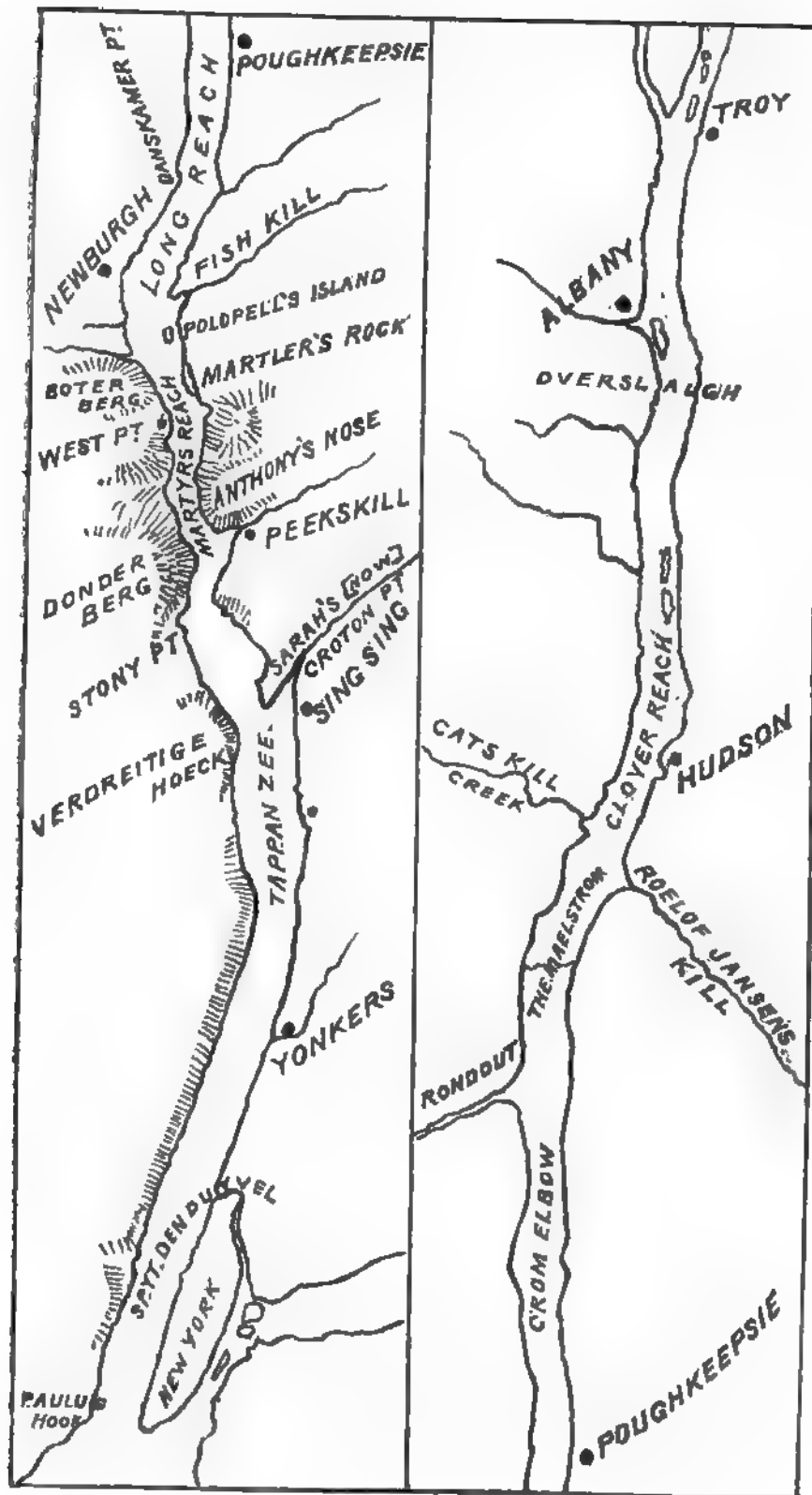
It is singular, by the by, how long the name of Manhattan was applied to the little town at the mouth of the Hudson. New Amsterdam was incorporated in 1653, but the town continued to be Manhattan, or Manhattas, in common parlance, and also in many documents. Even as late as the surrender to the English in 1664 we find the name in common use. Governor Winthrop writes, August, 1664: "If the Mandadoes are given up to his Majesty." At the same period Dominie Megapolensis, in a remonstrance worded by him, used the phrase: "This Fort and City of Manhattans," whose population was 1,500 souls, of whom 250 were capable of bearing arms, etc. Even in the articles of capitulation the name occurs frequently; "The townsmen of the Manhattans," "The Town of Manhattans," etc. Only once, towards the close of the document, is the little town mentioned as "New Amsterdam."

We have thus seen that during a brief period of less than a century and a half, from the voyage of Verrazano in 1524 to the surrender of "Manhattans" to the English in 1664, the principal river of the region had actually borne twenty different names—River of the Steep Hills, San Germano, San Antonio, *Rivière des Trettes*, Manhattas, Mohegan, Oiogue, Shatemuc, Cahohatatea, Sanatatea, Shenahdahde, Shawnataty, Mohicanhittuchi, Rio de Montaigne, Groote Rivier, Noordt Rivier, R. von den Vorst Mauritius, Nassau, Orange, Hudson.

The question became finally settled only after the English had taken possession of the New Netherlands. They began very early, soon

after the voyage of the Half Moon indeed, to call it Hudson's River, and adhered pertinaciously to the name, as they conceived it strengthened their claim to the discovery. Dereau, who visited the coast in 1619, reported having met "certain Hollanders who had a trade in Hudson's River." The name of the Mohegan River was also occasionally used by them. "The River Mohegan, called by the English Hudson's River," says the writer of New Canaan in 1632. There was, however, a familiar name spoken far more frequently than any other in New York and Albany, a household word among the residents of those towns, and in the villages and country houses on the banks. The families of the old colonists, of all classes, generally spoke of the stream as the North River—not, as in the times of their Dutch forefathers, to distinguish it from the South River, the Delaware, but in opposition to the East River, or Long Island Sound. The first steamboat, that marvel of the day which in 1807 followed in the wake of the Halve Maan, was not called the Hudson, but the North River, as the name most familiar to those living on the banks. Aye, and at a day as recent as the building of the Hudson River Railroad there were many families throughout the State of New York who spoke of the Hudson simply as "the River," as though there were but one stream in the whole region. At the present hour the initials, now familiar to half the world—H. R. R. R.—have done more perhaps towards deciding finally the popular name of the stream than either maps, books or public documents. Railroads never sleep. But thirty years ago, the great annual event of the ice having given way at Albany, and navigation being resumed, after a cessation of eight or ten dull winter weeks, was most joyously heralded from the wharves of New York to those of Buffalo. That was an awakening of vast importance to millions of a busy, energetic race. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, from the Atlantic to Lake Erie, early in March days was heard the joyous cry; "*The River is open.*"

SUSAN FENIMORE COOPER



SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS

1779

Quite recently western New York commemorated the campaign against the Six Nations, Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras, to chastise and deter them from repeating such atrocities as Wyoming, German Flats and Cherry Valley in 1778. Vast multitudes, estimated as high as fifty thousand people, on Saturday, August 29, thronged the battle ground of Newtown; fifteen thousand gathered at Waterloo on Wednesday, September 3, and as many on Tuesday, September 16, 1879, at Geneseo, the farthest point penetrated by the army, displaying an interest in the occasion which recalled the earlier celebrations at Lexington and Charlestown. This expedition was the chief event which connected that region with the revolution. Many descendants from the patriots who took part in the strife constitute part of its population, and the general sentiment both in preparation and display when the festal days arrived, showed how profoundly was appreciated the value of their political blessings, their familiarity with the events of the war, and with this particular expedition among their lakes and mountains. It was then a wilderness, with a few scattered towns, cornfields and orchards. Where a century ago two thousand dusky savages hunted the forest or fished the streams, a million of enlightened and civilized people inhabit a garden of hardly equaled cultivation and yield.

The three historical addresses of the Rev. David Craft of Wyalusing, since published together, relate the events of the campaign, drawn from the thirty or forty journals kept at the time which have been preserved, and from all other available sources of information.

The instructions which Sullivan received for his guidance, printed on page 104 of the "Military Services"* from the original letter of the commander-in-chief, and which he carried with him on the expedition, vary slightly as printed in Sparks, where some passages are omitted. But both versions are sufficiently explicit in their directions to destroy the crops too late in the season to replant, the villages to rebuild, that obstacles might be thrown in the way of what was reasonably apprehended, a combined attack of the Iroquois, western tribes and English troops from Canada, who depended upon these supplies for their movements. If the thousand Brandt expected from the Six Nations had been

united with warriors from the Alleghany, who would have swollen his ranks but for Brodhead's expedition and with thousands of regulars from Niagara and the lakes, no force that could conveniently be spared at the time from the Atlantic seaboard could have coped to advantage, in such a country, with wily foes hovering in their path, or around their flanks, or laying in ambush, and, when at disadvantage, seeking covert in the recesses of the woods.

Had the track of our army reeked with blood and been marked with more frequent slaughter, women and children massacred or burnt, its prisoners subjected to the cruel tortures for which the British themselves set the example, it would have gone harder with Washington in history, who especially sanctioned and ordered whatever was done and much more. War is retaliation to be continued till one or other gives in. If the slight considerations which govern civilized nations are not respected by one belligerent, the other is forced to be cruel in return, in order to protect its own people. It was in no vindictive spirit that the expedition was made. The property destroyed was of less value than what the Indians had destroyed, besides killing and scalping. But these thirteen millions of acres of wood and water, close to our borders, swarmed with hostile tribes who could muster two thousand well armed warriors to be indefinitely increased from beyond and from Canada, wherein unbeknown, large armies could be collected by lake and river were a constant menace and alarm; and as the crops were to feed the war, British garrisons and Indian braves, to destroy them was legitimate warfare, and it effected its object. We respect the Indians for their courage in resenting intrusion on their country, as for much else, but it would be safer to domesticate a lion or tiger than to leave them on the war path with brand and rifle, to pounce upon our borders, without any attempt to repress.

Some military critics of the campaign have thought the movements dilatory in starting. Sullivan urged despatch, but the exhausted condition of the country, the expectation that D'Estaing might at any time leave the tropical waters, where he had defeated the fleet of Byron, to co-operate with our armies at the North, may have occasioned delay. It took time to collect troops, supplies, boats and horses. The men were scantily provided with shoes, shirts and blankets; the general commissariat was poorly organized; the beef, packed in barrels of green wood, came tainted and unfit to be eaten; the cattle were poor and too weak to be of use. Flour due May 20 was on its way on pack horses from Carlisle eight weeks later. Sixty-five miles of road from Easton to

Wyoming, infested by Indian marauders, took several weeks to construct or repair. Beyond Wyoming, all the rations for 2,000 men for several weeks were to be carried in boats on streams of difficult navigation, on bat horses, or on the back, along Indian trails, or, where there were none, over mountains, through morasses, across fords deep and dangerous.

Officials yield to pressure. It was the duty of the General to be importunate for what was indispensable to the success of the expedition. He would have been derelict to duty if he had not solicited the Board of War with courtesy, but in terms sufficiently explicit, for what he needed. He left Easton on the 18th of June, and reached Wyoming on the 23d, and there, awaiting supplies, he remained till the last day of July. Even then, with all his endeavors, Washington himself admitted the army was not adequately furnished with food or garments. His impatience expedited the tardiness of preparation, and when on the first of August the march entered the pathless woods, the very best season had arrived when the corn was in the milk, and the crops gradually approaching that degree of maturity, when they could most effectually be destroyed, and when it was too late to replant. It was reasonable to suppose that the Indians would offer opposition in defense of their hearths and harvests, and opportunity be thus afforded to bring them to battle. If sensible of inferiority in numbers they should avoid an engagement, which in so wild and extensive a country of lakes and rivers it was impossible to compel, the devastation of their fields and towns would be a chastisement for their past aggressions, and cripple them and their British allies, for a time at least, for operations civilized or savage.

In the impoverished condition of the country and with the limited means at their command, Congress begrudged all expenditures not absolutely imperative. The Board of War could not give what it had not, and had no means to procure. The Pennsylvania authorities reluctantly yielded their aid. The soldier, if not paid, had to be armed, fed and clothed. The requirements measured by the need, not excessive, were not complied with from utter inability. The warmth of expression occasioned by this embarrassment has been disingenuously exaggerated into reproach and recrimination. There is no good ground for supposing the army cost much more for supplies than a like number of troops in any other active operations. The 1,200 bat horses justly considered indispensable were used in like manner by Brodhead and Van Schaick. Washington, in his comment to Congress on Sullivan's

letter of July 21st to that body, urging more men and means, allowed that the army, 2,312 rank and file, was small for the object in view, but, he thought, would prove sufficient when united with Clinton's; that he had spared no pains to have what was needed provided, and that as to shirts, his own army was in like predicament. But neither in this letter nor in his subsequent correspondence with Lafayette and Laurens appears any disapprobation of Sullivan, but quite the reverse. Col. Pickering admitted the meats were spoiled by the casks, and the mischief was partially remedied by repacking. With every precaution, flour, though packed in tent cloth, soured from rain and sun.

The letter to Congress partially effected its purpose. More vigorous efforts were made. That supplies in sufficient quantities to warrant an advance should have reached Wyoming just in season to admit of the destruction of the crops when ripening, as was the expressed design, and as Col. Brodhead was winding his way with 600 men up the Alleghany to engage the attention of the tribes to the westward, looks like intent and concert of action. Washington, notwithstanding the hatchet, countenanced a little duplicity in war, and always reticent of his plans, probably did not think an earlier advance desirable. As the previous year was ending he had advised that whereas in consequence of the exhausted resources of the country and departure of the French the coming campaign must be confined to the defensive, every effort should be directed to render the service attractive to officers and soldiers, and this comparative inactivity be devoted to training them to their duties. The five weeks tarry at Wyoming was so improved. Some of the journals comment with approbation or impatience upon the strict discipline prevailing, and good military judges accord high praise to the disposition of the troops in camp, and on the march, and to the general orders. As to whether the customary morning gun on such a service were wise, opinions differ, but it was always easy by omitting it to mislead, if there were any object, or such vigilant foes ever at hand could be deceived. The rare instances in which any soldier was surprised out of camp, or wandered from the ranks, proved the utility of rigid rules. But whilst implicit obedience was rigorously exacted, Maxwell's Jersey men, disaffected from their arrearages of pay, were reconciled by considerate treatment to what was common to all; thirteen German deserters, who claimed their time was up, sentenced by the court, were reprieved, and one of two other offenders who had large families to support, where extenuating circumstances existed, upon a promise of amendment.

There were other inducements for delay. The army at rest among the farms and villages could be more economically provisioned. On the march it had to depend on what it carried. Transportation involved expense for boats and beasts of burthen. In a wild and rugged country of streams, mountain and morass, the waste was great. The season was wet, and the casualties of the way were many, and the 1,200 horses rapidly diminished in number. The men, without a murmur, carried on their backs two weeks' rations. The day after the battle of Newtown they agreed without a dissenting voice to half rations, eking out their then stinted portions from the growing crops, the General pledging his best endeavors and assurances that it should be made up to them. When on the 16th of September they left Geneseo to return, any attack on Niagara, had the fortifications there been easy of approach, would have been impracticable for want of supplies and of the heavier artillery which had been sent back to Tioga. No such attempt came within their instructions before the Indian tribes had submitted and pledged themselves to assist, which was not the case then, and for many other reasons it was not judicious.

Various estimates have been made of the actual strength of the army. To the 2,539 of all grades, July 22, at Wyoming, Clinton brought 1,700, together 4,239, according to Mr. Craft's careful estimate. Five per cent. deducted for sick and absent, and 400 left at Wyoming and Tioga, and 250 drivers, the effective force was about 3,200, not much more than one-half the estimate of one critic of the expedition. This was undoubtedly enough for the resistance met. But if the actual available British force at Niagara, reinforced from the 2,000 sent from New York to Canada, with the whole strength of the Iroquois and the promised thousand from the northwestern tribes, had confronted the army at Niagara, short of supplies, and three or four hundred miles by the route taken from Wyoming, disaster would have been more than probable, and hardly to be repaired. It was the duty of the General to foresee every contingency and communicate his views to his superiors without reserve, and abide by their conclusions. This Sullivan had done in his letters to Congress, and that body had not modified his instructions not to venture to Niagara without first bringing the Indians to terms. Criticism on military operations is instructive, but it should be honest and unprejudiced. In this case, as not infrequent, the cavils are a curious medley of contradictions. The movements were too slow or too rapid, too many were killed and too few; too much was risked and too little. It does not much signify, so long as fault can be imputed with or without plausibility.

It cannot be fairly disputed that there was due dispatch in the start, and the progress as expeditious as circumstances permitted. The distance from Easton to Geneseo and back, by the course traversed, was from eight to nine hundred miles. Deducting seven weeks for the stay at Wyoming and other points, from the 412 days from June 18 to October 15, leaves an average of about ten miles a day. With the 700 beef cattle, while they lasted, their march was greatly impeded. On one occasion, with reasonable hope of surprising the enemy at Chemung, the troops marched forty miles over the most rugged country part of the way at night, in twenty-four hours, but the bird had flown. There was rarely any object for overtaking the strength of the men. The Indians in a territory of nearly 20,000 square miles could easily evade them, and the only chance was to push on in the hope of an ambuscade being attempted, as at Newtown, or the burning crops provoke them out of their prudence. The health of the troops was an important consideration. To send back the sick and wounded to Tioga exposed them to being captured or scalped on the way. The Americans, temperate and hardy, bore well their exposures. Sleeping on the cold ground, many often without tents, in some regiments with not more than one blanket or coat to seven, and without shirts to their backs, with all the casualties of battle and march, but forty were lost. Could they have contrived to fight a great battle, killed or been killed in larger numbers, the expedition would have been more memorable in the judgment of the unreflecting. But as our men were needed for other and more important combats it was better as it was.

In weighing the force of these suggestions the course of the expedition should be borne in mind. On the 11th of August the army which had left Wyoming on the 30th of July reached Tioga, near the present state line. Here Fort Sullivan was constructed, and hence, with Clinton, who had left Otsego on the 9th of August, floating his 250 batteaus over the shallows of the river, on floods gradually collected by dams built for the purpose, and marched 162 miles to effect the junction with the main army, Sullivan proceeded on the 26th to Chemung, and on Sunday, the 29th, fought the battle of Newtown, against Brandt and Butler, whose force has been variously estimated from 800 as stated by a captured foe, to 1,700 by Irving. They were easily defeated and fled, effecting their escape by ways of course preconcerted. The army, after destroying corn and houses, proceeded on their way to Geneseo, and on the 16th of September, starting on their return, reached Tioga on the 30th. Forty towns and 200,000 bushels of corn were destroyed, pursuant

to instructions, and the Indians forced to Niagara for subsistence, were removed far enough away from our borders to be no longer a danger and terror to our settlements.

As Mr. Craft says in his historical address on the battle ground, August 29, 1879, "the power of the Iroquois was broken. That confederation whose influences had once been so potent crumbled under the iron heel of the invader, and the nation which had made so many tremble itself quailed before the white man's steel. It is true that so long as the war continued they kept up their depredations, but it was in squads of five or six, seldom as many as twenty. We had no repetitions of Wyoming or Cherry Valley. It was a terrible blow, but one which they brought upon themselves by their own perfidy and treachery and cruelty. The sacking of so many homes, the destruction of so much that was valuable, awakens in every civilized heart the sentiment of pity for their loss, but the act was as justifiable as that which stays the assassin at your door, or the man who is applying the torch to your dwelling."

When Sullivan reached Wyoming on the 8th of October, orders from Washington with the announcement of the reported arrival off the coast of D'Estaign's fleet from the West Indies, directed the forces to repair with all expedition to join the main army.

Sullivan, his health broken by exposure, his available means exhausted, his family suffering from his protracted absence, perhaps not altogether pleased with the recent duty assigned him of demolishing crops and houses, and also, it is said, by the backwardness of Congress to compensate for the rations promised his men on the 30th of August, sent in his resignation. He had previously four times tendered his resignation, which Congress had refused to accept. As he was sincere in wishing to be released from a service of nearly five years, and had been advised by his physician that continuing in the army would soon incapacitate him for any official duty, the acceptance of his resignation did not necessarily imply any want of respect or confidence. They voted the usual complimentary acknowledgment of his faithful service, and ordered a thanksgiving in the churches for the success of his expedition.

THOMAS C. AMORY

* The Military Services and Public Life of Major General John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary Army. Boston, Wiggins & Lunt. Albany, N. Y., J. Munsell, 1868.

SAMUEL BLATCHLEY WEBB


COLONEL IN THE CONNECTICUT LINE AND BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL
IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

The family of Webb, of Connecticut, of whom Colonel Samuel Blatchley Webb, of the Connecticut line of the Continental Army was one, was a branch of that of the Webbs of Molcomb, County Dorset, England, to which arms were granted on the 17th June, 1577.

Richard, the first emigrant, appears in the old New England records as one of the settlers of Cambridge in 1632. This body of men composed the Braintree Company, known as Mr. Hooker's company, which in 1634 sent out messengers "to discover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither; and in the summer of 1630 one hundred strong men, women and children traveled over a hundred miles through a hideous and trackless wilderness and sat down at Hartford. Richard Webb was no doubt one of this adventurous party. His name appears as one of the original proprietors of Hartford in 1639, and in many positions of trust. A few years later he removed to Stamford, of which he was also one of the first settlers. Here he died in 1676, 'a gentleman of standing in the colony.'" With regard to his descendants, genealogists differ; but superior credence must be given to the record of Hinman in his catalogue of names of the first Puritan settlers of Connecticut, which agrees in the main with the traditions and records of the family.

Samuel Blatchley Webb, the subject of the present memoir, the sixth in descent (all of his immediate ancestors being of the name of Joseph), from Richard, the first settler, was born at Wethersfield December 16, 1753. He was the son of Joseph Webb and Mehetabel Nott his wife, who, after his death in 1762, was married on the 2d November, 1763, to Silas Deane of Wethersfield.

Although young Webb was never graduated from any college, his correspondence shows that he received a thorough education and a literary training uncommon to the period. This no doubt he owed to the care of his step-father, Mr. Deane, who was himself graduated from Yale in 1758. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Silas Deane was a leading spirit in the Connecticut Colony. He represented it in the



first Continental Congress in 1774, of which he was one of the early promoters. Later he was entrusted with many important commissions. Part of his extensive correspondence is preserved in the collection of the Connecticut Historical Society. His letters to his wife are full of minute detail, relating to persons and events, charming in their natural and picturesque style.

Young Samuel Webb appears to have been high in the favor of Mr. Deane, and to have visited him in Philadelphia while Congress was in session. In a letter to his brother Joseph, 7th April, 1774, he speaks of dining with the Congress to the number of 400 the day preceding. On his return home he was requested by Mr. Deane to address him on all matters of importance. One of his letters presents an interesting picture of the spirit of the youth of the day, and shows the consequence in which the writer was already held among them. It is dated October 10, 1774.


The sisters of young Webb were then in Boston, which he describes as the "present seat of noise and confusion." General Gage, the military governor, had already commenced to treat the town as under martial law, and was erecting fortifications and mounting cannon to command the harbor and enforce the Port Act. Webb was alarmed for the safety of his sisters, and was about setting off to bring them to a place of safety. The spirit of Connecticut was thoroughly aroused. "On the first hostility, such as bloodshed by the troops in Boston, this colony (writes Webb) will most undoubtedly be immediately under arms and march for Boston." The same letter supplies some interesting details of his own connection with military affairs. "The Light Infantry of Middletown, to which I two years belonged, have now a fine stand of arms, which I purchased for them in New York on my return home from Philadelphia. They have given me an invitation to make one of the number, should any emergency call their appearance in the field, which with my whole heart I shall readily accept if occasion [demand]. But Heaven forbid we may ever arrive at this unhappy crisis! But all have drawn their arms, and myself among the rest;" and he continues with an account of his personally visiting the different towns in the neighborhood, where he was rejoiced to find that the "thirst of liberty, which had so long been buried in silence, seemed again to rear its head." At this time young Webb had not yet reached his majority. But character matures rapidly in time of trouble.

The hour of trial was close at hand. The guns of Lexington aroused the Continent, and their echoes had hardly died away before

the tramp of hardy yeomanry was heard on every road leading to Boston, the beleagured city. Connecticut was early in the field. Putnam, who left his plough in the furrow, was in Concord the second day after the battle. The military organizations were not far behind. The First Connecticut Regiment, under command of General Joseph Spencer, was on the ground by the first day of May. Connecticut at this period named generals to the command of her regiments, which were not yet arranged in any Continental system. Spencer's regiment was attached to the right wing, which General John Thomas commanded, and was stationed at Roxbury and Dorchester and in their neighborhood. In General Spencer's regiment marched Major John Chester, of Wethersfield, who commanded a company, and in the same command young Webb held a Lieutenant's commission. The Middletown troops did not march till later. A letter from Titus Hosmer to Silas Deane (May 28, 1775) says that "Mr. Samuel Webb marchd on Thursday;" this was the 25th of the month. There still remains in the possession of the family a neat little manuscript volume in the handwriting of Webb, entitled, "Regimental Orders. Review of the Sixth Regiment of Militia, in the Colony of Connecticut, on the 9th day of May, 1775." It is minute in instructions for the movements of the regiment, and contains a plan of formation with the names of the officers.

When, on the advice of the Committee of Safety, the commander of the army resolved to fortify Bunker Hill, two hundred of the Connecticut men were draughted from several companies and placed under the command of Thomas Knowlton, of General Putnam's regiment, the second in the Connecticut line. Part of Captain Chester's company was included in the draught, and both he and Lieutenant Webb were present in the eventful struggle.

A letter written from camp by Captain Chester three days after gives one of the most reliable accounts of the battle, and of the part taken in it by the Connecticut troops. It describes, too, the uniform of the corps as "wholly blue, turned up with red;" but when marching or in their barracks, "loath to expose themselves by their dress, they put their frocks and trousers on over their other clothes. Lieutenant Webb also describes his part in the action in a graphic and natural way. He speaks of his feeling of doubt as 'he descended into the valley from off Bunker Hill side by side of Captain Chester at the head of their company,' and his doubt as to whether 'he should ever rise the hill again, as Elijah did, body and soul together.' The balls flew pretty thick about his command, and he narrowly escaped with a slight wound in the head



All accounts concur in according high credit to the conduct of the Connecticut troops on this occasion. In the Connecticut Courant, a Hartford journal, a "Friend to Truth," in a letter published on the 31st June, noticed the bravery of the officers of their locality, and particularly called attention to "Major John Chester, of Wethersfield, now Captain of a company in General Spencer's Regiment, and Lieut. Samuel Webb, who marched up to the line with their men, and re-inforced the troops, (and) by their undaunted behavior, timely and vigorous assistance, it is universally agreed, are justly entitled to the grateful acknowledgments of their Country."

On the 15th June, the day of the action at Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress completed the organization of the American army by the election of its general officers. Washington was chosen to the chief command. He was on the point of departure for the field of operations in Massachusetts Bay when the thrilling news of the fight at Bunker Hill reached Philadelphia in a very confused account. On the morning of Friday, the 23d, he set out from Philadelphia for the camp at Cambridge, accompanied by a troop of horse. On the afternoon of the 24th he landed at Colonel Lisenard's seat in New York. Leaving in the afternoon of the 26th, he passed the night at Kingsbridge (at Dyckman's Tavern no doubt), and the next morning pushed on to Hartford, which he reached on the 29th, in company with General Lee. He was the bearer of a letter from Silas Deane, who was again a representative for Connecticut in the Second Continental Congress, which had convened in Philadelphia the May previous. In this letter Mr. Deane particularly commended his Excellency and his retinue to the care and attention of his wife, and instructed her: "should they lodge a night in Wethersfield, to accommodate their horses, servants, &c., in the best manner at the taverns, and their retinue will likely go on to Hartford." This implies an understanding that the General would make his headquarters at the house of Mrs. Deane during his temporary residence at the capital of Connecticut. The building thus honored was a house of some consequence and the home of the Webb family. Mr. Joseph Webb, the elder brother of Lieut. Samuel, was then living in Wethersfield, and the head of the family, though apparently, from the fact of Mr. Deane sending his "respects to him and the whole of both families," not residing with his mother.

It is a matter of regret that the letter of Mrs. Deane of the 3d July, describing the visit of Washington, has not been preserved; at least it does not appear in the published Deane correspondence, to which ref-

erence has been made, but there can be no doubt of the nature of her opinion of her guest, as Mr. Deane, on the 8th July, 1775, takes pains to express his gratitude that it agreed with his own. In the same letter occurs a phrase which shows that he had interested himself in behalf of his young kinsman. Mr. Joseph Webb appears to have accompanied Washington to camp, a fact, which Mr. Deane expresses the hope, "will enable him to procure a berth for Samuel Webb which he recommended him to, an honorable, though a dangerous one, but which he thinks must now be his course of life for the future."

In June Mr. Deane wrote to young Webb that he had asked General Putnam for a position for him on his staff, and advised him to apply instantly in person. He informs his wife of this in July, and expresses his satisfaction, not because he was his friend, but because he merits it, and will, if it please God to preserve him, make an officer of the first rank and character. While on Putnam's staff Webb seems to have been occasionally employed on confidential service. There is a letter among the Webb manuscripts from Jos. Reed, Washington's secretary, charging him to receive and conduct prisoners to Hartford to be delivered over to the Committee of Safety, and report to Washington in person. The appointment of Putnam by Congress as one of the four Major-Generals of the army, made the post of aid-de-camp on his staff one of importance.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British troops New York was the centre of observation, both the British and American commanders alike recognizing it as the key of the continent, and it soon became the pivotal point of military operations. Washington immediately moved his forces thither, and Putnam was entrusted with the command of the city and the erection of works for its defense. Putnam arrived on the evening of Wednesday, April 3, 1776, and on the 4th notified Congress of the proceedings he had taken. He made his headquarters in New York at the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway, which was also the army headquarters while he was in command. This house has been, and is still, known as Washington's Headquarters, but there is no evidence that the commander-in-chief ever resided there.

His dispositions were marked by extreme good sense, and his general orders were expressed in clear, soldierly style. As Old Put. was never distinguished for any literary merit, it is not unfair to attribute these qualities of the orders to the scholarship and good taste of his chief of staff. Moreover, there is direct evidence that Webb's opinions were asked and followed. In May he submitted a "plan for

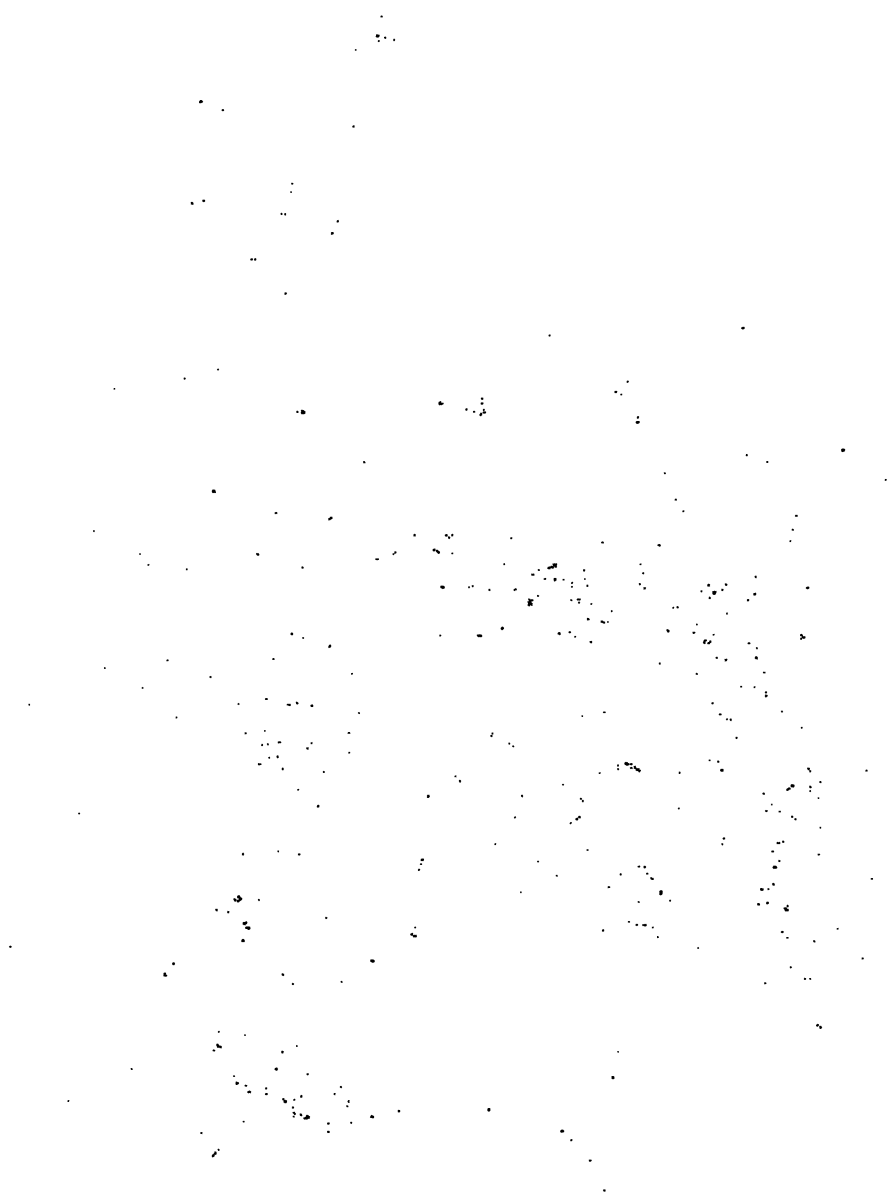
General Putnam's consideration to employ the armed vessels under his command, and which will prevent the King's ships from being supplied with fresh Provisions by the enemies of America,"etc. (Force Archives.) This scheme included a patrol by whale-boats of the western shore, from Amboy to Sandy Hook, of Rockaway and the adjacent islands and inlet by Sound schooners, attended by whale boats, and Fire Island Inlet and the entire western shore, "even down to Egg Harbor, one hundred and forty miles range from Sandy Hook, in a similar manner." The plan received the commendation of the Committee of Safety, and was adopted by General Putnam.

Honorable as was his post, the young officer was not content. He had long had an inclination to make one of the military family of Washington. This desire he expressed to Reed, who was in need of an assistant, and Reed wrote to Washington from Philadelphia on the 3d March, 1776, that if the post be agreeable to Webb, and he agreeable to General Washington, he should prefer him to any other. To this Washington replied on the 25th from Cambridge, that Mr. Webb would be "agreeable enough" to him, if Col. Reed thought him "qualified for the business." His powerful friend, Mr. Deane, was already in France on the famous embassy, concerning which there is still an open controversy, but his influence remained, and Reed secured the appointment of young Webb.

On the 21st June, 1776, the general orders, dated New York, announced that "the General" (Washington had arrived in the city on the 8th June, and assumed the command) "had been pleased to appoint Richard Cary and Samuel Webb, Esquires, to be his Aids-de-Camp, and Alexander Contee Harrison, Esqr., Assistant Secretary, who are to be obeyed and regarded as such." The general orders added: "The honorable Congress have been pleased to give the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel to the Aids-de-Camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and to his principal Secretary; and the rank of Major to the Aids-de-Camp of the Majors-General." The military secretary of Washington at this period was Robert Hanson Harrison, Esquire, appointed on the 16th May of the same year (1776) in the room of Joseph Reed, who had resigned the position and taken the appointment of Adjutant-General of the Army. This was the military family of General Washington, as the staff were called in the parlance of the day.

The journal and general order book, or rather a general order book, with occasional notes under the title of Remarks and Occurrences, entirely in the handwriting of Lieutenant-Colonel Webb,









W. L. Brown

remains to attest his method, his accuracy and his neatness. His first note informs us that, agreeable to the orders of the day (June 21), Col. Cary and himself removed to the headquarters as Aids-de-Camp to his Excellency. These headquarters were then at the Mortier House, an elegant residence without the lines of the city, built by the Paymaster-General of the Royal forces. It was in a delightful situation, celebrated for its natural beauty. It was later known as Richmond Hill, the home of Aaron Burr. This charming site was selected no doubt because of the presence of Lady Washington, as the newspapers of the day styled the wife of the Commander-in-Chief. The city was overrun with troops, and there was great fear of the small-pox, which had decimated the army in Canada, and was dreaded to an extent hardly to be estimated now.

With Mrs. Washington came Mr. and Mrs. Custis, members of the family. It was in this intimacy that the manners and accomplishments of young Webb endeared him to General Washington, who from this time forward always addressed him in terms of affectionate attachment, and lost no opportunity to advance his fortunes and show him marks of his esteem for his character and his capacity.

Events now hurried rapidly along, and were as rapidly recorded in the Aid-de-Camp's diary. The arrival of the British fleet on the 29th of June, the false alarm of an attack on the 2d July, the efforts to defend the posts against the formidable and daily increasing armaments, the enthusiastic reception of the Declaration of Independence, and the overthrow of the gilded statue of George III., are all noticed. The following entries are of peculiar value as from a participant in the scenes they relate.

"New York, July 14, 1776.—A Flag of Truce from the fleet appeared, on which Colo Reed and myself went down to meet it, about half way between Governors & Staten Island; Lieut Brown of the Eagle offered a Letter from Lord Howe, directed George Washington Esqr, which on acct of its direction we refused to Receive, & parted with the usual compliments. . . . *New York, July 16, 1776.*—A Flag this day to send to General Howe some spirited Resolves of Congress, respecting the Cruelty and Barbarity of the King's Troops and Savages to the Northward, and acquainting him Retaliation shall immediately take place, unless a final stop is put to such inhuman and Barbarous conduct. . . . *New York, July 17, 1776.*—A flag from the Enemy with an answer from General Howe abt the Resolves sent yesterday—Directed George Washington, &c., &c., &c., which was refused. *New*

York 19th July, 1776.—A flag appeared this morning when Colo Reed and myself went down—General Howe met us—and said as there appeared an insurmountable obstacle between the two Generals by way of corresponding—General Howe desired his Adjutant General might be admitted to an interview with his Excellency General Washington,—on which Colo Reed, in the name of General Washington, consented and pledged his Honor for his being safe returned,—the aid de Camp said the Adjt Genl would meet us tomorrow forenoon. *New York, 20th July, 1776.*—At 12 o'clock, we met the Flag, took Lieut Colo Pater-son of the — Regiment into our Barge and escorted him safe to Town to Colo Knox's Quarters, where his Excellency General Washington, attended with his suit and Life Guard, Received and had an interview of about an hour with him; we then escorted him back in safety to his own Barge; on going and coming we passed in Front of the Grand Battery—but did not blindfold him— Sociable and chatty all the way."

A few of Colonel Webb's letters, written at this period by Washington's orders, remain. Force has published two addressed to General Ward, July 18, 1776, in reference to the improper acts of the agent in the disposal of cargoes of the prizes taken; another to Governor Trumbull with regard to the ill-conduct of the Connecticut Life Guards, who refused to do duty except on horseback, pleading exemption by statute of the Colony. The General had no use for such particular patriots, and discharged them. On the 27th July, 1776, he again addresses General Ward at Boston, to forward the ammunition taken in the British transports without delay to New York.

The diary of Colonel Webb closes with the entry of the 29th July, recording the arrival of Lord Howe's fleet "with the Foreigners," meaning the Hessian troops. Colonel Webb was with his commander during the summer of 1776, and was no doubt present at the battles of Long Island and Harlem though no record remains of his special service in these actions. Two letters, signed by him remain, written from headquarters, then at the Roger Morris house, on the heights of Harlem, dated October 1 and October 6, informing Heath, who commanded the division on the continent above, of the movements of the enemy on Long Island Sound and the Harlem River, whom he justly suspected of an attempt to turn his rear. He was present at White Plains, where, while carrying orders in an exposed position across the field, he had his horse shot under him and was himself wounded in the leg. Continuing with his chief during the passage of the Hudson and the dark days of the close of 1776, he again rendered efficient service

in the line of his duty in the affair at Trenton on Christmas eve. Johnston, in his History of the Campaign of 1776, mentions him as having conveyed the order to Sullivan's troops, whose muskets had been wet in the heavy storm at the crossing of the Delaware, "that if the men could not discharge their pieces they must use the musket, for the Town must be taken."

At the close of the year 1776 the American army, under its short term of enlistment, had almost faded away. Washington wrote on the 20th December: "Ten days more will put an end to its existence."

On the 16th September Congress passed a resolution to enlist eighty-eight battalions to serve during the war, and the number of eight was set down as the quota for Connecticut. The organization of these eight battalions was completed by Governor Trumbull and the Council of Safety or Committee of War of Connecticut at their session of the 28th November, and the generals of the State in the service were desired to arrange the officers. But Washington was by no means satisfied with the provision of eighty-eight battalions, and strongly urged the Congress to lose not a moment in raising "a greater number, not less than a hundred and ten;" and on the 22d they passed a resolution, vesting him with full, ample and complete powers to raise sixteen battalions of infantry in addition to those already voted, and to appoint their officers. Colonel Webb immediately availed of this occasion to break from the dependence, which, even so honorable position as aid to the Commander-in-Chief gave him, and sought distinction in more active service, and on the 11th January was appointed colonel of one of ten regiments organized under this act. These sixteen additional regiments were established on a different footing from the eighty-eight battalions. In these the appointment of the officers was left to the States, but under the authority given to the commander-in-chief the appointment of officers under the rank of field officers was delegated to the colonels in concert with the field officers of their commands, the right of ratification or rejection being reserved to himself. The regiments were raised for three years or the war.

The Connecticut government decided on the 26th February that the proportion of men to be raised by Connecticut was one thousand, and directed the bounty money be distributed as follows, viz.; to those under Colonel Samuel B. Webb, to the number of 500; to those under Lieut.-Colonel R. J. Meigs, 250; those under Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Dyer, 250. In addition to the twenty dollars bounty fixed by the Congress, Colonel Webb was lavish with his means and credit to hasten the

enlistment of his command. A roll of the enlisted men, 392 in number, styles the regiment, "that known by the name of one of the 16 additional Regiments," afterwards the Ninth and the Third Connecticut Regiments. Some of the original printed enlistment forms have the name of the "Regiment of Guards commanded by Colonel Samuel B. Webb," but the word guards is carefully crossed out from the paper. The records of Connecticut so far made public are sadly deficient in information concerning the troops, but it may be found from the minutes of the Council in April and June, that they were still not entirely equipped, and were petitioning for clothing. A surgeon's mate was appointed for the regiment July 4, 1777. About this time the regiment joined the army on the Hudson. Among the Webb documents is an order from Genl. Parsons, directing Col. Webb to parade in the street [Peekskill] and march to Crompond with three days ammunition; and the draft of a regimental order by Col. Webb, dated Fairfield, Conn., 21st August, evidently on the eve of an expected movement. This expedition against the British posts on the Long Island coast of the Sound does not seem to have been carried out, but Webb's regiment probably remained in Connecticut, as in October General Parsons again wrote to Webb complaining of his own inactivity, his brigade not yet being completed, but announcing his early departure. His destination he reveals in the expressive phrase 'oysters and black-fish will soon be my lot,' an allusion to the diet of the dwellers by the Sound. He presses Webb to find means to join his brigade, from which letter it seems that Webb's regiment was not as yet permanently attached. That his ranks were not yet full is learned from a letter of Washington among the Webb papers. Webb was no doubt busy increasing the number of his men.

Soon after, the active military career of Colonel Webb was unfortunately cut short by the disastrous result of the expedition formed by General Parsons against the enemies' posts on Long Island, December 16, 1777. The contemporaneous account of this affair in the Connecticut Gazette (December 19, 1777) not appearing to have been reprinted is here given.

A plan having been formed to bring off or destroy a Magazine of Military Stores which the Enemy had, at Shetochet on Long Island, and to destroy some shipping loaded with Timber at Southold,—on Tuesday Night of last week part of two Battalions of Troops embarked from this State, under convoy of the Sloop Schuyler, and the Spy and Mifflin Schooners. Unfortunately the next morning, just before Light, the Faulkland, a British Frigate, in her Passage from New York to Newport came a-cross the Schuyler and two Smaller Vessels, when the

latter run a-shore upon the Island, but the former, on attempting to get in with the Land, run upon a Spit of Sand called the Old-Man's, and was taken with about sixty Troops on Board, among whom were the following Officers, viz.: Colonels Ely and Webb, Capt Buckland, Lieut Riley, Ensn Mumford, Adjutant Hopkins, and Quarter Master Starr of Webb's Battalion, and Ensigns Niles and Abbot and Adjutant West of Ely's Battalion. On Thursday a Party of men under Capt Hart marched to Southold and were very near making Prisoners of Capt Ascough and upwards of 20 Men belonging to the ship Swan who were at a House in Southold, but they getting Intelligence of Capt Hart's Approach hastened to their Boats. They were closely pursued, and as they were getting on Board were fired upon, when most of them were killed or wounded, Capt Ayscough it is tho't was killed. Seven Marines and Seaman were made Prisoners. Our Troops, after tarrying several Days on the Island, returned to the Main, without having opportunity to affect any thing considerable,—the Shipping having left Southold and we learn the Magazine has been removed.

Partisan warfare is the most uncertain branch of the profession. The least miscalculation affects the whole plan. The main portion of Colonel Webb's battalion escaped capture; their return from Long Island is noticed in the Connecticut Gazette letter of the 26th December. They were marched from New London to Peekskill, where they remained on duty during the following year as a part of the Highland garrison. They were later consolidated with the other Connecticut troops on the Continental establishment in January, 1781.

Colonel Webb, as is stated in the same number of the Gazette, was carried to Newport, where, after remaining a few days, he was allowed to come out on parole, and went to Wethersfield. This, however, seems to have been premature. The Council minutes note that "Lieut Col Lawrence was voted to be exchanged for Col Samuel Webb; and Lawrence to go to New York on his parole, and if not exchanged, to return by the 6th day of February, 1778." His original parole is preserved. It is quoted as an example. "I, Samuel B. Webb, of Wethersfield, in Connecticut, having leave to go to Long Island on Parole, do hereby pledge my Faith & Word of Honor that I will not do or say any thing contrary to the interest of his Majesty or his Government, and that I will not depart from the House I am placed in by the Commissary for Prisoners nor go beyond the Bounds by him presented. Given under my Hand this Twenty fifth Day of February, 1778;" and on the margin is endorsed, "A new one given 14th May, 1778."

Colonel Webb was carried to New York, but in common with most

of the American officers on parole, was dissatisfied with the treatment extended to them by the British officers, and at his request was permitted to leave the city, the parole limits not extending beyond Flushing; but this change does not appear to have been a change for the better, for at Flatbush the prisoners were consigned to the custody of Colonel William Axtell and his nephew, Captain Frederick Depeyster, both strong tories. Their command, according to the Reverend Dr. Thomas M. Strong, whose History of Flatbush is the best local authority, "was taken from the lowest ranks, and were mostly persons of bad moral character. The company was called the Nassau Blues, but from their low and generably miserable appearance, were nick-named by the inhabitants the 'Nasty Blues.'"

The exchange of prisoners was a subject of constant trouble and dissatisfaction, there being for a long period no settled basis of exchange.

Soon after his capture, 29th December, 1777, Colonel Webb addressed a letter to General Washington, informing him of his misfortune and entreating his personal interference to procure a special exchange. He named Lieutenant Colonel Campbell as a fit subject for exchange. Naturally this application failed, the general properly observing that there were "several officers now in captivity with the Enemy of your Rank, taken at Three Rivers in 1775, at Long Island, Fort Washington and Germantown." "So far as Exchanges have depended on me, or as they may rest with me," said the general in his reply of January 8, 1778, "they have been, and ever will be, conducted on one principle, to wit: to release those first who were first captured as far as circumstances of rank would apply. There is no other rule by which impartial justice can be done." This reply could not have been unexpected to Colonel Webb. In his letter to the General he confesses that from the letters which passed between Washington, when he was on his staff, and General Howe, he had little reason "to flatter himself of it taking place." There being no other way of release but a general exchange, Colonel Webb turned himself with his usual energy to this object, and endeavored, both by interview and correspondence with British officers in a similar situation as himself, such as Phillips, Reidesel, and other Convention prisoners, and with Loring, the British Commissary-General of prisoners, to devise a plan which would be mutually satisfactory. The difficulties in the way of any arrangement are more easily discernible now than they were then; the motives of Washington and the secret instruction of Congress throw light on the policy which governed the American authorities. To Congress the American officers

in confinement appealed in 1779, and Colonel Webb was appointed by them to present the memorial. As a preliminary step he, by permission, visited General Washington at his Headquarters at Middletown, in February, 1779, and obtained from him "a calculation made from the last returns of the Commissary of Prisoners," as a basis for the exchange.

It was not, however, until 1781 that Colonel Webb was finally released. His regimental orders of the 7th February express the satisfaction he felt in rejoining his command. His regiment was not called into active service. On the 7th of August, 1782, Congress passed an Act, for reforming and consolidating the army, to take effect January 1, 1783. On the 21st of the same month, Washington, from his headquarters at Newburgh, issued a general order assembling the Light Infantry and embodying their battalions in two regiments, the first of which he placed under the command of Colonel Henry Jackson, and the second of Colonel Webb; a third additional battalion was assigned to Major Forman. In the absence of Colonel Jackson the command of the Light Infantry devolved on Colonel Webb. This corps was first encamped on the Croton River, near King's Ferry, and later cantoned at Newburgh, the headquarters of the army. In November, 1782, in view of the approaching consolidation of the Connecticut regiments, Webb asked and obtained permission from Washington to attend to the particular interests of his regiment in the line as soon as Colonel Jackson should return to his command. Colonel Webb was made Brevet Brig.-Gen. by the general Act of Congress, of September 30, 1783, which fixed promotions. He was one of the founders of the General Society of the Cincinnati, and later active in the organization of the New York Branch. On the 20th October, 1779, Colonel Webb married Eliza Bancker, daughter of Richard Bancker, of New York. This lady died in the spring of 1782.

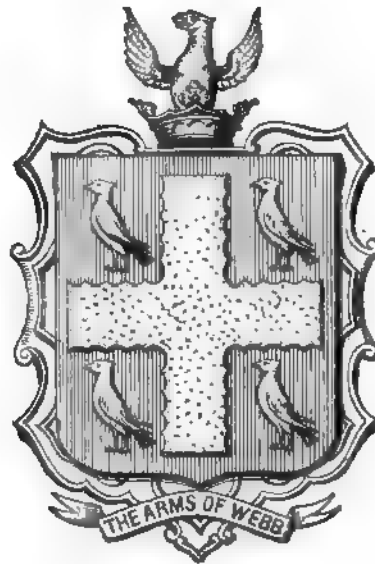
After the war he lived for some years in the city of New York. He appears in the New York City Directory of 1786, as residing at 4 Dock, now Pearl Street, the most fashionable quarter of the city. His name is entered as "gentleman." Inheriting a large fortune from his father he followed no occupation, as this term implies. In 1790 he married his second wife, Catharine, youngest daughter of Judge Hogeboom, of Claverack, and Hillitjie Muller his wife. The Judge was descended from one of the old grantees of the Rensselaer Manor.

The Webb house at Wethersfield, a view of which is here given, is still standing. It was the common resting place for American officers and gentlemen of distinction on their passage through Connecticut, and was known among them, from the generous courtesy of its occu-

pants, as Hospitality Hall. Its chief interest to the historical student is derived from its having been the spot selected for the conferences held between Washington and Rochambeau. There are numerous accounts of these two interviews which took place on the 20th September, 1780, and the 21st May, 1781—at the latter of which the plan of campaign, which opened with the operations before New York, and ended with the capitulation of Yorktown, was concerted.

The family manuscripts from which many of the details of this sketch have been taken, abound in testimony to the esteem and friendship in which Col. Webb was held by his companions in arms. He was on intimate terms with the *beaux esprits* of the army, who held the character of the American service as high for courtesy in the camp as for gallantry in the field. These intimacies he maintained to the end of his life. He died at Claverack, N. Y., November 3d, 1807. Of his children by his second wife, the Hon. James Watson Webb is the best known. In his youth he was a Lieutenant in the 3d U. S. Infantry, and has since represented the United States as Minister to Brazil; his son, Gen. Alexander S. Webb, late of the United States Army, did efficient and gallant service in the civil war, and is now the President of the College of New York.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



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a. R.

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DIARY
OF A FRENCH OFFICER

1781

(Presumed to be that of Baron Cromot du Bourg,
Aid to Rochambeau)

*From an unpublished Manuscript in the possession of C. Fiske Harris, of
Providence, R. I.*

Translated for the Magazine of American History

IV

FROM HEAD OF ELK TO YORKTOWN

September 9 — The grenadiers and chasseurs of the two brigades under the orders of M. de Custine embarked. Messieurs de Vauban and Laubardière decided on this also. M. de Closen and I followed the Legion of Lauzun, and after marching over some frightful roads reached Porter-Mill on the banks of the Delaware.

Side Note.—March, 21 miles.

September 10—After marching four miles we crossed the Susquehanna by a ford. The river at this place is at least two miles wide. The view is quite picturesque. On coming out the Legion mistook the road, there being no sign posts. We marched to Buck-Town by a very bad road. This town is ugly enough and in a hollow. There are perhaps sixty badly built houses. The rations and forage were badly served. On the whole it is easy to see from this march how necessary the presence of the Commander is. The army arrived in the evening at the same place, having crossed the river in boats much lower down to the left.

Side Note.—March, 24 miles.

September 11—We marched to Baltimore over a country covered with woods, and the roads of which, passable now, must be very bad in the late fall. Before crossing we passed three shallow streams, over one of which there is a wooden bridge. Baltimore is only seen on arrival at this point, but from the top of the hill whence the city is visible it presents quite a pleasing appearance. It is of considerable size and well built; the streets are perfectly straight; there are sidewalks even. Among its inhabitants are many Dutch and Germans; part of it is called the French quarter. This is inhabited by Acadians who have been transported to it and are all very poor. The city seemed to me quite commercial. Ten miles behind us we left the army who went into camp.

Side Note.—March, 22 miles.

September 12—The army rejoined us at Baltimore. The Legion halted there, and I wished to stay also to give my horses a day of rest, but in the afternoon it was decided that the Legion should remain over the 13th. I saw that there would probably be further delay and made up my mind to continue my journey the same evening. The Baron de Closen, with whom of all my companions I am most intimate, was pleased with my idea of going on, so we left together at five o'clock, proposing to sleep at Brian's-tavern, only ten miles distant, we were assured. Two miles on the road we came to the Patapsco ferry, over the river of the same name, which at this place is two and one-half miles wide. The boat was on the other side when we arrived; the time which it took to return and for us to cross the water

brought us to nightfall. When we reached the other side we did our best to find a guide, but it was raining and the night very dark. We could not persuade any American to conduct us, nevertheless we went on, but after travelling about three miles we thought we had mistaken the road, and stopped at a place where we saw a light. It was a little house or rather barrack in which lived a poor woman with five or six children, whom we frightened terribly. After many entreaties she was persuaded to conduct us to the house of a gentleman, by whom she assured us we should be very well received; but it was nearly a mile distant. She accompanied us, but the moment we saw the lights of the house she left us and ran away at the top of her speed. Crossing the fields, having escaped breaking our necks a dozen times, we reached the house of a Mr. Wacker, a man forty or forty-five years of age. His mother, who seemed to be at least eighty, was seated in an immense arm chair, and had an enormous pair of spectacles on her nose; two women of thirty at the most, and a young girl of fourteen or fifteen were knitting around a table. At first we frightened the whole household terribly, but after the assurances we gave them that we were French officers who had lost our way their uneasiness was appeased, confidence was established; little by little their faces assumed their natural expression, they found us not as black as we had been painted, and the whole family did nothing but laugh all the rest of the evening. They served us an excellent supper; they gave us excellent beds; our servants and horses were perfectly

well treated; from all of which we had not the least doubt that Mr. Wacker was a good Whig, and more than that, a good fellow. When it came to the question of pay he would not accept more than five shillings, which is about three of our money.

Side Note.—Whig is the name of those who stand by the Country; Tory, of those who hold to the King.

September 13.—In the morning we left our comfortable resting place almost with regret; we traveled nine miles over a very bad road through the woods to King's Tavern, where we baited our horses. We then journeyed seventeen miles by roads equally bad to Queen Anne, where we stopped for the second time. To reach this we crossed a little ferry, perhaps ten yards wide. At Queen Anne there are seven or eight well built houses. We went on to Marlborough, nine miles distant, where we slept; this is quite a pretty place of twelve or fifteen houses well enough built.

September 14.—We started quite early for Piscataway. The road is infinitely better than that on which we traveled the day before. In the first six miles we passed three quite handsome farms and a large number of cattle; the remaining ten was partly through woodlands and partly through cornfields, but the bars which we met by the hundred were unendurable; we rested about two hours at Piscataway, which is very much like Marlborough. In the evening we pushed on to Port Tobacco, sixteen miles distant. The country and woods are like those we passed over in the morning; this place is at the foot of a hill; there are about twenty quite pretty

houses; the church is very handsome.

September 15 — From Port Tobacco (Port Tobacco) to Hos (Horse) Ferry, which we reached in the morning, the distance is about fifteen miles, by quite a fine road; for some distance it skirts the Wicomaco river, on the banks of which there are fine meadows full of cattle. The only grain is Indian corn, which accounts for their eating only this kind of bread, which is the meanest and worst thing in the world. After halting there some time we crossed the Potomac, which at this place is at least four miles wide. The boat was not large enough for all our horses; we first embarked our servants, and then crossed ourselves to the other side of the river. We then entered Virginia and traveled through this province eighteen miles, over wretched roads, before reaching the Rappahannock river, which may be six hundred yards wide where it is crossed in a flat boat; descending, Port Royal is reached, quite a pretty little spot. It consists of perhaps sixty houses close together, the greater part of which are well built. Our servants, who left three hours at least before us, lost their way, and it was near midnight before they arrived.

September 16 — We breakfasted at Bradas (Brady's Tavern), which is sixteen miles from Port Royal. Nothing can be more monotonous than the country we traveled over to reach this place; woods, Indian corn and tobacco are the only things to be seen. From Brady's to Eliot's Warehouse, at which we arrived in the evening, is seventeen miles, through a country similar to that which we saw in the morning. Two miles be-

fore reaching it we found Todd's Bridge, a collection of six badly built houses. The Matapony river, which is narrow, passes here.

September 17 — We halted, after traveling fourteen miles, at the house of a private individual, Mr. Lipscom. Nine miles beyond we crossed the Mokine river in a ferryboat. It is about five hundred yards wide. Next we found a marsh which may be a mile wide, through which run two little creeks which empty into this same stream. The marsh of which I speak seems to follow the course of the Mokine a considerable distance. From there it is only fourteen miles to Boyd's Tavern, where we slept. The road is quite fine; we have not seen a single stone in all this section of Virginia, but to make up for it a great deal of sand and mud even at this season.

Side Note.—Whoever may travel through this country, ten years or perhaps even one year hence, and desire to make use of this Journal as his guide, will be greatly astonished not to find the taverns and ferries called by the same names. But nothing is more common in this country than a change in this respect. The taverns and the ferries always take the name of the proprietor. For this reason it is sometimes difficult to find the road.

September 18 — There only remained sixteen miles to reach Williamsburg, which we traveled in a very short time, the road being quite fine. We learned on our arrival that M. de Rochambeau and General Washington had left the evening before to visit the squadron of M. de Grasse, and we stopped at the quarters of M. de Lafayette, who received us with the greatest kindness and begged us to consider his house as our

own during the absence of M. de Rochambeau. We dined there.

September 19—I went to see M. de St. Simon and the Colonels who had arrived from the Islands. Among them I found the Count d'Autichamp, to my extreme satisfaction, after all the kindness his brother shows me. At the house of M. de St. Simon I was witness to a quarrel he had with M. de Rostaing, Colonel of the Regiment of Gatinois, in which the latter did not express himself with the deference due to his commander, which was the more painful to me as we are by no means as subordinate here as we should be.

September 20-21—Nothing of much interest transpired. I occupied myself during this time with things which concerned myself only, and profited by the opportunity to see the City. It is the largest after Philadelphia, Boston and Newport I have seen in America. It is, moreover, the Capital of Virginia. It consists of two parallel streets, and two or three which cross them. These streets are perfectly straight, but they are not paved. There are three buildings quite worthy of notice which belong to a large college, in which there is also a Cabinet of natural history; the Government House, which is in a very bad condition, but the halls of which, although out of repair, show that it was quite handsome, and the base of the building is superb; the Capitol, where the courts are held, is also a very fine edifice. There are besides several churches of considerable size, but all these several places are now to be occupied for store houses and hospitals. The

town is thinly peopled. The war has ruined a great many persons, some of whom have even abandoned the country, which is devastated. It is necessary to turn the horses out to pasture, as there is neither hay nor straw, and we are well content when we can find corn enough to feed them upon.

Side Note.—Since the occupation of this position by M. de Lafayette and a siege is talked of deserters often come in; several muskets are fired every day by the patrols but these events are become to us of so little interest at the moment of commencing such an operation as that we are undertaking, and moreover the information we gather from our personal observation is so inexact that I shall dispense with the narration of anything less than a skirmish.

September 22—M. de Rochambeau returned from the naval armament. He arrived there the same day that he left here; he did not remain at the most more than six hours, but he found so many obstacles on his way back that he was five days on the road.

I was really delighted to see him again; I had been separated from him for some time, and I can compare an aid-de-camp without his general to nothing but a body without a soul. In the evening he received news that Admiral Digby was on his way from Europe with from six to ten ships of the line and transports and hourly expected at New York.

September 23.—We went to the James River to see the grenadiers and chasseurs disembark; they reached our camp here the same evening. An American patrol took an English Colonel prisoner close up to York, who said he was taking a walk for his health.

September 24—We went to the mouth

of Queen's Creek on York River, from which we saw Gloucester perfectly, and below the town on the bank of the river a camp of near one thousand men. Nothing can be seen of York but a steeple, the rest of the town being hidden by the woods.

September 25—M. de Rochambeau took us with him to College Landing, which is only a mile from the town. A large part of the artillery was this day landed there.

September 26—We went to see the disembarkation of the troops, who all went into camp at Williamsburg in the evening. We learned the same day that General Green has had an engagement with the English in South Carolina, and gained a considerable advantage over them. On the 26th, also, the English captured several vessels laden with grain which were bringing nearly 25,000 rations to the army.

September 27—M. de Choisey left us to take command of the Troops on the other side of Gloucester; the Legion of Lauzun is there, 800 men, whom M. de Grasse has given from the garrison of his vessels, and some American militia.

September 28—Very early in the morning the two armies left Williamsburg in a single column, and marched in this order for a distance of five miles to a fork in the road. Here the Americans took the road to the right and we arrived in the evening, in two columns, in sight of York; the place was immediately invested. Some English dragoons came up to see what was going on, but two companies of Grenadiers and Chasseurs were advanced with two pieces of 4, which sent them back immediately.

September 29—Passed in reconnoitering, during which the English fired a great number of cannon shot. Three Americans were killed and three wounded.

September 30—In the morning we saw to our great surprise that during the night the enemy had evacuated two Redoubts of considerable strength and a Redan in front of their works. The General immediately posted one hundred Grenadiers in one and fifty chasseurs in the other, established a Redoubt in place of the Redan and even threw up a fourth to connect them all together. While the men were at work upon them four or five were killed.

There was also musketry firing upon the Volunteers of St. Simon on the left of the line, and some cannon were fired. M. de Bouillet, an officer of the regiment of Agénois, had a thigh broken, one hussar was killed and another wounded.

OCTOBER

October 1—In the morning the two redoubts on which the Americans were at work not being yet finished the enemy cannonaded them without cessation but to no result. They neither killed nor wounded any one. At two o'clock M. de Rochambeau gave me letters to carry to M. de Grasse. I left immediately and went to Hampton, a distance of twenty-four miles, by a very fine road. This little town is quite pretty. I took a boat there to go on board the *Ville de Paris*, but the wind and tide were against me. I was detained from five in the evening until two in the afternoon of the next day struggling against the sea.

October 2—I reached the *Ville de Paris* at two o'clock in the afternoon

and left at ten in the evening with the replies.

October 3—I arrived in the morning at seven, and at ten delivered my letters to M. de Rochambeau; nothing of interest had occurred during my absence. The English had merely cannonaded from their forts everything they could discover, and a patrol of four Americans had been absolutely destroyed by a ball, three killed by the same blow, and the fourth wounded.

October 4—Nothing more occurred than the days previous. M. de Rochambeau received a letter from M. de Choisey in which he sent word that the evening before, on taking a position on the side which he occupied, he had found the enemy to the number of six hundred, attacked and driven them, and that the commanding officer of the English infantry had been killed, Mr. Tarleton badly wounded at the head of his cavalry, and that the enemy had lost fifty men in the little skirmish, while our loss was only three hussars killed and eleven wounded; Messrs. Billy Dillon and du Tertre, both officers of the hussars, slightly wounded, that the Duke de Lauzun had charged repeatedly at the head of his hussars with advantage, and that he had driven the enemy at a rapid rate into Gloucester. The night of the 4th to 5th several patrols met and fired upon each other. The English also continued their cannonade without interruption.

Side Note.—The Duke de Lauzun, after charging several times at the head of his Legion, was ordered by M. de Choisey to fall back and obeyed. As he was returning with his troops he saw one of the lancers of his Legion at some distance engaged with two of Tarleton's dra-

goons. Without a word to any one, he lowered his guard and went to his assistance. I only knew this incident on the 20th November from M. de Rochambeau; the modesty of M. de Lauzun had prevented his mentioning it, but I should feel that I was very wrong should I omit to write down in this Journal everything that relates to the Duke de Lauzun, who, in these minor actions, set the best possible example to the army.

October 5—The cannonade continued throughout the day as well as the night of the 5th to 6th.

October 6—In the evening the trench was at last opened. The Regiment of Touraine, not being brigaded, opened one also on its side to the left, and constructed a battery opposite to a Redoubt of the enemy. It was sharply cannonaded this night and seven Grenadiers were killed or wounded. M. de la Loge, an officer of the artillery, while in his battery, had a thigh taken off. The trench on the right was opened in more quiet.

October 7—The trench was finished in such manner as to afford protection; we had only three men killed this day. In the night of the 7th to 8th there were three men killed and wounded.

October 8—The battery of the Regiment of Touraine was entirely completed, but orders were given not to fire from it. During the night of the 8th to 9th the enemy kept up a heavy fire; they killed one of our men and wounded another.

October 9—In consequence of a movement made by one of the frigates of the enemy, the Guadaloupe of 26 guns, the General sent orders to fire hot shot. The frigate took shelter from the fire under the town, but the Charon, a ship of 56 was burned. That day we had two

men wounded. In the evening the American battery was completed and opened fire which it continued briskly all night.

October 10—At daybreak eight flat-boats laden with the enemy came up the river about a mile, and endeavored to disembark on the side where M. de Choisey was; his artillery prevented them and they returned on the Gloucester side. In the morning all our batteries were ready and begun to fire. This day we had one soldier killed and three wounded.

October 11—The fire of the enemy slackening, we perfected our batteries. During the night of the 11th to 12th we opened the second parallel; we had seven soldiers wounded.

October 12—We completed the second parallel; during the night of the 12th to 13th three redoubts which supported this same parallel and traced the line of batteries. We had six soldiers killed and eleven wounded. Messieurs de Mioles and Dunne, both officers in the regiment of Soissonnais, were seriously wounded.

October 13—Was passed in a cannonade of shot and shell on both sides; we had one man killed and twenty-eight wounded.

October 14—We fire all day, the heaviest fire being directed upon two redoubts which were to be attacked in the evening. At half-past seven in the evening the regiment of Touraine made a feint on the left. M. de Choisey made another at Gloucester; at 8 two redoubts opposite to our right were attacked; 400 Americans under command of M. de la Fayette carried that which

was nearest the river, and 400 French under the orders of the Baron de Vioménil, M. de Rostaing and Deux Ponts, carried the second, with fixed bayonets, and notwithstanding the fire of the enemy, which lasted eight to ten minutes. The Americans took thirteen prisoners and three officers, we took forty-seven and three officers. The enemy lost a great many men; we lost forty-six men and had sixty-two wounded, besides six officers, Messieurs de Lameth, Count William de Deux Ponts, De Cereuil, Captain of the Gatinois regiment, de Berthelet, de Severgue and de Lutzen.

Side Note.—M. d'Estrade, Lieutenant Colonel of the Gatinois, a gentleman distinguished by his merit as well as by his age, and who has been present at fourteen sieges or battles, was one of the first to mount the redoubt, but a soldier, not recognizing him, and catching him by the coat to help himself up, overset him into the ditch, where about two hundred men passed over his body. This brave man entered the redoubt after this, and although all bruised, went into the trenches the next day.

October 15—Firing all day. In the night of the 15th to 16th six hundred of the enemy made a sortie upon our right battery, entered the redoubt which was to support it, pushed as far as the battery, and spiked four pieces of 16. All the troops of the trench were called to arms, and the enemy was repulsed. Five prisoners were taken, and they lost besides seven men; during the twenty-four hours we had eleven men killed and thirty-seven wounded; five officers were wounded, Messieurs de Morin, Captain in the Soissonnais, de Bargues, de Hendelot, de Saumont, de Persignan; M. de Persignan, who commanded the re-

doubt which the enemy penetrated, was wounded and made prisoner.

October 16—In the evening the batteries of the second parallel were entirely finished and opened fire. Two men were killed and three wounded.

October 17—There was firing on both sides until noon, when Lord Cornwallis asked for a suspension of arms, and a discussion of articles of capitulation was begun. This day two men were killed and one wounded. M. de Bellenger, an artillery officer was killed.

October 18—The articles of capitulation were discussed and agreed upon.

October 19—At noon the capitulation was signed. At one o'clock possession was taken of the enemy's works, and at two the garrison marched out and laid down its arms at the end of the line.

Side Note.—The Gloucester garrison also marched out before M. de Choisey.

Our loss during the siege was :

Officers killed,	1
“ wounded,	15
Soldiers killed,	70
“ wounded,	169
“ under the orders	
of M. de Choisey, killed,	5
wounded,	15
	<hr/>
	275

Of the Americans.

Soldiers killed or wounded,	250
Officers “ “	10
	<hr/>
	260

The English had killed and wounded about :

Soldiers,	600
Officers,	10
	<hr/>
	610

The garrison, surrendered prisoners of war, amounted to 6,918 men, besides 1,500 sailors, and 68 men captured during the siege.

List of the York garrison which marched out and laid down their arms the day the post was surrendered :

GENERALS CORNWALLIS AND O'HARA.

Colonels,	2
Lieut.-Colonels,	8
Majors,	11
Captains,	52
Lieutenants,	89
Ensigns,	36
Chaplains,	2
Adjutants,	12
Quarter Masters,	10
Surgeon Majors,	10
Aids,	22
Sergeants,	295
Drummers,	121
Muskets,	3,273
	<hr/>
	3,943

Marched out and laid
down their arms at
Gloucester, 1,100

SICK.

Sergeants,	90
Drums,	44
Muskets,	1,741
	<hr/>
	1,875

Captured during the
siege, 68
Sailors, 1,500

Grand total, 8,486

I do not include the Tories or the traders made prisoners of war and paroled, but who must nevertheless be exchanged.

Besides there are in arms of all calibre :

Iron guns,	140
Bronze guns,	74
	—
	214
Small arms,	7,320
Standards,	22
Vessels lost by the English,	64

About twenty were sunk, but forty remain, of which five armed. Besides which the Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, which the enemy sunk, but which can be raised.

In addition about 457 horses.

Note.—Next follows a French translation of the articles of capitulation (see Sparks' Washington, VIII, 583) and of the general orders of General Washington (after orders, October 20, 1781).

EDITOR.

I add to my remarks a journal kept during the siege by the Engineers, another by M. de Ménonville, who was charged with the work on the trench, and a sketch of the campaign by Monsieur the Comte de Grasse, made by his orders on board of the Ville de Paris.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF YORK IN
VIRGINIA
[ENGINEERS]

September 26-27—The American and French armies which were embarked part at Elk River as the head of Chesapeake Bay, and part at Annapolis, arriving successively at Williamsburgh, made a junction there on the 26 September with the American Corps under the orders of the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Division of the Marquis de St. Simon which had embarked at St. Domingo on the Fleet of the Comte de Grasse.

The cavalry of De Lauzun's Volunteers, which came by land, had been ordered to march directly upon Gloucester, a port on the river opposite to the Town of York, where the enemy was also entrenched.

The Infantry of de Lauzun, to the number of three hundred, and eight hundred of the Ships armament moved to this point to reinforce the American Corps destined to prevent any movement of the enemy from this section.

September 28—The Americans, to the number of four or five thousand men of the Continental Troops, and the French army, composed of seven regiments of Infantry and a battalion of Artillery marched upon York to invest it.

The position for the Americans camp was marked out, its right resting on a creek and its left on a marsh.

The right Brigade of the French, which the first day was posted behind the marsh, joined the other two, which stretched to the York River.

The positions for the Park of artillery was marked out on the ground which had been occupied by the First Brigade.

During the night of the 28th to 29th, the enemy established a camp on the plain in front of the position selected for the American army.

September 29—The exterior works were reconnoitred. The plain of York is bounded on the right by a creek, on the left by a marsh, and is commanded by a slightly elevated ground which descends in easy slopes.

The enemy had occupied some points of this ground with redoubts protected by friezes and abattis, under the protection of which they established camps.

At the gorge on the right of the Hampton high road, a battery was opened with a ditch protected by a row of abattis. The left of this battery rested on a great ravine encumbered by felled trees.

During the night of the 29th to 30th the enemy evacuated these redoubts and these batteries.

September 30th—An attack was made on an advanced Post which interfered with the establishment of the left Brigade, and it was compelled to fall back upon the Redoubt beyond the left side of the great ravine, which closed the right of the besieged.

The same day the ground abandoned by the enemy was taken possession of in order to make a reconnoissance of the defences of the body of the place.

The town of York is built partly on the summit and partly in the rear of a plateau, divided by ravines which end in steep banks on the river.

On the right this plateau is bounded by a deep and marshy ravine, through which flows a creek which empties into the river above the town.

Beyond this ravine the enemy occupied a great Star redoubt, friezed and fortified by a double row of abattis, connected by picketed buttresses. This work was on the cliff which overlooks the river.

On the left the plateau ends at the river. This position extending over about one thousand yards, was fortified by redoubts and batteries built at the gorge, and connected together by curtains. The works were friezed and protected by abattis.

In some parts of it there was a sec-

ond one of standing trees, jointed and terraced from behind.

Towards the centre the besieged had opened an interior trench, the principal object of which was to cover a part of the camps.

On the left they occupied an advantageous position on the river cliff by a small redoubt friezed, and abattis thrown forward one hundred and twenty yards from the principal line, and beyond a piece of ground which was under cover. This redoubt was protected on its right by another more considerable work, with a ditch, frieze and abattis. These two works had no communication with each other, nor with the body of the place.

During the night of the 30th September to the 1st October the battery of the Hampton road was closed at the gorge, and an intermediate redoubt was begun between that and the one on Pigeon Hill, near the beginning of one of the gaps of the great ravine on the right of the enemy. The work, which was disturbed by the batteries of the enemy, was finished in the night of the 3d to 4th. This line of new batteries next those abandoned by the enemy, formed a countervallation, the two extremities of which rested on the ravines.

During this interval communications were established across the marshes which separated the camps from the firm ground and the attacks and the trench depots were fixed upon.

For that of the centre the rear was chosen of a great ravine which ends about two hundred yards from the place, and for that of the right a gap of the same ravine. The road from the camp to these depots was not in sight of the works.

The reconnoissance completed, the artillery disembarked, and the necessary supplies arranged, the establishment of the first parallel was begun.

The strength and reputation of the Garrison were the reason for the decision to establish it at the usual distance, and to fortify it by redoubts against sorties. The advanced works on the enemy's left made it necessary even to increase the distance of the right of the attacks from the body of the place. The lay of the ground determined its outline; the right resting on the steep bank of the river, on the left of the great ravine.

In the night of the 6th to 7th, the first parallel was opened, and the construction of the redoubts necessary for safety began. This work was only interrupted by the batteries, the fire of which was turned upon the new redoubts from the beginning of their construction.

The same night an end of a parallel with a flying sap was opened to support a battery which served the double purpose of disturbing the advanced redoubt on the right of the besieged and of driving off the ships of war which might have taken the left of the great attack in reverse.

This work, information of which was given by a deserter, was greatly troubled by the batteries of the besieged, and the attention which they paid to it diverted their attention from the opening of the great attack.

October 7th—At daylight the guard batteries entered the parallel. From the 7th to the 8th the perfectionment of the first parallel and the redoubts was continued, and the construction of the batteries begun. The nature of the ground on

the left decided their establishment behind the parallel, and one was placed on its left flank beyond the ravine.

October 8th—At noon the parallel and the battery at the left attack were completed.

From the 8th to the 9th the perfectionment of the parallel, and of the redoubts and batteries was continued, and communications opened in their rear.

October 9th—The construction of a battery of mortars was begun in part of the parallel.

In the afternoon the batteries began their fire, and subdued that of the enemy.

The fire of that on the left compelled the frigate and the other vessels of war to withdraw.

From the 9th to the 10th the perfecting of the works was continued, and palisades were set in the ditches of the redoubts.

On the left attempts were made to set fire to the abattis of the redoubt.

October 10th—The batteries were ready to open fire.

In the night of the 10th to 11th, the batteries of the left attack burned a ship of war, aground in the river, and some transports.

October 11th—The batteries continued their fire.

The first parallel and the redoubts being entirely completed, the line of the second and its communications was determined.

The left was rested on a great ravine; the redoubts which were in the extended left of the besieged made it necessary to terminate the right by a shoulder (epaulement) projection one hundred

and twenty yards distant from one of their redoubts.

During the night of the 11th to 12th, the second parallel was opened, and the works necessary for its protection and that of the batteries were begun. Communications were also opened from this parallel to the first, that of the right, starting from the head of the great centre ravine, that on the left cutting the Hampton high way.

This work, too near the enemy to be unobserved by them, was greatly disturbed by their batteries and musketry fire.

The fire of our batteries of the first parallel somewhat subdued that of the place, and favored the progress of the work.

From the 12th to 13th the construction of batteries in advance of the parallel was begun, and work on the redoubts, the continuance which the close proximity to the fire of the enemy rendered impossible by day, was resumed.

In the night of the 13th to 14th, and during the day of the 14th, the work of the preceding days and nights was continued.

In the night of the 14th to 15th the Baron de Vioménil, Maréchal de Camp for the day, and the Marquis de Lafayette, assaulted the two advanced redoubts on the enemy's left. These assaults were perfectly successful, although the friezes and abattis were still unbroken.

By daylight the parallel was completed to the river, and connected with the first by a communication.

The captured redoubts were included in this parallel, and a battery of guns

and shells was posted in that of the cliff.

October 15—The parallel and its communications were perfected, and a line of battery in advance of it, between the new redoubts, marked out.

In the night of the 15th to 16th, the besieged made a sortie upon the left of the Grand attack and spiked seven pieces of cannon which were not yet in battery. The reserves of the trench guard compelled them to fall back precipitately.

The same night work was continued on the redoubts and batteries.

October 16—The cannon which was spiked the night before fired upon the enemy's works.

In the night of the 16th to 17th the work of the preceding nights was continued, and the artillery moved from the first parallel to the second.

October 17—The greater part of our batteries fired and subdued those of the enemy, who had kept up a very sharp and continuous fire during the preceding days.

In the afternoon a suspension of arms was asked for and successively prolonged through the night with reciprocal cessation of work. In consequence the tracing of a flying sap to connect the batteries opposite the redoubt on the right of the enemy was stopped.

October 18—The suspension was continued, to agree upon the articles of the capitulation, which was signed the 19th.

The Garrisons of York and Gloucester surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Done in camp before York the 22d October, 1781.

NOTES

HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECOEUR—
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTICE—When I wrote the biographical sketch of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, author of the *Letters of an American Farmer*, which was prefixed to his description of the Falls of 'Niagara, published in the October number of the *Magazine of American History* [II., 604,] I was aware that a person of that name had served with distinction in the French war in America, as an officer in the Regiment *de la Sarre*, but I omitted all notice of that fact, in consequence of a doubt as to his identity with the subject of my sketch. The date of the birth of the officer, as given in the archives of the *Ministère de la guerre* in Paris, did not correspond with that of the author of the *Letters*, as preserved in the records of his family.

There is on file in said archives, under date of July 5th, 1758, an application in behalf of the *Sieur Michel Jean de Crèvecoeur*, for a lieutenancy in the regiment *de la Sarre*. He is described as a cadet in the colonial troops, and is recommended to the Government by the Baron de Breteuil and the Marquis d'Houdetot, under whom he had served in Canada with distinction. He is described as a person of ability, and familiar with artillery. The application was favorably endorsed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, then Governor-General of Canada. It states that the cadet was born in Paris on the 6th day of January, 1738. The author of the "*Letters*" is stated by his biographers to have been born in Caen, in 1735. The last date is an error, for the family records show that he was born at Caen in 1738. The

discrepancy between the dates and places of birth of the cadet, and of the author of the "*Letters*," is not conclusive against the identity of the two, in view of the fact that such information concerning applicants for promotion was not usually obtained from baptismal registers. In consequence of this omission, it is well known that the records of the War Department in Paris are not reliable in that particular.

If, therefore, the proofs of identity are otherwise satisfactory, such discrepancy in date and place of birth can be properly disregarded. That the individuals were undoubtedly identical, may be inferred from the following considerations:

The Marquis d'Houdetot and the Baron de Breteuil, who recommended the cadet for the lieutenancy, were intimate friends of the family of the author of the "*Letters*."

There was no other member of the Crèvecoeur family, who could possibly have served in the French colony at the time indicated.

Documents in possession of the family show that the author of the "*Letters*" passed many years in Canada before its conquest by the English, and had been employed in drawing maps of the country. Among other evidences, is a letter written in New York in 1790, to a person in France, in which mention is made of St. John de Crèvecoeur, then French Consul-General in New York, and author of the "*Letters of an American Farmer*," whom the writer recalls to the memory of his correspondent as one whom they had both met in Canada, *as a lieutenant in the regiment de la Sarre*.

The name of the cadet is given in the application as the "Sieur Michel Jean de Crèvecoeur"; that of the author of the "Letters" is entered in the register of his baptism as Michel William Jean de Crèvecoeur, showing an identity in name, except that the "William," in the baptismal name, was omitted in the other, as was frequently the case among the French.

The author of the "Letters," in the notes to his "Travels in Pennsylvania," exhibits an intimate personal knowledge of the country that had been the subject of controversy between the French and English in America, and which could only have been acquired by an active participant in that strife.

In the *Gazette de France*, under date of March 10th, 1759, there is a notice, of which the following is a translation. It was written from Versailles, two days before its publication :

"The Sieur de Bougainville, first *aide-de-camp* to the Marquis de Montcalm, "has had the honor to present to his majesty a plan of the forts and a map "of the places which constitute the "theatre of war in America. These "have been drawn by the Sieur de "Crèvecoeur, an officer of the regiment "de la Sarre, employed in the engineers, "and who has acquired much reputation "by his bravery and talents." This notice must refer to the same Crèvecoeur mentioned in the above application for a lieutenancy, which office had undoubtedly been conferred upon him.

The map and plans above alluded to can now be seen in the *Dépôt Géographique de la Guerre* in Paris. Although they are anonymous, there is a tradition

in the office that they were drawn by Crèvecoeur, the lieutenant in the regiment *de la Sarre*. The map is quite large, being on a scale of about eight miles to an inch. Both the map and the plans are of no little historical interest.

The title endorsed on the former is as follows :

"Manuscrite en 1758, d'une partie de "l'Amerique, qui comprend le Connecticut, Chamokin ville sur le lac St. Pierre, la R. Susquehanna, le lac Ontario, Winchester ville dans la Virginie, et partie du lac Erie, lequel pays "fait partie du Canada."

On it are delineated, plans of Forts Quaris, Cannatchocary and Hunter, and the house of Sir William Johnson.

It will be noticed that the map is dated in 1758, one year previous to its being presented to his majesty, Louis XV., as before stated.

A careful comparison of the handwriting of the above title, with known manuscripts of the author of the "Letters," shows that they must have been written by the same individual.

O. H. MARSHALL.

COCK-HILL FORT. — This little "redoubt of two guns"—so described by Dr. Lossing, in his "Field-Book of the Revolution;" see Vol. II., pp. 610, 620—was an "outpost" in the American line of defense at the time of the capture of "Fort Washington" by the British and Hessian forces, in 1776. It was situated at the northwestern extremity of Tubby Hook hill—its ancient and modern name—about one mile north of Fort Washington hill, at a point overlooking both the Hudson River and the Harlem

River valley. Spuyten Duyvel Creek is at the foot of the steep incline of this hill northward, across which, on "Tetard's hill, was the larger fortification called *Fort Independence*." From Cock-hill Fort the little detachment of our forces stationed there was driven, says Lossing, by Col. Rall, soon after killed at Trenton. The circular earthwork constituting this little fortification, in height some ten or twelve feet, was leveled by a modern gardener now on the spot; nothing of the relic kind was unearthed by his spade but a "brick drain," and some military "pipes" and bullets, which were taken off by a zealous antiquary. The site of old "Cock-hill Fort" is one of the most commanding on New York Island, in the extent and beauty of its outlooks. It is the property of I. B. West, who resides in a cottage near by. So desirable was the locality regarded for a summer residence, that Mr. West only a very few years ago paid the sum of \$25,000 for the acre of land he now owns there; it was about \$2,500 more than was paid for the whole hill of 80 acres in 1840, by Mr. Samuel Thompson, of New York, who moved to what is now known as Inwood at about that time, and was the pioneer builder of residences on Tubby Hook hill. This hill, during the Revolution and long subsequent, belonged to the extensive Dyckman estate at this end of the Island. From the lofty apex of Cock-hill—where stood the fort—we have a view of several elegant mansions, in the midst of rich horticultural and rural surroundings, on the Harlem River side, one of which is that of Mr. Isaac W. Dyckman, the present worthy repre-

sentative of that estate, whose patriotic ancestor and kinsmen bravely stood their ground or shed their blood amid the forts and fights and forays of the old war, by which they were so much surrounded in these parts. W. H.

A TURTLE FEAST.—Newport, December 23, 1752.—Sir, Your Favours by Brother Thos I recd. The Turtle in excellent order but the Times not so. I held the entertainment at Fort George were we was well accommodated, and favoured wh a Company of about 40 or 50 Gentln & Ladies with his Honour Josh Whipple Esqr as the head upon our Landing the Flagg was hoisted and then saluted with a number of cannon. We Dined about Two o'clock, Drank Tea about 5, then order the musitions to play, Danced untill Ten. We was favour'd wh. a fine moon light, serene Night, landed at Town about Eleven, Serenaded every person to their Door, and thus concluded, but upon the whole. The entertainment had the preference to all the Turtle frolicks before it and Mr Geo Bressett's Health, with Honest George was freely drank In a chearfull Glass by every person and at the Request of the Company I return you these compliments for the formation of so agreeable an Entertainment. George I conclude in hopes of seeing of you soon and so sincerely wish you health and prosperity and Remain your assured Friend and most Humble servt

SAM FREEBODY

Mr. George Bressett.

Newport.

J. E. M.

THE VAUCLUSE BUTTONWOOD.—On or

about the 8th of September, 1857, the "Big Tree" on the Vaucluse Farm fell to the ground. Probably there are few, if any, trees as large as this was when in a vigorous state on this side of the Alleghany Mountains. Its measurement, now that it is bereft of bark and otherwise in a perishing condition, is as follows :

At its widest spread on the ground, about 42 feet in circumference; smallest part of its main trunk, 22 feet in circumference; largest fork at its junction with trunk (this is about 10 feet from ground), 13 feet 4 inches; largest fork, 50 feet from ground, 8 feet 7 inches; smallest fork at junction, 12 feet 10 inches; smallest fork, 40 feet from ground, 9 feet 3 inches.

There are not, probably, many trees on the island that are as large at their base as is the smallest of these forks at the height of 40 feet. A swing was formerly attached to one of its lower branches, 70 feet from the ground. When in full vigor it used to be said that a bird resting on its topmost branch could not be reached with an ordinary fowling piece.—*Newport Mercury*, 1857.

J. E. M.

FIRST AMERICAN MATRIMONIAL ADVERTISEMENT.—The following extract from Loudon's New York Packet of March 13, 1783, probably written by one of the young bloods of the army, is supposed to be the earliest matrimonial advertisement printed in this country :

"Inserted by particular desire. *To the Ladies!* A Young Gentleman just completing the twenty third Year of his Age, of a middling Stature, an open

frank and agreeable Countenance, of genteel Mien and Air, who has a considerable Acquaintance with the *Beau Monde*, whose Travels have not been confined to the Continent only, but who has visited the *Gallic Coast*, and whose Reflections have taught him to despise the vain Pleasures and idle Follies of the World; is desirous of settling himself for Life by entering into the Bonds of Hymen with any Lady either Maid or Widow, provided her Circumstances will enable them to live in that happy State of Mediocrity, equally removed from the Follies of the Great, and the Vices of the Low; and who may be blessed with the good Nature to wink at the lesser Foibles of human Weakness. A Line directed to Z. J. at Fish-Kill, will be properly attended to.—As the Writer is sincere, he expects that none from an idle Curiosity, will give themselves any unnecessary Trouble to discover him.

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST COFFEE IN AMERICA.—The first commercial enterprise from Newport started from the island of Providence. It was a small vessel fitted out by the farmers of Rhode Island, the captain, mate and crew each owning a part. She was sent on a trading voyage to the West Indies. Tradition says she brought, on her return, the first coffee introduced into the colonies. The berry was known as the *Coffee bean*.—*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Sept., 1851.

J. E. M.

THE JEWS IN NEWPORT.—In 1658 fifteen Hebrew families from Holland arrived at Newport, R. I., and brought

with them the first three degrees of masonry. The Synagogue was built in 1762, and dedicated the 2d day of December, 1763, "after the Jewish custom, with much grandeur and sublimity."—*Newport Mercury*.

J. E. M.

THE HEROIC BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTION.—Louis McLaren, in an oration delivered before the Artillery Company of Wilmington, Del., July 5, 1813, thus alludes to the heroic battles of the war for Independence: "The exploits of our heroes are almost as numerous as the hills of our country, and eclipse all the victories of Greece and of Rome! Cast your eyes over the extent of your territory, and proudly dwell on the splendour of your National feats! *Bunker's Hill* and the *Heights of Harlem, Saratoga* and *Trenton, Princeton* and *Monmouth, Stony Point* and *York-Town*, are the proud monuments of your heroes' deeds and your country's glory. At the mention of *York-Town*, who does not swell to the full measure of his soul? At *York-Town* was struck the blow which rivetted your Nation's Independence; here the banners of your country's liberties were triumphantly erected. On this height the Eagle of American glory perched, and flapping his wings in triumph, hallowed the Western World!"

PETERSFIELD.

AN UNKNOWN ADVOCATE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.—Without wishing to detract from the fame of Thomas Paine, or question his pre-eminence as the advocate of American Independence, I would like to call attention to a con-

temporary pamphleteer who has remained without any recognition of his service. His piece was printed at Philadelphia in 1776, and is entitled "Observations on the Reconciliation of Great Britain and the Colonies, in which are exhibited Arguments for and against that measure. By a Friend of American Liberty." It is written with sufficient patriotism and eloquence, as this extract will show:

"If we are independent, this land of liberty will be glorious on many accounts: Population will abundantly increase, agriculture will be promoted, trade will flourish, religion, unrestrained by human laws, will have free course to run and prevail, and America be an asylum for all noble spirits and sons of liberty from all parts of the world. Hither they may retire from every land of oppression; here they may expand and exult; here they may enjoy all the blessings which this terraqueous globe can afford to fallen men."

The question arises, Who was the author? After due consideration of the circumstances of the case, I am strongly inclined to attribute it to Rev. Jacob Green, of New Jersey, on the strength of the following passage in the Life of the Rev. Ashbel Green (page 46): "My own father wrote a pamphlet entitled, as well as I can remember, 'Observations on the present Controversy between Great Britain and her American Colonies.'" I think no pamphlet of just that title exists, but it is not prudent to be too positive in making such a negative assertion.

The pamphleteer, whoever he was, was evidently a man in advance of his

age, as appears by the following passage:

"I wish that I could add that the guilt of slavery would be banished from us, and I cannot but hope that in time it may. What a dreadful absurdity, what a shocking consideration that people who are so strenuously contending for liberty should at the same time encourage and promote slavery! and being thus guilty expose themselves to the judgment of Heaven."

F. BURDGE.

REMAINS OF BRITISH OFFICERS IN NEW YORK.—Last week a number of bodies, including those of three British officers, were dug up at the northwest corner of 104th street and Lexington avenue, New York City. All the space on the west side of Lexington avenue, between 104th and 105th streets, was a military graveyard during the British occupation; the military hospital in that neighborhood was at the same house now occupied by H. P. McGowan, which stands on the south side of 106th street, between Third and Lexington avenues. The graves of these three British officers were preserved with care by the father (now deceased) of Mr. McGowan, and their location described by him to be where the bodies were found.

September 12, 1879.

J. B. B.

MITIGATED ABOLITION.—The following singular letter appeared in the Pittsburgh Gazette of May 20, 1797:

"Pittsburgh, May 8, 1797.

Sir, In the Homini Replegiando, for the Negro of Andrew Holmes, it would be dangerous to admit the principle, that the master being detained within the State, waiting for the opening of the navigation of our rivers, can take the

case out of the law. But such is the intemperance, vagrancy, and dishonesty of the negro in question that he is a nuisance, and the bail procured for him has surrendered him to the jail of the county so that the question of the elapse of six months, or the application of the law under special circumstances, does not deserve an inquiry into this case. We are therefore ready to deliver the negro to you, that he may be transported with the first boat to Kentucky.

It may be of good example to people of colour at this place, who claim liberty, to conduct themselves in such a manner as to shew that they deserve it.

H. H. BRACKENRIDGE,

Member of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery.

THOMAS COLLINS,

Counsel in behalf of the Negro.

To STEELE SEMPLE, Esquire,

Attorney for Andrew Holmes."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

WINE-MAKING IN VIRGINIA.—"As for Wine, in all Parts of the Country Grapes grow wild and thrive extreamly, but at present they are almost only Food for the Birds; few Attempts having been made for the Cultivation of them and making Wines, except that of Colonel *Robert Beverley*,* which was thus: He having read, seen, studied, and enquired much concerning the Nature of Vintages, reduced his Knowledge to Practice for his better Experience and Certainty, in planting a small Vineyard; and having great Prospect that this would answer his Purpose, he bragged much of it in Publick; but being bantered by severall Gentlemen, he proposed to give each of them a Guinea down, if they

would give him Ten, if he made a certainty Number of Gallons of pure Wine that Vintage; they accepted the Proposals, and he distributed (I think) one hundred Guineas, made the Wine according to the Terms agreed upon, and won his Wager, which Money he afterwards employed in planting more and greater Vineyards, from which he made good Quantities of Wine, and would have brought it to very high Perfection had he lived some Years longer. His whole Family, even his *Negroes*, drank scarce anything but the small Wines, and the Strong is of a good Body and Flavour: the Red, that I have often drank, to me it seems to have the Taste of *Claret* and the Strength of *Red Port*." — *The Present State of Virginia*, by Hugh Jones, A. M., London, MDCCXXIV.

A. H.

* Maternal grandfather of Colonel Beverley Robinson.

BRITISH ARMY EMOLUMENTS.—The following anecdote of Captain Thomas Bibby of the 47th Foot, founder of the late Bibby family of New York, is worthy of reproduction:

"A day or two before we came here Prince William Henry arrived from England in the *Lion* of Seventy-four guns, under the care of Admiral Digby. The prince has been on shore, and visited most of the places in the City and the posts around it. He is very shrewd and sensible, making many pertinent remarks and observations. Not long since he accosted Lieut. Bibby of our regiment in the following manner: 'Well, Captain Bibby, so you are in the Adjutant General's office. I suppose there are handsome perquisites?' Bibby replied:

'Upon my word, your royal Highness is misinformed, for no one in that office has more than his bare salary.' 'Indeed,' exclaimed his Royal Highness with surprise. 'Well, well, then you should partake of those of the Commissaries and Barrack Master General; for, let me tell you, they have emoluments enough for both.'" — *Anburey's Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, II., 630.

J. A. S.

DEATHS OF OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION.—Extract from General Orders issued by General Henry Lee at Parkinson's Ferry, November 20, 1794, published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 29, 1794:

"With deep regret the Commander-in-Chief announces the death of Major Watkins of the Maryland line, and Lieutenant Jones of the Virginia line, both of whom in their several stations ably and honorably discharged their duties—to their memory we will pay the highest tribute of respectful condolence—they must be buried with the honors of war, and attended to the grave conformably to their rank. This last homage of profound respect the Commander-in-Chief presents to their names as the highest testimony he can give of his sense of the merit of fellow soldiers who fell victims to the toil and sufferings to which the virtuous army under his command was unavoidably subjected in the course of a campaign undertaken to stop the progress of anarchy, and to perpetuate to their fellow citizens the inestimable blessings of good order and good government."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

CENSUS OF STATEN ISLAND, N. Y., 1790. — The following is the census of the white inhabitants of the several townships on Staten Island, from an actual enumeration lately made, viz. :

Castle Town,	804
Westfield,	1154
Southfield,	865
Northfield,	1027

Total 3,850
Daily Advertiser, Feb. 14, 1791.

W. K.

LIBERALITY OF JOHN ADAMS.—*Philadelphia, May 21, 1791.* Monday last the Vice President of the United States, his lady and family left this city on a tour to the Eastward. We hear that his Excellency proposes to pass the summer at his seat in Braintree, near Boston.—*Philadelphia newspaper.*

The liberality of that gentleman is worthy of notice : on his tour between Philadelphia and Boston his progress was impeded by means of a dangerous bridge being taken up to repair ; the alacrity of the labourers on the occasion soon furnished the sage with a temporary passage for himself, family and retinue, which demonstrated their esteem for so illustrious a character. And in token of respect for the attention shewn him, he generously conferred on the labourers ONE QUARTER OF A DOLLAR!!!—which must be considered a very liberal compensation to six or eight men for an hour's service—especially when we consider how parsimonious Congress have been in stipulating his salary!!—*New Haven Gazette.*

PETERSFIELD.

QUERIES

OLD HOUSES ON THE KINGSBRIDGE ROAD.—Can any reader of the Magazine tell me where the Blue Bell Tavern on the Kingsbridge road was situated, and whether there is any part of it still in existence? There is a picture of it in Valentine's Manual for 1857, p. 208. I take it to be the place alluded to in the following passage in the recollections of John Pintard :

"The holy sacrament was administered to the Huguenots of New Rochelle four times a year, viz., Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and the middle of September. During the intermissions that occurred the communicants walked to New York for that purpose. Prior to their departure, on a Sunday, they always collected the young children and left them in the care of their friends, while they set off early in the morning, and walked to the city barefooted, carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands. About twelve miles from New York, at a place *since called the Blue Bell*, there was a large rock by the roadside covered with cedars ; here they stopped for a short time to rest and take some refreshments, and then proceeded on their journey till they came to a fresh water pond within the bounds of the city. Here they washed their feet, put on their shoes and stockings, and walked to the French church (the old church du St. Esprit in Pine street), where they generally arrived by the time service begun."

Between the Morris (or Jumel) house and King bridge itself there are, as far as my knowledge goes, only three Revolutionary houses now standing. They

are, first, a very old stone house on the east side of the road, a little above its point of intersection with the Tenth avenue, about 165th street; second, the Black Horse Tavern (is it the original building?), on the west side of the road near the road leading off to Inwood, and third, the Dyckman house, a short distance below Dyckman's bridge.

There was, within the past ten years, a very old house on the southwest corner of 152d street, a picture of which is given in Valentine's Manual for 1864, but it is now gone.

In a passage of Washington's Diary, under date of July, 1781, quoted in the January number of the Magazine, he says, speaking of the Kingsbridge road: "Near the Blue Bell there are a number of houses, but they have more the appearance of stables than barracks."

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL.

A KENTUCKY VOTER.—The following paragraph went the rounds of the press during the autumn of 1818: "An extraordinary spectacle was exhibited at the polls, during the election in Mount Sterling, in the person of Mr. John Summers, one hundred and twelve years of age, who appeared and exercised the right of suffrage, having walked several miles for that purpose. He was born the 12th July, 1706, in Virginia, and has been a resident of Kentucky about thirty years, and, we are informed, has resided in that county nearly the whole of that time. He has had 24 children, 14 now living, the youngest 11 years old; and has had upwards of 300 grand children. His hearing and sight are good."

Will not some of your readers in the blue grass region verify, if possible, the above statement? It seems to me that some of the 300 grand-children must still survive, and may perhaps be subscribers to your widely circulated magazine.

PETERSFIELD.

KING SEARS.—Isaac Sears of the "Liberty Boys" of New York. Wanted, name of wife and children, when and where born, date of death and where, and any further information concerning them. Are any descendants living?

Newton, Mass.

S. P. MAY.

BRICKING UP A GRAVE.—What is the origin of the custom, which obtains in some parts of Dutchess county, N. Y., of bricking up the sides of a grave to a level with the top of the coffin, and then covering that with slabs of stone? Is it a practice brought from Holland or local?

W. C. S.

WILLIAM SMITH AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.—Judge Thomas Jones, in his History of New York, Vol. I., p. 143, says that he was "assured from authentic authority, brought from the rebel country, that this very identical gentleman (William Smith) had at the request of the Provincial Convention actually drawn a Constitution for the rebel Government of New York, or had altered, revised and amended, or counseled, advised or consulted with a committee of them upon the rough draft, and assisted in its completion;" and Mr. Delancey, his editor, in his note on William Smith and the Provincial Convention, Vol. I., p. 642, says: "William

Smith was consulted out of doors, as the author states, and did much of the drafting of the instrument."

Where does Mr. Delancey find his authority for this statement? It does not appear in his note.

NEW YORK.

LEE'S QUOTATION.—"How cold the friendship of those high in power." This seems to have been a favorite phrase with Major Harry Lee. Referring to the insufficiency of Sir Henry Clinton's offers to save the life of André in a postscript to a letter, written from the Light Camp near Tappan, Oct. 2, 1780, the day of the execution, to Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe of the Queen's Rangers, he used the phrase as above quoted. Appendix to Simcoe's Military Journal, p. 202.

In a letter written from the same place, October 4, to his relative, Governor Lee of Maryland, he uses the same phrase with a variation.

"How cold are the friendships of men high in power."

Where is the original of this phrase?

IULUS.

SPILIARD THE TRAVELER.—Can information be had in regard to one Spiliard, a celebrated English pedestrian traveler, who came to America shortly after the close of the Revolutionary war? He made several expeditions to the South and West, and, if my recollection serves, he intended to make the overland journey to the Pacific. Did he print the result of his observations? If not, are his papers preserved, and where? What is known of his personal history?

THOS. ARMSTRONG.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS ON THE BROADWAY.—Judge Jones, in his History of New York, recently published by the New York Historical Society, says: "Upon this occasion (the arrival of Washington in New York in April, 1776) William Smith, Esq., accommodated General Washington with his house in town. His brother Tom did the same with his to General Gates, and retired to Haverstraw in Orange County, about thirty miles from New York, on the banks of the Hudson, where they had each a farm and a country seat."

Where were the houses of the Smiths which were occupied by Washington and Gates, the Adjutant-General of the army?

WATSON.

ALEXANDER GENEALOGY.—Has the genealogy of the Alexander family been published?

Salem.

ALEXANDER ROSS.

REPLIES

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTES TO THE FLAG.—(III., 579, 761, IV., 312.) W. H., in the April number, says his note (Sep., 1879) to which I replied (Dec., 1879) does not claim that the St. Eustatius salute was to "the stars and stripes," but to the flag of the United States, alias "the new flag of 13 stripes," "the flag of the continental congress," "the flag of the colonies," &c., neither does the Hon. Mr. Birney "assert more than this." Paul Jones' claim, therefore, that he obtained the first salute to the legally established American flag, and that it was "an acknowledgment of

American independence," seems to me to be substantiated.

The Continental Colors were never established, so far as known, by any act or resolution of the Continental Congress, and undoubtedly representing the union of the Colonies for defence, were never the flag of the United States. The Grand Union flag raised by Washington at Cambridge, January 2, 1776, does not appear to have been the same as the striped naval ensign, whose stripes were variant, sometimes red and white, or red and yellow, or blue and white, or red, white and blue, according to fancy—with the rattlesnake undulating across them. Sometimes they are spoken of as striped *under* the Union, and at other times represented in engravings without any Union.

Now with regard to Mr. Birney. I have before me a pamphlet, of which the following is the title in full: "The Stars and Stripes. The flag of the United States of America; when, where and by whom was it first saluted? The question answered. Concord, N. H. Printed by the Republican Press Association, 1876." The pamphlet begins: "The first salute to the Stars and Stripes after the declaration of independence; when, where, and by whom given? Commodore Preble cites Doctor Ezra Green in proof that it was given by a French Admiral. Mr. Prescott, Sec'y of State of N. H., thinks it was given by the Gov'r of St. Eustatius, and publishes the following important historical documents in support of his views."

Then follows the correspondence with Mr. Birney, who in his letter of June 15, 1876, after stating the facts about the

St. Eustatius salute, says: "This, of course, sets aside the opinion of Commodore Preble that the salute fired on the 14th of Feb. was the first salute given the American flag." Mr. Prescott, also, in a letter to our minister to the Hague, under date November 28, 1875, states that in the Oct. No., 1874, of the Hist. and Gen. Register, he claimed that John de Graff was the first foreign magistrate to salute "the *stars and stripes*" (see N. E. H. G. R., Oct., 1874, p. 442).

The chronological order of these salutes is:

November 16, 1776—The Continental Brig, Andrea Dorea, wearing the striped Continental ensign, saluted Orange Fort at St. Eustatia, one of the Dutch West India Islands, with thirteen guns, and by order of the Governor, Johannes de Graef, was honored with a return salute of the same number of guns.

August, 1777—The Continental Brig General Mifflin, commanded by Capt. Wm. McNeil, and wearing the Continental colors, received a return salute at Brest, much to the indignation of the British Ambassador.

February 13, 1778—Paul Jones, in command of the Ranger, sent his boat into Quiberon bay to arrange with Admiral La Motte Piquet for a salute to the Stars and Stripes, demanding a return of gun for gun, but could only obtain from him as the Senior American Continental Officer in Europe the same salute he was authorized to return to an Admiral of Holland; accordingly the next day after sunset (14th) the Ranger saluted the Admiral's flag with 13 guns, which he returned with nine. In order,

however, that the compliments should be clear and unmistakable, Jones the next day went on board the Brig Independent, and sailed through the French fleet, again saluting the Admiral's flag with thirteen guns, and again receiving a return salute of nine. This was not only recognizing the new flag, but the rank of the naval officer carrying it.

After this public recognition of the *Stars and Stripes*, salutes to them appear to have been frequent.

In the MS. diary of Wm. Kennison, Lt. of Marines, written on board the Boston, Capt. Tucker, I find under date—

"May 22, 1778—At 5 A. M. fell down to Larmon. At 4 P. M. came to anchor three miles above Blaye and discharged thirteen cannon. The Fort returned the salute."

"August 15, 1778—At Brest the Commodore and 'Boston' fired their salutes of thirteen guns each, which was answered by 'Le Britange' with twenty-one guns."

"August 16, 1778—The French Admiral, Count D'Orvilliers, came on board the Providence with his retinue, and on his departure was saluted with the yards manned, huzzas and thirteen guns."

"Oct. 16, 1778—Put into Marblehead harbor. In entering the harbor the Providence and Boston saluted the Forts with 13 guns, which was returned."

This interesting diary is now in the possession of a descendant of Lt. Kennison, and is understood soon to be printed in The Penn. Mag. of History.

G. H. P.

HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN OPERA IN NEW YORK.—(IV., 311). In a volume

in 16mo, containing a number of the works of Da Ponte, I find, without the imprint or title page, a pamphlet in 46 pages, entitled—

Storia della Compagnia dell' Opera Italiana condotta da Giacomo Montresor in America in Agosto dell' Anno 1832.

This is followed by a second pamphlet, a translation of the former, of 52 pages, entitled—

A History of the Italian Opera Company imported to America by Giacomo Montresor in August, 1832. New York, Lorenzo da Ponte, 1833.

Next in order comes a pamphlet in 35 pages, which is a second part of the Storia della Compagnia first above mentioned. It is entitled—

Storia incredibile ma Vera. Parte Seconda. Scritta da Lorenzo da Ponte. Nuova Jorca, Joseph Desnoues Stampatore, 1833.

Which is also followed by a translation in 24 pages. It is entitled—

A History of the Italian Opera Company imported to America by Giacomo Montresor in August, 1832. Part II. Translated from the Italian by C. D. P. New York, Lorenzo da Ponte, 1833.

Fieldston, N. Y.

M. L. D.

SHUTTLEWORTH AGAIN.—(II., 562.) On Saturday last, May 28th, sailed from this port for Quebec, the brigantine Nimble, commanded by Capt Shuttleworth, the celebrated English marine traveller. It is said Captain Shuttleworth intends visiting the Levant, and the several ports of Turkey, and the Lesser Asia before his return to these western parts of the world.—*Daily Advertiser*, New York, May 30, 1791. W. K.

AN ANCIENT GOLD MEDAL.—(IV., 214)

—This medal was probably struck to commemorate the Treaty of Antwerp of 1715, known as the Barrier Treaty. Austria and Holland on the one side, and France on the other, agreed, among other things, that a line of fortresses should protect the frontiers then fixed. One of these was the anciently fortified city of Nymegen on the Waal. The inscription in exergue, on the reverse of the medal, refers to the settlement of a boundary, and the one on the base of the pyramidal monument in the field, to the fact that this city was one of the Imperial seats of Charlemagne in these parts of his Empire. The first in rank was *Aquisgranum*, Aix la Chapelle, or Aachen; the second was *Noviomagus*, Nymegen or Nieuwmegen, and the third was *Theodorusville*, Thionville or Diedenhofen.

Guicciardini, Merian and others quote this *cognomen* of *Pes Imperii*, when describing Nijmegen, and Havard, in his Picturesque Holland recently published, again refers to it, and gives the supposed origin of its name Noviomagus. Tacitus called it *Batavorum Oppidum*.

The obverse of the medal bears the arms of the city on the field. A recent work of Baron D'Ablaing van Fiessenburg, 1862, on the arms of towns in the Netherlands, gives them as on the medal in question, but with different supporters. They may be blazoned thus. On a field, *or*, the German double-head eagle *sable*; at the heart point on an escutcheon of pretence *azure*, a lion rampant *or*. Crest an imperial crown. Supporters two lions rampant *or* and *sable*, which are the bearings of Gelderland.

Noviomagus is also the Roman designation of *Spire* in Bavaria, and of *Noyon*, Dep't of Oise, France. *Magdeburgum* is that of Magdeburg in Lower Saxony. The arms and name on the obverse of the medal, and the words *Pes Imperii* on the reverse, fix its derivation, and its date as probably of 1715. J. C. B.

——(IV., 214). The Insignia are not those of Magdeburg, and there never existed an Imperial City of New Magdeburg. The Insignia of Magdeburg are and were a castellated gate with the figure of a female holding a rose in her right hand, between the two turrets over the gate and three roses immediately over and on the sides of the arch of the gate, the gate itself half closed by a falling grate. I give the description from recollection, having been educated at the old "Convent of Our Lady," in Magdeburg, but have no means of verifying the details of my description.

Novimag. may stand and probably does for Novimagus, a name given to Nymwegen in Holland and to Speyer in Southern Germany, both free Imperial Cities. I incline to the belief, that the medal was struck to commemorate the *protest* made at the session of the Imperial Diet at Speyer in 1529, by the followers of Luther, for the following reasons: Nymwegen had only one historical event of importance in medieval times to commemorate, the Treaty of 1678. This date does not agree with the dress and the accoutrements of the supporters of the shield, which are those of the previous century. Then, the inscription, *Terminum Posuisti qucm*, &c.,



seems to me to indicate the animus, which led to the celebrated protest against the encroachments of the Catholic clergy : "So far and not farther."

Albany.

B. F.

THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN NEW YORK.—(IV., 391.) In reply to the query as to the location of this department in New York in the early days of the Federal Government, I submit the following from the New York directories :

1786—His Excellency John Jay, Esq.,
Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
8 Broadway.

1787—John Jay, Esq., 99 Broadway.

1788—*No directory issued.*

1789—John Jay, 133 Broadway.

1790—Department of State, comprising
Department of Foreign Affairs,
Thomas Jefferson, Secretary. No
address is given but Abraham
Okie Office, Keeper, and Mes-
senger, appears at 82 Broadway.

The directories supply no further information.

W. K.

— I can contribute the following additional information towards the solution of my query :

Mr. Jay kept what he called a journal, in which he entered all letters received, and recorded what action was taken upon them. If they were sent to Congress, the date of such transmission was noted in its chronological order. He even went so far as to record the fact that letters were referred to the Translator of the Department, and the dates of such reference and return are entered. In this journal, under date of January 24, 1787 is the following entry :

"Mr. Jay, in a note to Mr. Duane of this date, requested to be informed whether Rooms in the City Hall for the office of Foreign Affairs could be spared next May."

Again, under date of the 27th January, the following entry is found :

"Mr. Duane, in a note to Mr. Jay of this date, informed him that all the Rooms in the City Hall are occupied, and that none can be spared for his office."

Unfortunately neither Mr. Jay's letter nor Mr. Duane's reply are found with the papers on file in the Department.

From the above entries it would appear that either Mr. Jay desired to move or was compelled to move his office from its then present locality, and desired to go to the City Hall, probably to save expense. It may be that some effects were stored in the City Hall at this time, and continued stored there until the office removed to Philadelphia. In my previous note on this subject I stated that cartage was paid from the City Hall to the office on Broadway. This was about the time the office was removing to Philadelphia.

I also find that Mr. Jay and Mr. Knox, Secretary of War, wrote to the Commissioners of the Treasury as follows :

New York, 1st February, 1788.

Gentlemen—We have hired for a year the new House of the honorable Walter Livingston, Esq., in the Broadway for the Office of Foreign Affairs and of War, at the rate of £250 and the taxes. As we shall not have occasion for all the Rooms, it may perhaps be convenient to you to

place one or more of the offices within your Department in the supernumary ones.

We have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY.

H. KNOX.

To the Commissioners of the Treasury.

I fear the above may not lead up to anything more definite, but I give the points for what they are worth.

JOHN H. HASWELL.

Washington, D. C.

PETER OTSIQUETTE, THE ONEIDA CHIEF.—(II., 440, 635.) Died at this city (Philadelphia) on Monday, the 17th of March, 1792, Mr. Peter Jaquette, one of the principal sachems of the Oneida nation of Indians. This young chief was educated in France; he accompanied M. de la Fayette to that country on his return to the United States.

On Wednesday, March 21st his funeral was attended from Oellers' Hotel to the Presbyterian burying ground in Mulberry street, where his remains were interred. The corpse was preceded by detachments of the light infantry of the city, with arms reversed—drums muffled—music playing a solemn dirge. The corpse was followed by six of the chiefs as mourners, succeeded by all the warriors now in this city; the reverend clergy of all denominations; the Secretary of War and the gentlemen of the War Department; officers of the federal army, and of the militia; and a number of citizens. The concourse assembled on this occasion is supposed to have amounted to more than 10,000 persons.

The Indian chiefs now in this capital have made their visit hither (it is said)

in consequence of an invitation by Col. Pickering, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on behalf of the President of the United States. The object of this visit is said to be a confirmation of former treaties, and the promotion of peace and good understanding between the Whites and the Indian tribes of the Five Nations. The Chiefs are of the following tribes: *Senecas*, six warriors. *Snipe tribe*, eight warriors. *Wolf tribe*, seven warriors. *Beaver tribe*, eight warriors. *Cayugas*, two warriors. *Onondagoes*, six warriors. *Tuscaroras*, three warriors. *Stockbridge* (branch of the Wolf tribe), one warrior. In the whole 49, under the direction of Doctor Samuel Kirkland, Indian Missionary.—*The Universal Asylum, March, 1792.*

W. K.

INDIANA.—(IV., 221.) I venture to give the history of the grant of land on the Ohio river, which comprised the territory known as Indiana prior to and doubtless as late as 1790. In 1763 the Shawnee, Delaware and Huron Indians, dependents and tributaries of the Six Nations, having seized upon merchandise, etc., belonging to several citizens of the Colony of Virginia to the amount of £8,916, 10s, 8d, according to documents presented at the treaty of Stanwix in 1768, the Six Nations, acknowledged as the true and absolute owners of the land, granted to the traders as a retribution for the damage sustained by the destruction of the goods aforesaid, all that tract of land, "Beginning at the Southerly side of the mouth of the Little Kanawha Creek, where it empties into the river Ohio, and running from

thence South East to the Laurel Hill, thence along the Laurel Hill until it strikes the Monongahela, thence down the stream of said river Monongahela, according to the several courses thereof, to the Southern boundary line of the Province of Pennsylvania, thence westerly along the course of said Province boundary line as far as the same shall extend, and from thence by the same course to the river Ohio. Thence down said river Ohio, according to the several courses thereof, to the place of the beginning."

Maysville, Ky.

W. D. H.

THE BOUERIE.—(IV., 224). In Holtrop's *Nederduitch en Engelsch Woordenboek* (Dutch and English Dictionary) the definition of the word "Bouwerij" is given as a farm or messuage. The Bouwery in New York was the farm of Governor Stuyvesant.

IULUS.

A NEW SONG.—(IV., 223.) This song on the Boston Tea Party was printed by Frank Moore in his *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*, under the title of *The Taxed Tea*. In the preface the editor states that it appeared a short time after the occurrence, in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, under the name of "A New Song, to the plaintive tune of 'Hozier's Ghost.'"

EDITOR.

AARON WRIGHT'S JOURNAL.—(IV., 221.) The extracts from Wright's Journal were communicated to the *Historical Magazine* of July, 1862, by J. B. R., of Washington, D. C. It is to be hoped that the original may be found and printed in full. J. B. R. describes it as

comprising thirty-three pages, extending from June 29, 1775, to July 4, 1776, when Wright was discharged in New Jersey, his term of enlistment having expired, and returned home to Pennsylvania. The Journal is quite amusing and full of information.

Brooklyn.

T. A.

ROBINSON'S HOME IN THE HIGHLANDS.—(IV., 109, 227) I notice a correspondent says I made a "slip of the pen" in my Robinson House article. What I wrote I wrote advisedly, viz :

"Beverley Robinson was son of John Robinson, Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses."

Irving's *Work*, II., 245.

"Beverley Robinson was a gentleman of high standing. His father, Speaker of the Virginia Legislature, was," &c., &c. Sargent's *André*, p. 263.

"Robinson (Beverley), son of John, was of the council of Va. in 1734, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Burgesses." Drake's *Dict. Am. Biog.*, p. 774.

New York.

C. A. C.

HOBOKEN.—(IV., 312.) B. F. falls into two errors. 1st. Hoboken-Hacking is not in *Union*, but in *Hudson County*, N. J.

2d. The Jan Evertsen Kil had no part in separating Hoboken from the main land, or making it an island. That Kil is on the southerly boundary of Communipaw, being at least two miles from Hoboken. It took its name from Jans Evertse Bout, who came hither as Patroon Pauw's Superintendent in June, 1634.

Fersey City.

C. H. W.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VI. Fifth Series. (Sewall Papers, vol. II.—1699—1700—1714.) New York. 8vo, pp. 482.

This is the second of the three volumes devoted to the diary of Judge Sewall. The interest is sustained, and forms a most important contribution to the history of New England. Indeed, the perusal of a work like this gives a clearer conception of the period than could be conveyed by any elaborate disquisition thrown into distinct historical form. The present volume contains a series of quaint and clearly-drawn pictures of the first fourteen years of the Eighteenth Century. These pictures, however, belong to the class of dissolving views, and their image was caught just as the state of society which produced them was passing away.

Judge Sewall has been described as the "Last of the Puritans," but the term "Puritan," as applied to the founders of New England, is unfortunate, since true Puritans were almost if not entirely unknown there. A few came over, but they found it convenient to leave, as the overwhelming majority of their associates had resolved upon Congregational Independency, and were unrelenting foes of the English Church. The author of the Diary, however, possessed much of the stern stateliness of the Puritans, who so gravely demanded certain changes in respect to liturgies and vestments, and were so enthusiastically opposed to the Divine Right pretensions of the Crown. But his opposition to the Church at times rose to the height of fanaticism, even as his devotion often tended toward the superstition, of which he maintained a superstitious dread. Yet despite his faults we find in Judge Sewall a noble and elevated character, a man who, with all his sternness, was alive to the tenderest sentiments of humanity, to the advancement of which in the truest and best sense, he was devoted. He was as quaint as he was severe, even though less poetic than practical. Yet notwithstanding his intolerable rhymes, he occasionally reveals a vein of true sentiment, and the return of the robins or the swallows in the spring kindles a genuine glow in his soul. But if the poetic element did not abound, he was certainly as generous as just, and no day seems to have passed without his making some human being happier by a timely gift. No truer testimony, however, to his worth is to be found than that so unconsciously offered by himself, on that cold winter day, where by his mother's open grave, and in the presence of the neighbors and friends he pronounced his simple yet pathetic eulogy, tearfully seeking to say some word for one

who was no longer able to speak for herself, and who had "lavished thousands of words" upon him before he "could return one word in answer."

This is a book over which the reader lingers with delight, and which is everywhere pervaded by a peculiar charm. By its aid we walk in Boston's ancient streets, visit the old meeting-house, sit with the early inhabitant in familiar intercourse at his fireside, listen to the secrets of the Governor's Council, attend the gravely-conducted but joyous wedding, take an occasional run over to Harvard College, though the road is invested at midwinter with serious arctic perils, view the train bands at exercise on the Common, attend the barn raising, which required such a liberal dispensation of *aqua vita*, and enjoy the Thanksgiving cheer. Other privileges, if less enjoyable, are essential to a proper understanding of the period; and therefore we go to see the execution of pirates on the flats of Back Bay, hear the judge pronounce the death sentence upon the unfortunate who has murdered her own offspring, listen to the squabbles between Governor Dudley and the cartmen, go with the beadle to the tavern to quell the roysterers engaged in drinking the Queen's health, hear something of domestic infelicities and scandals, and learn how the parsons got terribly mad, even with Judge Sewall himself, and how young children of an inquiring mind were drowned on washing days by tumbling in tubs of soap suds.

All these sketches of early New England life approach the pre-Raphaelite school, and the reader feels that he is seeing things as they were.

We have no space to speak of the rare pamphlets which accompany the diary, and afford such valuable illustrations; and can only say that if the forthcoming volume proves equal to the two that have already appeared, we shall enjoy an embarrassment of riches of that peculiar character for which historical societies do not every year deserve our hearty thanks.

B. F. DeCOSTA.

The second volume of Judge Sewall's Diary covers the period between the years 1699 and 1714. It is marked by the same precision and detail which gives to the first of the series its quaint charm. No incident of his daily life is too trivial for mention; items concerning the taking by himself or administering to others of his family remedies for a passing bodily ailment are interspersed with solemn gossip about his friends and neighbors, and mingled with grave dissertations on affairs of state and judicial proceedings pending before him in the Court over which he presided. Nor is there any diminution

of his reverend recognition of an immediate present supervision by Divine Providence in all the affairs of men. Brought up as he was from infancy under the iron rule of the Puritan Theocracy, he accepted its teachings as his guide, and every action and thought of his life was had and done under a sense of rigid responsibility to an austere God. It is, however, apparent that with advancing years his natural kindness had tempered his zeal, and caused him to feel some lack of confidence in the justice of his judgment in some cases, notably in the Salem witchcraft matter, to which he refers with a manifest regret and doubt whether he had interpreted aright the oracle of the Mosaic law, in having assented to the judgment of the Court imposing the extreme penalty of death upon those whom his matured mind must have regarded as the victims of an hallucination born of superstition and vulgar clamor.

Dreams of the night, which visit alike the just and unjust, he regards as portents of ill emanating from the source of all evil, which he is fain to forefend by instant prayer. He regards an automatic action of certain involuntary muscles usually under physical control as a judgment for neglected prayer with his servant on a cold night.

The "last of the Puritans" he has justly been called, and surely no more perfect representative than he shows himself in these pages is to be found in the history of that devoted band of men, who left behind them their native homes, with all the endearing associations of friends and country, to seek in foreign and strange lands escape from the political heresy of the divine right of kings, and freedom from prelatical supremacy and dictation in matters touching the welfare of the immortal soul. Between them and the Spirit whom they worshiped no human authority might intervene—their standard was the Bible, their leader the Lord of Hosts. How strongly and how well they builded the foundations upon which to-day rests the weight of Empire!

At the period which this part of his diary covers, the growth of the colony, the intermixture of alien races, and that general broadening of ideas, breaking down of old customs and toleration of new habits, manners, and modes of thought and action, which mark the expanding horizon of national life, had begun to exert a marked influence upon the community in which he lived. That he saw and disapproved of these radical changes which were going on about him he gives ample testimony. He laments the waning influence of the clergy, regrets to see that the festival of Christmas is observed by certain of the Governor's party, and notes with evident satisfaction that on that day—the 25th of December—the country people came into the town with wood and provisions to sell as usual. The lax

observances of the Sabbath he mourns over, the grievous innovation of wigs and the pernicious custom of drinking the health of the Queen on her birthday met with his sternest reprobation. Informed that a party so engaged were making night (9 o'clock P. M.) hideous with their revelry in a public house, to the disturbance and great scandal of all good citizens, he went in person to the tavern to command them to cease their roystering and depart to their homes straightway; at the same time he took their names down, those whom he did not know personally giving him theirs with great good humor, after which they went on invitation to the residence of one of their number, where they were free to manifest their capulous loyalty to the sovereign. The next morning Judge Sewall fined them all for their misconduct. He was plainly a man having authority which he was zealous to assert.

Considerable space is given to an absurd quarrel between the royal Governor and two farmers whom he met on the highway. Although there were two paths, each suitable for travel, the Governor being in his coach chose to take that on which the farmers were advancing with heavy loads from an opposite direction. As they could not or would not turn out, the Governor threatened them with his drawn sword, and after an undignified personal assault, caused their arrest; the affair made no small stir, but ended in the release of the two men. That such a man should have been most unpopular is but natural; he was shortly after removed. The incident shows the sturdy independence and self-respect of the people, and their prompt discharge the integrity of the Court.

The Judge's account of the courtship of his daughter by young Joseph Gerrish, her marriage and death in childbed at the early age of twenty years, is quite minute and circumstantial, and bears in itself the whole framework of a colonial romance, waiting only the hand of genius to endow it with all the glamor of young and happy love, approved by parental sanction, and wring our hearts with the sad position of the pale young mother drifting out into the great unknown, while the solemn voice of tearful prayer breaks the hush of the chamber.

A marked feature of the time is the constant drilling of armed men, and the frequent military displays of the colonists, as well was the need with the hostile French to the north and south of them, and daring pirates venturing even inside of Massachusetts Bay. The capture of a party of these latter by an expedition in which the Judge took part, their subsequent trial before him and execution, are given at length.

The Judge had a reprehensible habit of writing verses of small merit, which can be readily condoned by the fact that he considerably used Latin as a vehicle of expression. He was a guest at all the weddings of the time, which

were numerous, and is found as mourner at frequent funerals, at each of which latter he remarks upon the quality of the funeral baked meats, the social standing of the pall bearers, as one of whom he often acted, and the number of scarfs and mourning rings given, as was the fashion of the day on such occasions.

In fact, spite of the superficial austerity which was consequent upon and part of his deep religious convictions and becoming a man who walked in the daily admonition of the Lord, he must have been a most kindly, genial, and sympathetic man. This unpretentious *Diary* shows us not only the man as he was in his private life and domestic relations, and as a just and upright judge, but gives a picture of his day, a microcosm of history so minute and perfect in detail that the men and women of the time live and move before us as we read the words he wrote with the precision of a careful lawyer and the freedom of a man who communes with his own thoughts in the privacy of his closet.

W. CARY SMITH.

WORCESTER SOUTH CHRONICLES. A brief History of the Congregational Churches of the Worcester South Conference of Massachusetts, 1670-1876. Edited by a Committee of the Conference. 8vo, pp. 66. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester, 1877.

This is a summarized history, compiled from detailed histories of every church in the Conference, prepared as a centennial contribution. An Introduction gives the history of the Indian Church established at Hassanamisco in 1671, and the earliest white settlements. Then follow brief sketches of the three churches at Menden and of one at West Millbury, formerly connected with the Conference, and histories of the fourteen churches of Sutton, Westboro, Uxbridge, Grafton, Upton, Millbury, Douglas, Northbridge, Whitinsville, Webster, Blackstone and Saundersville. The oldest of these is one hundred and forty, the youngest sixteen years. More than one hundred pastors have labored on this soil.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY—1829-1879. Being the Proceedings at the Semi-Centennial of the Ladies Sewing Circle connected with the Evangelical Church, Grafton, Mass., March 5, 1879. 8vo, pp. 24. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester, 1879.

This was no common occurrence; two hundred members were present, including five of the original members. They met in the vestry of the church. The ladies appear to have conducted the ceremonies with harmony and dignity, and toasted their husbands with commendable zeal.

A HAND-BOOK OF VIRGINIA. By the COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE. 8vo, pp. 144. R. E. FRAYEER, Superintendent Public Printing, Richmond, 1879.

If Virginia is ever to be resuscitated, restored to her former ancient glory, it must be by a thorough application of the true principles of political economy, a development of her natural advantages, the attraction by a liberal policy and cordial feeling of a large intelligent immigration, and the consequent restoration of her credit and power. Such books as this are the indispensable preludes, nowadays, to any general movements of men. They indicate the direction, and the path, and the advantages and the disadvantages of each locality for special branches of manufacture or industry. The Superintendent complains that he could not obtain a map to illustrate this official volume! It is incredible that an American commonwealth should be so blind to its best interests.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE CITY OF DOVER, N. H. By Rev. JAMES THURSTON. 16mo, pp. 30. FREEWILL BAPTIST PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT, Dover, N. H., 1879.

Dover has priority in the permanent settlements of New Hampshire. A colony was established at Dover Point in 1623. The First Church was organized in 1638 and retains the name to this day. In its long line of pastors the most eminent was the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, whose ministry covered the revolutionary period. It was not till 1819 that the first Methodist meetings were held; Dover was erected into a distinct charge in 1823, and the Rev. Jotham Horton was appointed preacher. The history proper begins here, and is brought down to the present day. A new and elegant building was erected in 1876.

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE HARRISON SQUARE CHURCH, DORCHESTER DISTRICT, BOSTON, OCT. 13, 1878. A Sermon by CALEB D. BRADLEE, Pastor. 8vo, pp. 18. FRED. W. BARRY, Boston, 1878.

The Harrison Square Church is an offshoot from the church on the hill at Dorchester. Its first preacher was the Rev. Charles Brooks, who has been followed by the Reverends Francis Williams, Samuel Johnson, S. G. Bulfinch, J. B. Marvin, Frederick Hinckley, Henry C. Badger, Nathaniel Seaver. The present incumbent is the ninth in order.

ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA IN THE OLDEN TIME. Being a collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants, etc. By JOHN F. WATSON. Enlarged with many revisions and additions by WILLIS P. HAZARD. (profusely illustrated.) 8vo, 3 vols. J. M. STODDART & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

ANNALS OF PHILADELPHIA AND PENNSYLVANIA IN THE OLDEN TIME; or, Memoirs, Anecdotes and Incidents of Philadelphia and its Inhabitants from the Days of the Founders. By WILLIS P. HAZARD, 8vo, pp. 524. J. M. STODDART & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

The publishers of this volume having purchased the plates and copyright of Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, requested Mr. Hazard to prepare an additional volume from material which had escaped the first author's notice, or had not been accessible to him. With excellent judgment the editor and compiler has preferred to give the results of his own research as an additional volume, leaving the text of the well-known *Annals* unchanged. Such errors or oversights as were found are here corrected or supplied. In his preface Mr. Hazard states with natural pride that he is "the third generation of his family, in a direct line, that has gathered materials for history, and according to rule, in a descending scale. The first of the generations collected materials for a history of States; the second of the State; and the third of the city." He especially acknowledges his obligations to an interleaved copy of Watson's *Annals*, in which Samuel Hazard made copious notes, additions and corrections.

The editorial work has been executed in a faithful manner, and the publishers present it in a most attractive typographical form.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND RELICS IN WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURG, N. Y. With historical sketch. By E. M. RUTTENBER. 8vo, pp. 75. Newburg, 1879.

This famous and picturesque building, long known as the Hasbrouck House, is now the property of the State, and preserved in memory of its occupation by Washington as Army Headquarters from the spring of 1782 to August 14th, 1783. It was at this spot, also, the careful chronicler informs us, that the proposal was made to General Washington to become King. Everything of interest in connection with this occupation finds place in these pages.

FAMILY RECORD AND GENEALOGY OF THE JOLLIFF FAMILY FROM THE YEAR 1760 TO 1878 INCLUSIVE. By OLIVER P. JOLLIFF and JAMES S. WATSON. 32mo, pp. 40. MORGAN & HOFFMAN, Morgantown, West Virginia.

This volume is announced to contain eighty-two heads of families, and the record of the names of three hundred and seventy-six children. It has a more substantial object in view than most genealogies, its chief purpose being to establish an heirship to the "Springer Fortune," which consists of the six hundred acres of land, upon which is built the City of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. This tract was willed by C. C. Springer to his six children, and by them rented on ninety-nine year leases, which expired in 1874 and 1875. The property is now valued at eighty millions of dollars. The families of James Jolliff and Hannah Springer were of Virginia. On their marriage they moved to Pennsylvania. The editor asks general information concerning their descendants.

THE CHILD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By CHARLES A. GOODRICH. Revised by A. B. BERARD. 16mo, pp. 158. COWPERTHWAIT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

This is precisely what it purports to be. In twenty-six lessons, made interesting by small appropriate illustrations, the history of the United States is recited from the discovery to the Centennial celebration of 1876. Each lesson is divided numerically with corresponding questions and an addition of a verse or simple story in mnemotechnic aid of the young student. It is very prettily issued, and is attractive to the eye, a desirable quality in all books intended for children, who take history as many other things, by appearances.

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. Arranged on the Catechetical plan. 16mo, pp. 142. THE CATHOLIC PUBLISHING SOCIETY Co., New York, 1878.

Another of the numerous volumes of which the American press is fecund for the instruction of youth. The questions are concise and the answers simple and easy of committal, and although published by a religious press, not a word appears in it of a sectarian or illiberal spirit. On the contrary a distinction plainly drawn between the devotion of the missionaries who accompanied the first conquerors of America as their advisers, and the disregard of their advice by the Spanish leaders, who were cruel and rapacious.

JOHNSON; SKETCH OF THE JOHNSON FAMILY GATHERING, HELD AT SOUTHBORO, MASS., JUNE 26, 1878, AND THE HISTORICAL ADDRESS. By Rev. J. K. TEMPLE. As well as Poems written for the occasion, etc. Republished from the Southboro Press. 8vo, pp. 12. PRATT BROTHERS, Marlboro, 1878.

THE JOHNSON FAMILY. A brief account of some of the descendants of Wm. Johnson, who settled in Charlestown in 1634, and of his son, Jonathan Johnson, who settled in Marlboro, Mass., as early as 1662, etc. Compiled by CYRUS FELTON. 8vo. STILLMAN P. PRATT, Marlboro, 1879.

William Johnson left London, emigrated to America and settled at Charlestown, Mass., in 1634. The family name of his wife, Elizabeth, is not given. Ten generations have been born since the arrival of the first emigrant, who is supposed to have come from Hornehill, a parish near Canterbury, Kent County, England. He was by trade a brick maker. Members of six generations were gathered at the old homestead in Southboro. The proceedings were of interest, and the historical sketch an excellent account of the family.

OLD COPP'S HILL AND BURIAL GROUND; with Historical Sketches. By E. McDONALD, Superintendent Copp's Hill, Jan. 1, 1879. 8vo, pp. 28. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston, 1879.

Attention has been called in this Magazine (III., 79) to Mr. Whitmore's Copp's Hill Epitaphs in the first volume of the Grave Yards of Boston. In the present pamphlet the Superintendent of the old grave yard, the second place of interment (King's Chapel being the first), supplements the information therein contained, by a review of the historical incidents connected with this one of the three hills which gave the name of Tremont to the Capital of the Bay State, and points out the changes which time and art have made in its topography. Copp's Hill was first called Milfield, or Windmill Hill, because of the windmill which, in 1632, was brought from Cambridge, placed upon its summit, and used to grind the corn of the settlers; then Snow Hill, and later, at a time not now precisely known, Copp's Hill, from one William Copp, who owned a house in the southeast corner. From this hill Burgoyne and Clinton witnessed the fight on Bunker's Hill and directed the battery; here the British later erected the North Battery. The antiquary will find abundant material in these pages.

ROBERT KITCHEL AND HIS DESCENDANTS FROM 1604 TO 1879. Compiled by H. D. KITCHEL. 8vo, pp. 80. JOHN D. PRALL, New York, 1879.

This is the result of an endeavor to trace the descendants of an Englishman who emigrated to America in 1639 with a company of Puritan refugees, led by the Rev. Henry Whitfield, in the first vessel that anchored in the harbor of Quinipiac, now New Haven, Connecticut. In this community Robert Kitchel was a leader, as is evident from the prefix of Mr. to his name, in the records of the plantation then founded. In 1665, on the announcement that Winthrop had obtained a royal charter, the uncompromising band become alarmed and moved to New Jersey. Mr. Kitchel and his wife, Margaret, who was a daughter of Rev. Edward Sheaffe of Cranbrooke, Kent, England, settled at Newark. Their descendants are here traced in a simple but satisfactory manner. The address of the compiler is Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA—MIDDLETOWN-ON-SWATARA. By A. BOYD HAMILTON. 8vo, pp. 47. 20 copies printed. (Harrisburg, 1879.)

The purpose of this paper is not to present a history of Middletown, but of the land about the mouth of the "Swahatowra," as the name appears on the old surveys. It was not until the erection of Dauphin county in 1785 that the musical Indian name was corrupted into Swatara. There has been a discussion at out the name; the Irish or Scotch-Irish, have claimed it, but Mr. Hamilton clings to the Indian origin.

The account is interesting and worth perusal by students of local history. The details of the services of Middletown in the revolution and in the war of 1812 are given in detail and are a valuable contribution to military history. And there are abundant personal reminiscences.

MARRIAGE RECORDS OF GLORIA DEI CHURCH, "OLD SWEDES," PHILADELPHIA, 1750-1863. Compiled from the original records by PARK MCFARLAND, Jr. 8vo, pp. 800. MCFARLAND & SON, Philadelphia, 1879.

The present edifice, Old Swedes Church, was erected in the year 1700, and is the oldest building in the State. It has always been famous for the number of its marriages, and has been called the Gretna Green of Philadelphia, from the number, doubtless, and not from the manner of the marriages. The records begin with 1750. They are here printed as they should be, textually, variations, of spelling even, being adhered to.

CAMP AND FIELD LIFE OF THE FIFTH NEW YORK VOLUNTEER INFANTRY (Duryee Zouaves). By ALFRED DAVENPORT. 16mo. DICK & FITZGERALD, New York. 1879.

In a few letters from high commanding officers who know the record of this well-known regiment, the author of this battle history presents the highest testimony to the value of its services. General McClellan alludes to "the gallant services of that admirable regiment on many fields." Major-General Davis says that "no regiment had a better record for courage, gallantry, discipline, and faithful service," and most marked of all is the full praise of that thorough soldier, General Sykes, in whose command it performed excellent service, side by side with the regulars, with whom it was brigaded on the Peninsula. "My opinion," writes General Sykes, "of the Fifth New York Volunteers, never changed. I doubt whether it had an equal; certainly no superior among all the regiments of the Army of the Potomac. Its death roll and list of casualties will tell how and where it stood better than any words of its commanders. I have always maintained it to be the best volunteer organization I ever knew."

A regiment of which such words are spoken, fifteen years after the smoke of battle has drifted from the last field of contest, deserves a written history. It may be content that it has fallen into good hands.

On the 15th of April, 1861, the President issued his call for seventy-five thousand men. On the 18th, the Governor of New York ordered the organization of the State quota of seventeen regiments, and on the 19th, the enlistment of the Fifth New York Volunteers began under the banner of Col. Abram Duryee, the distinguished officer, who had been in command of the famous Seventh Regiment, the crack militia organization of the National Guard. On the 23d, such was the prestige of the admirable leader, that eight companies of fifty men were enrolled, mustered, and the next day moved to Fort Schuyler. On the 9th of May the ranks were full, and the men were sworn into the United States service; on the 11th a stand of colors was presented by Mr. George Kemp, an old comrade of the Colonel in the Seventh, and on the 23d, they were carried to New York, paraded through Broadway, through whose broad street each parting and returning regiment was marched with pride, and embarked for Fortress Monroe. There, from their uniform, which was that of the French Zouaves, with red breeches, they received from the confederates the soubriquet of "Red Devils," which they bore through the war. The regiment had

its baptism of fire at Big Bethel, the gallant but ill-devised action in which young Winthrop and Greble lost their precious lives. Camp life, at Hampton Roads, closed the first campaign of the Fifth in Virginia.

On the 27th of July, it moved to Federal Hill to hold watch and guard over Baltimore, the disturbing elements in which were causing serious anxiety to the Government. Here they reported to General Dix, who held the post with an iron hand. The account of regimental life is again as before, written in an easy pleasing manner, and is full of graphic description of scenery, persons, and events. The reader is made familiar with the characteristics of the officers and men.

On the promotion in September of Col. Duryee to the command of the brigade, Lieutenant Colonel G. K. Warren was appointed Colonel. In March, 1862, the regiment was again moved to the Peninsula. It was first seriously engaged at Gaines' Mill, where it held its positions under a constant fire with unflinching bravery. At the battle of the Second Bull Run, it was placed in a most difficult situation, but held its front unbroken under a murderous fire even after their officers had ordered their withdrawal, until overpowered by numbers, they were driven from the field, carrying with them their flags and many of their wounded. At Fredericksburg they were again engaged, and after a stay of two days in the city, covered the withdrawal of the troops from that disastrous field. Chancellorsville was the scene of the last struggle in which the Fifth was engaged. They were ordered home by General Sykes, by general order of the 4th of May.

The statistics of the regiment show that of the fifteen hundred men enlisted, there were killed in action, or died of wounds, or disease, two hundred and two. In a closing section, personal sketches are given of Colonels Duryee, Warren, Major J. M. Davies, and some of the subordinate officers. The volume is a satisfactory contribution to the history of the war.

AN ELEMENTARY GEOLOGY, DESIGNED ESPECIALLY FOR THE INTERIOR STATES. By E. B. ANDREWS. 8vo, pp. 283. VAN ANTWERP, BRAGG & Co., Cincinnati, 1878.

In the preface to this volume of the eclectic educational series the author declares the distinctive feature of the work to be its limitations. It concerns itself with the home geology of the interior States, the simplicity and regularity of the formation of which present singularly fit illustrations of the science, besides which their formations are rich in fossils beyond any part of

the world. This limitation of scope makes it an admirable book for beginners of a science, the literature of which is already formidable in extent. After a description of the surface features, the rocks and ores, and the formation and inclination of the rocks, the geology is treated in subdivision, historical and geographical and the animals and plants are classified. The next series of chapters deals with the different ages, the Archæan time, the lower and upper Silurian rocks; the Devonian Age and the Coal Measures; then in their order, the Mesozoic time or Age of reptiles, the tertiary or Age of Mammals, the drift and Champlain and Recent period of the Quaternary Age, and finally of Man and the progress of life on the Earth.

The illustrations are numerous and excellent, presenting simple, easily comprehensible figures of the various phenomena described, and there is also a valuable chart of formations in the interior States. An index brings the whole information within easy reach of the special enquirer.

A MANUAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

By EDWARD M. GALLAUDET. 16mo, pp. 321. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, 1879.

In this compact volume the distinguished author presents within a moderate compass the principles of International Law, as recognized in the civilized world at the present time. It is an abridgement of the comprehensive work of M. Charles Calvo, published in Paris in 1870-2, with the addition of considerable original matter.

The introduction is an historical sketch of the progress of international law, divided into seven epochs, which render the study of the subject singularly simple. The first gives the law from the time of the Ancients to the fall of the Roman Empire, and includes the *jus gentium* of the Romans; the second from the fall of the Empire to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, in which the Canon law and the treatises of the great publicists, ending with Grotius, find place; the third from the Peace of Westphalia to the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, when European equilibrium first asserted itself, involving the right of intervention, and marked by the definition of a maritime law, with its rights of blockage and search, and the troublesome contest over the freedom of ships and their cargoes; the fourth from the Peace of Utrecht to the close of the Seven Years' War, 1763, marked by similar contests, relative to the rights of neutrals and belligerents, in matters of commerce and navigation; the fifth from the Seven Years' War to the French Revolution, 1763-1789, in which American affairs first come into prominence in the treaty of 1778, between France and the United States,

in which the rule was sustained that 'free ships make free goods'; the principles of armed neutrality were laid down by Russia in 1780. the sixth from the French Revolution to the Peace of Paris and the treaties of Vienna, 1789-1815, covers the French Revolution, the change made in the face of Europe by the wars of Napoleon and the partial restoration of the old order of things by the Congress of Vienna; the seventh epoch from the Congress of Vienna to the present time, 1815-1878, is of peculiar interest; in it the right of intervention was asserted by the five powers; the slave trade was abolished; the right of search modified; the writings of chief authors who have treated the subject in each epoch, are briefly mentioned.

The work proper, is divided into five chapters, which treat respectively of the principles and sources of international law; of the attributes, rights, powers, and duties of States, in times of peace and war, and the obligations of neutrality. Convenient sub-divisions allow of a close handling of each of these subjects. Among these will be found an account of the French intervention in Mexico, and brief discussions of some of the American maritime cases, such as the seizure of the *Peterhof* and the *William Peel*, during the Civil War, and the later famous case of the *Virginus*, captured by the Spanish authorities, while under the United States flag. The book is precisely what it sets out to be—a Manual—and it seems to be as impartial as it is concise.

UNDER THE MIZZEN MAST. By N.

ADAMS, D. D. A new edition, greatly enlarged. 32mo, pp. 345. D. LOTHROP & Co. Boston, 1879.

It is not surprising that the demand for this charming story of the experience at sea of an intellectual clergyman accustomed to contemplation, and to find moral lessons in all the vicissitudes of even uneventful life, has called for a new edition. Taking passage in the *Golden Fleece*, one of the famous California packets, commanded by his son, he made the voyage round the Horn in the Fall of 1869. His favorite seat was under the shade of the stately mizzen mast, which gives the name to these reveries or observations on the new life which daily developed before his eyes. There is a great deal of excellent information worth the reading of any one, and a genial philosophy which is to us delightful; and there are passages of exquisite tenderness of thought and poetic feelings, with spices of humor. To those in pursuit of fun we commend the clever version in "Pidgin-English" of Longfellow's *Excelsior* entitled, *Topside Galad*, which is here reprinted in the excellent account of the ship's stoppage at "Fung Shuy."

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA, BRITISH AMERICA, DANISH AMERICA, MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, SOUTH AMERICA, WEST INDIES. 32mo. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

This is another of these fascinating little volumes which are doubly welcome in the exquisite finish of typography, in which the Riverside press, worthy successor on this continent of the Aldines, and Didots and Pickerings in the other, presents the old master singer, whose greatest fame will, in the future, be that he has made known to us through his exquisite versification all the treasures of foreign literature.

The introductory stanzas, in our modest opinion, should have been left out of this collection. It is a wail of Tennyson that Canada thinks that there is no reason why she should support by contribution of men or money, English domination. England is not yet the third-rate isle, lost among the seas, as Tennyson deprecates, even though she be no longer a first-rate power.

There are pretty things in this volume. First of all, dear to all hearts, is the Canadian boat song of Tom Moore, which was a favorite of the generation to which Longfellow belongs; then his own selection of his inimitable tender description of Grand Pré in Acadia, a village transplant of Normandy to our genial gulf-bathed northern soil. Nor must George Henry Baker's ballad of Sir John Franklin be omitted, written in the good old ballad style.

Later come songs of Greenland, America, and Central America which deserve record.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. How IT CAME ABOUT, AND WHY WE SHOULD UPHOLD IT. BY CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D., 8vo, pp. 512. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

In a preface to the American edition of this thoroughly Protestant history of the great reformation in its English phase, its purpose is plainly announced to be a protest against that perversion of the Episcopal communion, known as sacerdotalism or the grafting of priestly pretensions on the simple spiritual teaching of the new testament. He declares that the only sure way to stop Ritualism is to challenge the idea of Apostolic succession, the maintenance of which is inconsistent with Protestantism. He thoroughly recognizes the difficulty, however, of a contest with the established church.

In considering this question, it must not be forgotten that the English established Church was a compromise intended to bring within its pale the whole religious belief of the United Kingdom, from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant Calvinist. The allegiance of the one

class was sought by an adherence to the attractive forms, and somewhat of the ritual of the Roman Church, which it supplanted, and that of the other by strict formal observance of the Sabbath, which the Lutherans did not think necessary in Germany, but which was indispensable to any conciliation of the English Puritan or Scotch Covenanter.

After a rapid review, in a single chapter, of the history of the church for eleven centuries, the subject proper is entered upon, with an account of the condition of religion in England in the thirteenth century, the teachings of John Wycliffe, with the first spread of the Scriptures in the English tongue, the rise of the Lollards, and the beginning of the great reformation in the revolt of opinion against the arbitrary decrees of the Council of Constance, in 1415. The story of the long and bloody contest closed with the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, and the final establishment of the Protestant faith in England. With all her liberality and honest fervor, Elizabeth was still a Tudor, and left the impress of her autocratic mind upon the church establishment.

Here the author closes his fascinating narrative and powerful argument, but it is just here that the reader finds his disappointment that the same logic has not been applied to the subsequent history of the Church, now distinctly divided into what are called the high and low Church. Between these two extremes, however, there is a vast class which have been sometimes termed the broad church, who, while not considering form essential, accept it, and favor a more æsthetic Christianity than found favor in the eyes of the early Protestants, while at the same time they do not give inward adherence to all the dogmas belief in which was once considered as an essential to true religion.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. OCEANICA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA, and Miscellaneous Seas and Islands. 32mo. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

It is quite impossible for Longfellow to touch his hand to anything without giving it character and embellishment, and even the editing of these fugitive pieces seems to add to them something they did not possess before. Selected by the most perfect judge of the beauties of poetic literature, foreign or native, they derive from his choice honor and credit. The poems of Ocean belong to Americans, the shores of whose continent are bathed by the great seas of the Atlantic and Pacific, and we claim also an interest in the North Pole, which soon we hope to own by right of discovery. We will not review this selection; enough that they are Longfellow's, to commend them to all readers.

GOLD AND DEBT. AN AMERICAN HAND-BOOK OF FINANCE. With over eighty tables and diagrams, illustrative of the following subjects: The Dollar and other Units; Paper Money in the United States and Europe; Gold and Silver in the United States and Europe; Suspension of Specie Payments; The Era of Gold; Values of the Precious Metals; The Era of Debt; The rise and fall of prices; also a digest of the Monetary laws of the United States. By W. L. FAWCETT. Second edition, 12mo. S. C. GRIGGS & Co., Chicago, 1879.

This comprehensive title gives a fair idea of the contents of the book. It only remains to examine as to whether the material gathered and arranged, is valuable. To this we have abundant testimony, including that of Mr. Edward Young, the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, Washington.

In his preface, the author disclaims any preconceived notions in the theories occasionally expressed, or any purpose to suggest a remedy for the financial troubles of the times. Fortunately for the country they are no longer what they were in 1876, when the book was written. In his avoidance of debatable topics, the author gave to his work a permanent value. The total stock of coinage in the world, gold, silver, and base metals, is estimated by Mr. Fawcett at ninety-four hundred millions, of which four hundred millions base metal, sixty-three hundred millions silver, and twenty-seven hundred millions gold.

A SEMI-CENTENNIAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT LACONIA, N. H., June 18, 1878, on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Conference of Churches of Strafford County. By GEORGE B. SPALDING, D. D. 8vo, pp. 20. FREEWILL BAPTIST PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT. Dover, N. H., 1878.

The New Hampshire Province was broken into five counties in 1771. One of these was named Strafford by Governor Wentworth, in honor of William, Earl of Strafford; not the famous Earl whom Parliament sent to the block in 1641, but a later holder of the dignity, a personal friend of the Colonial Governor.

In the one hundred and forty-eight years which elapsed from the first settlement of the province to the time of the first division, eighty-two churches had been organized, of which seventy-seven Congregational and five Presbyterian.

Within the new county, Strafford, at this time of incorporation, five churches, all Congregational, had been organized; at Dover, Durham, Somersworth, Rochester, and Barrington. In the next fifty-seven years, ending in 1828, when the Strafford Conference, of which the semi-Centennial year was celebrated, was organized, eighteen churches had been added. It is of these the discourse relates the history and results.

THE BOARD OF DELEGATES OF AMERICAN ISRAELITES. Final report, including a view of its proceedings since its organization. 8vo, pp. 39. DAVIS PRINTING OFFICE. New York, 5639—1879.

This report preserves the principal facts in the history of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites which was organized 5620, 1859, and is now dissolved, its functions having been assumed by the union of American Hebrew Congregations. The impulse for its formation was the feeling aroused by the abduction by the Papal authorities of Edgar Mortara. Its influence has been of incalculable importance in bringing the members of this before isolated race into a union among themselves, and consequently into relation with other associations of different faith but a similar character. There is nothing in modern history which more strongly shows the disappearance of prejudice and the increase of humanitarian charity, than the part the Hebrews are now taking in all public concerns. They are to be found of both sexes earnest and intelligent co-workers in our State Board of Charities, and in innumerable private organizations, and are everywhere received with warm welcome. The historical portion of this sketch shows the action of the Jews at home and abroad. Their patriotic devotion to the governments under which they have lived is proverbial.

THE DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA BY JOHN CABOT. A first Chapter in the History of North America. By FREDERIC KIDDER. 8vo, pp. 15. Printed for private circulation. Boston, 1878.

This valuable paper was read before the Maine Historical Society, at Bath, in February, 1874, and was first printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. It is prefaced by a section of the *mapa mundi* of 1544, and has an inset, showing the probable course of the navigator from the Straits of Belle Isle to Cape Canso on the Nova Scotia coast. He sailed from Bristol early in May, 1497, in the ship Mathew, in an attempt to reach India by sailing westward.

SOLDIER AND PIONEER. A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LIEUT.-COLONEL RICHARD C. ANDERSON OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY,
By E. L. ANDERSON. 32mo, pp. 63. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. 1879.

In this gracefully written and tastefully printed little monograph a grandson of a worthy soldier of the Revolution, whose name has received famous illustration in our own day and generation from the patriotic service of the hero of Fort Sumter, pays an appropriate tribute to a common ancestor. The first of the family in America was Robert Anderson, who came to America from Scotland, and purchased an estate called Goldmines in what is now Hanover county, Virginia. His son, Robert, born January 1, 1712, succeeded him in the possession of the property.

Richard Clough Anderson, the subject of the present sketch, was son of this second Robert and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Clough, a colonist from Wales. He was born January 12, 1750, and at sixteen entered the family of Patrick Coots, one of the leading merchants of Virginia, in which he was found by Patrick Henry at the breaking out of hostilities, and easily persuaded to take service in the patriot cause. He was commissioned captain in the Fifth Virginia Continentals, March 7, 1776, of which first Peachey and afterwards Scott was Colonel. He was distinguished for gallantry at Trenton, where he was wounded, and while in hospital at Philadelphia for treatment suffered severely from small-pox, the scourge of the colonies at that period. He was with his regiment at Brandywine and Germantown, and on the 10th February, 1778, promoted major in the First Virginia, with which he was present at Monmouth in June. In 1779 he made part of the unsuccessful attempt to reduce Savannah and was again wounded. He was with Pulaski at his death. With the Virginia line, which defended Charleston, he was taken prisoner with the garrison. On his release he joined Morgan, and was later assigned to Lafayette's division, and participated in the brilliant movements of the summer and fall of 1781, which ended with the capture of Cornwallis. For his services in this campaign he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental Army, and appointed Brigadier-General of Virginia militia.

On the disbanding of the army he was one of the founders of the order of the Cincinnati. He was chosen by his brother officers surveyor of the lands reserved to pay the Virginia Continental line, and established himself at Louisville, then a village of log houses clustered about Fort Nelson. In 1787 he married a sister of General Clark, and established himself in the wilderness. In 1797 he married his second wife, Sarah,

daughter of William McLeod Marshall. He had six sons. Richard, a member of Congress and minister to the United States of Colombia; Larz of Cincinnati, well known for his scho'arship; Robert, of Fort Sumter memory; William Marshall, a scientific explorer; John of Chillicothe, and Charles of St. Antonio, companion to Andrew J. Hamilton, William Alexander and others of Texas, who, at the peril of their lives, stood up boldly for the flag and the Union in the hour of Texas secession.

This little sketch is full of pleasant anecdotes of the early days of the republic.

CATALOGUE OF THE SPANISH LIBRARY AND OF THE PORTUGUESE BOOKS BEQUEATHED BY GEORGE TICKNOR TO THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. Together with the collection of Spanish and Portuguese literature in the general library. By JAMES LYMAN WHITNEY. Royal 8vo, double column pages. Printed by order of the Trustees. Boston, 1879.

The books, the titles of which are to be found in this catalogue, are divided into three classes. 1st, those left by bequest by Mr. Ticknor, 3,907 volumes; 2d, the purchases with the income of the Ticknor fund, under the provisions of his will confined to literature in the same languages, 1,452 volumes, making 5,359 volumes of the Ticknor library, and 3d, 2,619 volumes and 597 bound pamphlets, in same languages, in the Boston Public Library—in all a total of 7,687 volumes and 1,928 bound pamphlets. The great value of the Ticknor library is that it is not merely a library, but a collection which his *History of Spanish Literature* illustrates and is illustrated by. Many contain manuscript notes. Some of these volumes are of extreme rarity; many not mentioned even in bibliographies. There are some manuscripts, chiefly transcripts from originals in Europe. In addition to his collection, Mr. Ticknor left to the Boston Library what any student would consider of nearly as much value as the books, that is, a list of the volumes necessary to complete his collection.

In addition to the general completeness of the catalogue, which is complete only as to that which it is intended to cover, the editor has added an analysis of the several publications, the authors' subjects and titles of the articles, which appear under their appropriate heads. The catalogue is arranged in the dictionary system, one alphabet taking in an author, subject and title.

It is needless to add that the editor and printers have sent out a catalogue worthy of Mr. Ticknor's collection and of themselves.

THE ANNALS OF THE WAR. Written by leading participants North and South. Originally published in the Philadelphia Weekly Times. 8vo, pp. 800. THE TIMES PUBLISHING Co. Philadelphia, 1879.

The fifty-six articles which make up this volume are so many monographs of the important incidents in the war of the rebellion, written by statesmen, military and naval officers, or historians of the North and South. They form a most valuable contribution to historical knowledge and use, which no student in search of the precise truth can disregard. Among them may be noted, as sure to attract attention, Secretary Welles' Sketch of the First Iron clad Monitor; Accounts of the Battle of Gettysburg, by Colonel Biddle, Major Carpenter, Colonel Taylor, Generals Richard Taylor, Longstreet, Gregg, Pleasanton, and Colonel Rawle, together making the most complete account of this pivotal action which has yet appeared. Besides there are to be found a paper, by R. M. Hunter, on the capture of Mason and Slidell; one by Dr. Lossing on the First Attack on Fort Fisher, and others of equal value, if not from as well-known pens. It is quite needless to commend such a work as this. It needs no comment beyond the announcement of its content.

CHOIR'S PIONEER DIRECTORY OF THE CITY OF SEATTLE, ANAKING COUNTY. HISTORY, BUSINESS DIRECTORY AND IMMIGRANTS' GUIDE TO AND THROUGHOUT WASHINGTON TERRITORY AND VICINITY. (By M. CHOIR, Seattle, W. T.) 12mo, pp. 125. MINERS' JOURNAL BOOK AND JOB ROOMS. Pottsville, Penn., 1878.

We have too often expressed our opinion of the value of books of this character to repeat it now. They begin often in a very modest and even small way, but from year to year accumulating much and loing nothing, they become mines of information for the historian of manners, customs and beginnings of States. Mr. Choir's book with much that is ephemeral, includes more that is of lasting value concerning Washington Territory in general, Anaking county in particular.

LEAVES FROM A LAWYER'S LIFE, AFLOAT AND ASHORE. By CHARLES COWLEY, Judge-Advocate, S. A. B. Squadron. 16mo, pp. 245. PENHALLOW PRINTING CO. Lowell, Mass., 1879.

Judge Cowley was on the staff of Admiral Dahlgren while this distinguished and lamented

officer was in command of the South Atlantic blockading squadron, and these are leaves from his note-book of the daily events in that memorable and arduous service to which historians have paid an attention entirely inadequate to its deserts as a chief factor in the reduction of the revolted States to their allegiance. In addition, he includes brief notes of the events that had taken place during the period of Admiral Dupont's command, as related by eye-witnesses.

In all the great blockades in European history only that of France and the Continental ports by Great Britain can be compared with the United States' blockade of her southern coast. Without the aid of steam, such a blockade could not have been complete enough to deserve the respect of foreign powers. With it the navy was enabled not only effectually to close the great ports, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, but to watch the numberless estuaries and inlets for a distance of three thousand miles along a dangerous coast, bristling with rocks and reefs, swept by currents of tremendous swiftness and lashed by terrific storms.

The blockade, says the author, was in one sense peculiar. It was military as well as commercial, and possessed the validity of municipal as well as the sanction of international law. In this aspect the book, reciting practical applications of law, has a value to legists beyond its historic narrative.

To the general reader it commends itself by the charm of personal detail. In simple but picturesque narrative we are made to witness the ever-changing scene, to admire the ingenuity of the blockade runner and the alertness of the pursuing squadron. There are more stirring histories of the hard struggles in Charleston harbor; the ineffectual attempts to storm the Morris Island batteries, the failures to force the outward circles of fire, which the Confederate engineers constructed to protect the doomed city.

In this connection we may add an incident that the Judge does not mention. It was the "Grant" electric light, sent down at General Gillmore's request by the writer, the expense of which was borne by the late public spirited Moses H. Grinnell and a few others, that caused the final abandonment of the formidable battery. An eye-witness related that it threw so strong a light on the ramparts that a rat could be seen on them. It prevented filling up the breaches by sandbags, with which the defenders repaired by night the damage of the day. This is said to have been the first occasion on which a light of this kind was made use of for such a purpose.

We note the curious statement made to Judge Cowley by Admiral Dahlgren himself, that he took his idea of the celebrated gun which bears his name from the soda-water bottle, in which the weight is in the breech. We heartily commend this volume to our readers.

**TUTOR HENRY FLYNT'S JOURNEY
FROM CAMBRIDGE TO PORTSMOUTH IN 1754.**

Written by DAVID SEWALL, who accompanied him. Edited, with notes, by CHARLES DEANE. 8vo, pp. 9. JOHN WILSON & Co. Cambridge, 1878.

The manuscript of this entertaining narrative was found among the papers of John Adams, who was a classmate of the Sewall who wrote it. The tutor Father Flynt, as he is called, was eighty years old, David Sewall nineteen—a fair conjunction of May and November. The journey was made before the cold water laws came into fashion; and very properly begun with a "nip of milk punch." Another day the entertainment was varied with lemon punch, which, "being pretty well charged with good old spirit, rendered Father Flynt talkative," and "everybody cheerful." Tutor Flynt smoked pipes also and "bussed" the pretty girls in a hearty way. Alas, alas, for the good old days! There were none such in Harvard in this editor's time. There was a lingering old-time flavor about Harvard in the reign of dear old President Quincy, but with Everett the word was "eyes right" and right dress on all occasions.

GLEANINGS OF PAST YEARS, 1843-78,

by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P. 4 vols., 16mo., pp. 248, 363, 273, 365. CHARLES SCRIBNERS' SONS, 1879.

Vol. I. The Throne and the Prince Consort; The Cabinet and the Constitution. Vol. II. Personal and Literary. Vol. III. Historical and Speculative. Vol. IV. Foreign.

In a preface the distinguished statesman, philosopher, and scholar announces that these occasional productions of thirty-six anxious, prolific, and changeful years are now printed as they were written, without other changes, additions or amendment except in the rare cases where it seemed right to specify a change in opinion, and that these cases are dealt with in the notes.

America and her destinies have occupied a large share in the Premier's thought. His opinions have not always been palatable or grateful to her, but no doubt can be entertained of his sincerity or his attachment to those whom he touchingly terms his kin beyond sea. But it is not to his political opinions that most attention will be turned in this country. His essays cover the entire range of thought. Classic story and religion; philosophy, metaphysical and practical; poetry, ancient and modern, are treated by him with the grasp of a master, and a keen analytic detail worthy of the old Sorbonne, when the disputants held themselves ready as at a tourney to combat all comers and with all arms in any field of learning

or knowledge they might select. There is no more impressive exhibition than that of the massive intellect which turns from the labor of the cabinet and the forum, to find relief in the labors which, light to himself, yet tax the strongest minds, and from that casual study is enabled to meet each specialist on his own chosen ground.

PERSONAL MEMORIES, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND LITERARY, WITH SKETCHES OF MANY NOTED PEOPLE, 1803-1843. By E. D. MANSFIELD. 12mo, pp. 348. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1879.

The author of this chatty volume was well known to the public for a long period as a writer on topics of all kinds for the New York Times over the signature of the Veteran Observer. And these pages cover a field as general. Politics, education, society and pioneer history are treated in turn, and always in a pleasant manner, and a great number of individuals, all noted for some superiority or peculiarity, are sketched in light and gossipy style. It is quite impossible to give any idea of the characteristics of the volume in any critical review. Among the best of the biographical descriptions, is that of Tom Corwin "the wagon boy," and the brilliant wit of Kentucky. There are also some anecdotes of Clay which are new to the general reader. The chapter on Litchfield, and his history of the personal attributes of the participants in the Nullification struggle, are especially worthy of perusal. Such books are always of peculiar interest to a large class of people.

**ADDRESS AT THE COMMEMORATION
OF THE LANDING OF JOHN ENDICOTT BEFORE
THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, SEPTEMBER 18, 1878.**

By WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT. 8vo, pp. 38. SALEM PRESS. Salem, 1879.

In these chaste and classical pages, every line of which shows Harvard culture, a worthy representative of one of the foremost stocks in America recites the history of the landing at Salem, which was the first step in the establishment of the colony of Massachusetts, the most positive of American governments. In 1628 the great council at Plymouth granted to Endicott and others the tract which he alone of the patentees entered upon in person. He was put at the head of the enterprise, and was governor of the colony. He sailed in the Abigail from Weymouth June 20, 1628, and landed Sept. 18, two hundred and fifty years, to the day, before the celebration in which his lineal descendant was the orator. He died in office, at the age of seventy-seven, in 1665. The scenes in which he was an actor are gracefully and instructively told.

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